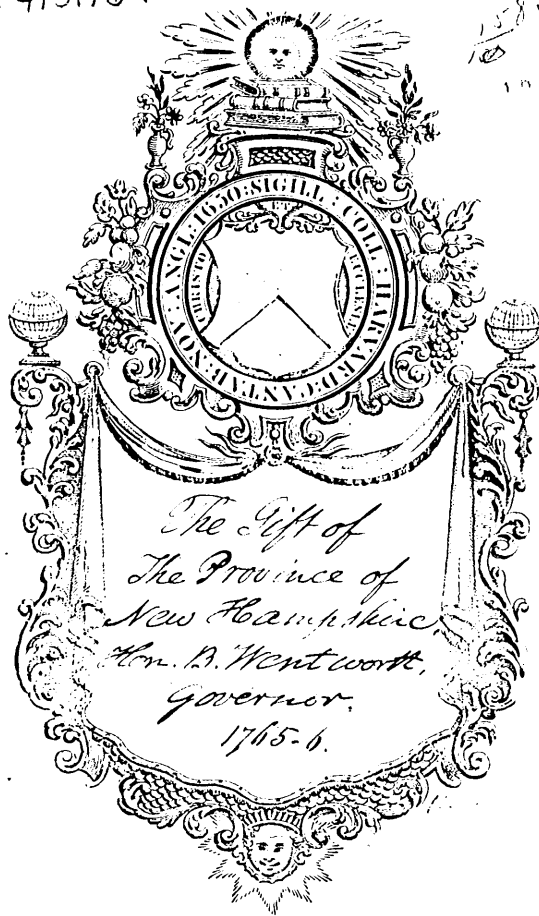
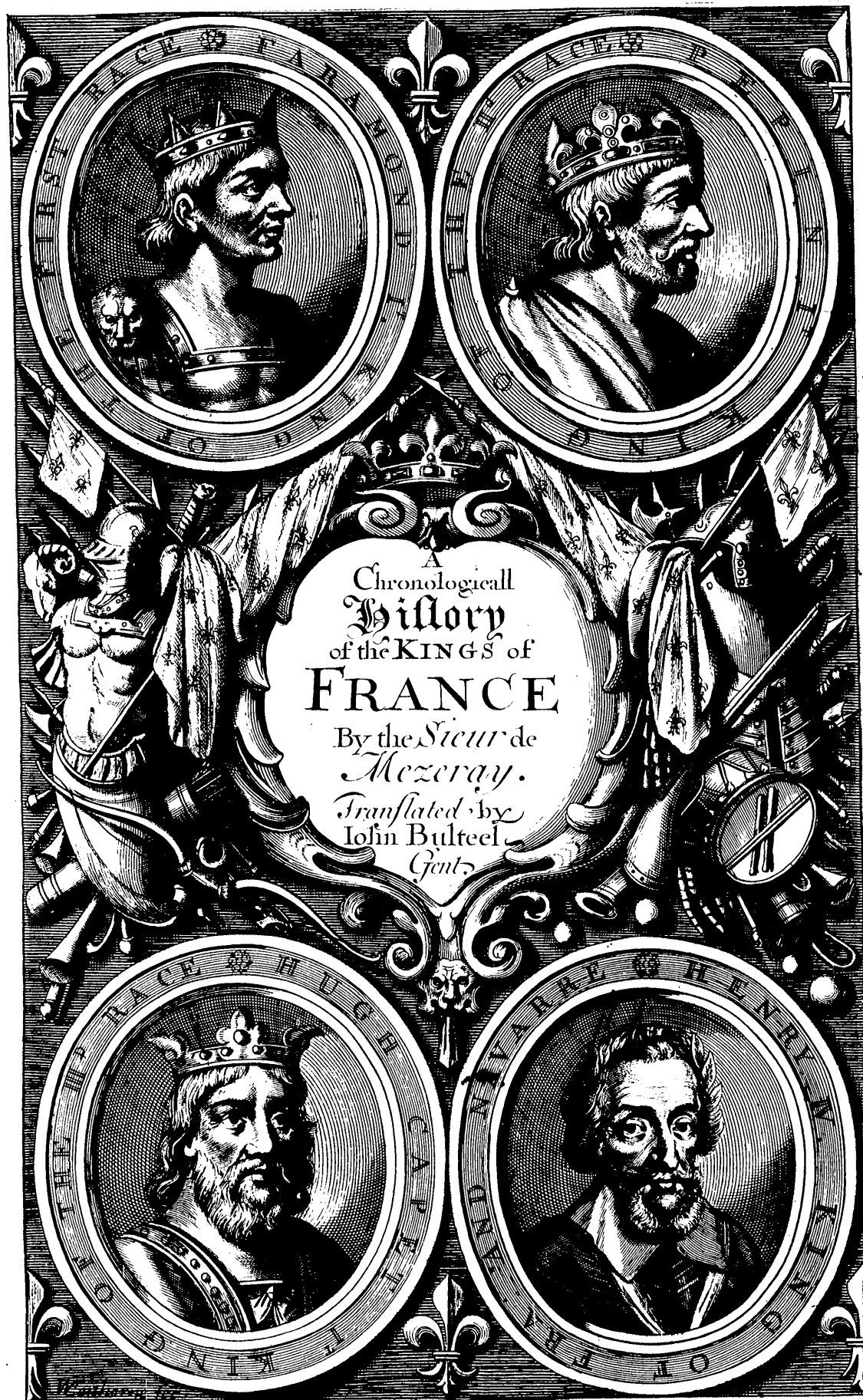


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A
General Chronological
HISTORY
OF
FRANCE,

Beginning before the Reign of
King PHARAMOND,

And ending with the Reign of
King HENRY the Fourth :
Containing both the Civil and the Ecclesiastical
Transactions of that Kingdom.

By the *Sieur DE MEZERAY,*
Historiographer of *France.*

Translated by *John Bulteel, Gent.*

L O N D O N,

Printed by T. N. for *Thomas Basset, Samuel Lowndes,*
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TO THE
Most Illustrious Prince
J A M E S
Duke of Yorke, &c.

S I R,



When this Chronicle of *France* thus confidently intrudes under Your *Royal Highnesses* Roof, it arrogates no other Pretence for so bold an Approach, but that they are *Crowned Heads* that make it ; And there it is, that these *Royal Strangers*, the *Kings of France*, may find the *Hospitality* of an *English Court*, and by gaining an Access to a *Goodness* and *Greatness* so equally *Illustrious*, obtain not only Your favourable *Reception*, but also Your *Royal Protection*. The History of their Reigns is a noble Subject, and the Compiler of it, so Judicious an Author, that if the Ingenious are believed, ~~he~~ may be Ranked amongst the most Eminent Historians. Were I Master of such a Pen, I might adventure to mention Your *Royal Highnesses* just Praise, a Theme too lofty for my groveling Quill, though perhaps it were but a needless Task, since the lowd Cannon has Proclaimed Your Valour sufficiently on the Sea, as Your Prudent Administration of the Government

The Epistle Dedicatory.

in *Scotland* hath evidenced Your Excellent Conduct at Land, while Your more familiar Vertues are attested by all that ever had the Honour to Reside within the Verge of the Court, or have been placed in the Sunshine of Your Favour, the smallest Ray whereof would satisfie my greatest Ambition: But having no Title to such a Blessing in the least, I may wish, but cannot hope ever to attain it. Wherefore I shall only beg Your Royal Highnesses Pardon for this Zealous Presumption, and descend to my own Place, contented to be owned at Your Feet,

Your Royal Highnesses

Most humble and most

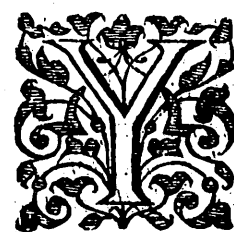
Devoted Servant,

John Bulteel.

TO

TO THE
R E A D E R.

Courteous Reader,



You have in this Volume the History of the Kings of France traced up so high to the very Nonage of Empire, even to the obscurest Annals of Time; like the Head of Nile from the Mountains of the Moon: as far upwards; as even the faintest Light from Record, or almost Fable could lead: and from thence derived down through the whole Succession of their Kings, even to the end of the Reign of Henry IV. in the year 1610. a descent of LXII Crowned Heads.

This History upon Crossing the Narrow Seas, and Travelling into England, assumes the Habit of the Country it Visits; and comes drest a Britain.

But to satisfie the Reader to what Original Hand we owe this Excellent Labour'd Piece, the Author is the famous Mezeray of France, a Person living to this very day: and to manifest all his Qualities and Perfections that might render him to the World both a faithful and an accurate Historian; In the first place, he is a Gentleman of that Birth, and Fortunes, that he Writes not the Lives of Kings for his Bread from Kings, not like too many of those unhappy Chroniclers, whose humble Station under that servile Fate Dependence, makes them too often rather play the Panegyrists then the Historians, whilst Truth from such Discoverers is too often warpt into Soothing and Flattery.

Secondly, Though by Religion a Romanist, yet he values himself upon the honour of an Historian, not an Enthusiast; he consults not the Conclave when he Characters the King; nor Shadens or Brightens the Diadem in favour of the Miter, a fault too common in the World; but with that Indifference, yet Boldness withall, that's requisite to render the Truth naked; he Writes like a Gentleman, not a Bigot.

And thirdly, Not to offend in another as gross, or grosser fault then all these, an Error amongst too many Chronologers, viz. the Flattery of his Native Country; he Paints not beyond the Life,
but

The Epistle to the Reader.

but makes Uprightness and Impartiality the Standards he moves by, and Writes the Annals of France, for the Reading of Christendom.

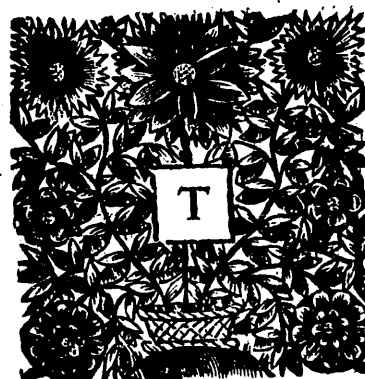
And for his Personal Knowledge, Learning, and Parts, he has the Universal Fame of all Men to be highly the best of all his Countrymen, that ever wrote on this Subject. With these Advantages and Accomplishments in so Renowned an Author, this Piece appears in England. For 'tis for these only Charms that the Translator of this Book could not see so much Excellence confined to its own Native Country and the bounds of Home, and forbear stepping out for its Interpreter, to make it visit the World abroad.

What Esteem it may find, time only will produce, but that it may want nothing to render it acceptable, the Translator has labour'd to do Justice to so deserving an Original, and has render'd it so English, as may obtain an Entertainment abroad answerable to its Reception at home. The success of which lies wholly in the Approbation of all ingenious Readers, in whose good Hands, I leave it to its own good Fortune.

Farewell.

A

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE General History OF FRANCE.



THE Romans gave the Name of Gaul to that Extent of Lands, which lies between the Alps and the Pyreneans, the Mediterranean, the Ocean, and the Rhine: at present, excepting the Low-Countries, and some others, which for the most part, hold of the German Empire, It is named France, from the name of the French, who subdued it under their Power. Julius Caesar had compleated the Conquest of it about 48 years before the Birth of JESUS CHRIST; So that when the French had perfectly settled themselves, it had been almost Five Ages under the Laws of that Empire.

Now without reckoning those Countreys the Gauls had Conquered between the Alps, from those Mountains, to the little River of Rubicon * and which was named Gallia Cisalpina, in respect of the Romans: It was divided first by Augustus, into Four Parts, Gallia Narbonnensis, which they named Province, because they had subdued it first, and reduced it into a Province; Gallia Aquitania, Gallia Celtica, and Gallia Belgica: To these three last they gave the name of Gallia Comata; and when they said absolutely Gaul, they understood the Celtica. Then by succession of Time, and under divers Emperors, it was again divided into Seventeen Provinces, that is Five Viennensis, of which number was the Narbonnensis Prima & Secunda; Three Aquitani; Five Lugdunensis, if we comprehend the Sequani; Four Belgica, whereof Two were called Germanica, because some German People had inhabited there for a long time; and Two Belgica, properly so called.

Each of these Provinces had its Metropolis, viz. the Five Viennensis, Vienne, Narbone, Aix, Tarentaise, and Embrun; the Three Aquitains, Bourges, Bourdeaux, and Saussé; the Five Lyonnoises, Lyons, Rouen, Tours, Sens, and Besançon; the Two Germanicks, Ments and Colen; the Two Belgick, Treves and Rheims.

Under these Seventeen Metropolitans, there were above an hundred Cities and Towns that were the Chief of the rest, in which the Church did afterward place their Episcopal Sees: Under these Cities, there were yet a greater number of other

* Pisarello.

Years of our Lord.

B

other Towns, which they called *Oppida*; they reckoned Twelve hundred, which were Walled in when the *Romans* conquered *Gaul*; but they broke down the Enclosures of most of them, or let them run to ruine.)

As for the Government of these Seventeen Provinces, six of them were Consular, and Eleven were under Presidents, sent by the Emperor. *Constantine* the Great placed Counts in the Cities, and Dukes in some of the Frontier Towns; their Laws were according to the *Roman* Rights, only withal, as I believe, some Municipal Customs they had preserved. They were little vexed with the Soldiers, because the Legions, even to a great part of the Fourth Age, lived in good order, and besides, there were hardly any but in the Frontier Provinces: But the Countrey being Good and Rich, and the People extremely submissive, they were laden with all sorts of Exactions; so that their plenty begot their misery, and their Obedience aggravated their Oppression.

An. 330. When *Constantine* the Great divided the Office of *Præfatus Prætorio* into Four, *Gaul* had one, who had Three Vicars under him, one in *Gaul* it self, one in *Spain*, and one in *Great Britain*: the First that held this Office, was the Father of *Saint Ambrose*, bearing the same Name as his Son; This *Præfatus* ordinarily resided in the City of *Treves*; which for that reason was the Capital of *Gaul*, till having been four times Sacked by the *Barbarians*; the Emperor *Honorius* would needs transfer this Prerogative to the City of *Arles*, which was afterwards dismembered, and cut off from *Vienne*, and became the Eighteenth Metropolis.

From *Augustus* to *Galienus*, the Peace of these Provinces was not disturbed, but only by two Revolts; that of *Sacronir* and *Florus*, in the 23 year of *JESUS CHRIST*, and that of *Civilis Tutor*, and *Classicus*, much more dangerous in An. 70. After the death of the Emperor *Decius*, the *Barbarians* began to torment them by frequent IncurSIONS. The first hundred years there were none but the *French* and the *Almans* that made any on this side the *Rhine*; but afterwards the mischief increased by the Devastations, and horrible irruptions of the *Vandals*, the *Alains*, *Burgundians*, *Sueves*, *Visigoths* and *Huns*, which never ended, but by the ruine of the *Western Empire*.)

As to the Original of the *French*, the common opinion is, that they are naturally *Germans*, and that *France* is a Name, which in their Language, signifies *Free*, or as others say, *Wild*, and *Untameable*. Indeed the Authors of the Third and Fourth Age, by the Name of *Germans*, do almost ever understand or mean, the *French*. For the time wherein they first began to appear, it was exactly two years after the great Defeat of the Emperor *Decius*, in *Mesia*, which hapned in the year 254. by the *Goths*, and other People of *Scythia*; the *Goths* had not begun to make themselves known, till about Twelve years before, when they came out of their own Countrey, (which was the *Scythia Europea*, between *Pontus Euxinus* and the *Tanais*) to ravage the Provinces of the Empire: they were divided into *Ostrogoths* and *Visigoths*, which is to say, according to some, *Eastern-Goths*, and *Western-Goths*.

After that Defeat, all the Enclosures of the *Roman* Empire being broken down, and laid open on that side, a Torrent of all sorts of *Barbarians* rouled in upon them, of whom till then no mention had been made; For this reason therefore amongst others, and likewise because the *French* had much of the Manners and Customs of the *Scythians*, (as to use Bows and Arrows, exercising themselves in Hawking, and having many Dukes or Cans) one may conjecture that they are originally *Scythians*. But it is not possible, and it were to no purpose to tell certainly of what part, because the *Scythians* were all Vagabonds, and would now be in one place, and in a very short time after, would be removed two or three hundred Leagues from their former Habitation.

The first time therefore that mention is made of them is in An. 256. under the Empire of *Galus* and *Volusian*; when they passed the *Rhine* near *Meniz*, and that *Aurelian*, who was then but Tribune of a Legion, slew 700 of them in a encounter, and took 300 Prisoners, who were sold by Out-cry.)

After this first irruption, nigh 180 years passed before they conquered, or obtained, by request from the *Romans*, some Lands in *Gaul*, viz. in the Countreys of *Colen*, *Tongres*, * and some neighbouring Territory, which hapned about the year 416. There had some Bands of them lodged themselves in a *Toxandria*, in the days of *Julian* the *Apostate*, towards the year 358: but it is not known whether they were suffered to take root there.

During those two Ages, they continued their IncurSIONS with various success, always retiring into *Germany* with their Plunder; they possessed the most part of the Lands

* Countrey of *Liege*. a *Kempen* in *Brabant*.

Lands which lye between the *Mein* and the *Rhine*, the *Wefer* and the *Ocean*, sometimes more, sometimes less, extended according as they were stronger or weaker, and were pressed upon by other Nations, especially by the *Almans*, from towards the *Mein*, and the *Saxons* from the Sea-side.

These last coming from the Countrey, named at this present, *Holstein*, seized upon *Frisia*, and the Maritime Countreys on this side the *Elbe*: then as the *French* inhabited *Gaul* more and more, they in equal proportions got the most part of those Lands, which they had held beyond the *Rhine*.

The *French* Nation was divided into several People, the *Frisi* great and a little, *Salii*, *Bructeri*, *Angriuari*, *Chamavi*, *Sicambri*, and *Catti*; they had besides, as I believe, many more of their Alliance, and several also under their Dominion.

Oftentimes the *Romans* went to attaque them in their Woods, and in their Fens, and thought two or three times to have destroyed them, particularly *Constantine* the Great, but they always sprung up again.

They had several Chiefs, or Commanders, Kings, Princes, Dukes, or Generals, who had no absolute Authority, but in time of War.)

Sometimes they became stipendaries to the *Romans*, sometimes their Subjects, but as soon as times changed, and they found any opportunity to plunder, they held themselves no longer obliged by former Treaties. It is for this reason the Authors of those times accused them of Levity, of Leasing, and Treachery. But on the other hand it is confessed, that they were the most warlike of all the *Barbarians*, of great Humanity, Hospitality, and a People that had a great deal of Wit and Sense. Very often they had some that served the Empire, and others at the same time that made War against them. We find many of them in all those times that were raised to the Dignities of Consul, Patrician, Master of the Militia, Great Treasurer, and the like; inasmuch as they Governed in the Courts of many Emperours, as of the two *Theodosius*'s, in that of *Honorius*, and in *Valentinian*'s the III.

The last day of the year 406. the *Alains*, and the *Vandals*, bringing along with them the *Burgundians*, the *Sueves*, and divers other barbarous People, passed the *Rhine*, and made an irruption in *Gaul*, the most terrible that had been ever known.

Some conjecture it was at this time that they Massacred *St. Ursula*, and her Glorious Train, which have been called the Eleven thousand Virgins, though in the Tombs, said to belong to those Martyrs, were found the Bones of Men and Children; there are three or four different opinions on this Matter, but neither of them without such difficulties attending, as are not to be solved.

Those *Barbarians* having ravaged all *Germania Prima*, and *Belgica Secunda*, fell upon *Aquitain*. In the year 409. some numbers of the *Vandals* and *Sueves* marched from thence into *Spain*; Two years after the rest being affrighted upon the coming of *Ataulphus*, King of the *Visigoths* out of *Italy*, took the same course, and follow'd them. However, there were some *Alains* still remaining in *Dauphine*, and about the River *Loire*, who had Kings amongst them for above Threescore years; but in the end, they submitted to the Dominion of the *Visigoths*, and the *Burgundians*.

The *Vandals* and the *Sueves* possessed *Galicia*; the *Silingi* and *Betica*; and the *Alani*, part of *Lusitania*, of *Provence*, and *Carthagenia*: Sixteen years afterwards, the *Vandals* passed over into *Africa*; but in the mean while, *Vallia*, King of the *Visigoths*, who fought for the *Romans*, utterly rooted out the *Silingi*, and weakened the *Alani* so much, that being unable to subsist alone, they put themselves under *Gunderic*, King of the *Vandals*. The *Suevi* maintained themselves almost two Ages in *Spain*. In fine, their Kingdom was likewise extinguished by *Leuvigildus*, King of the *Visigoths*, in the year 588.

All these *Barbarians* were divided in several Parties, or Bands, and had each their Chief, running about and scouring the Countreys without intermission; so that at the same instant there were several of the same People in Places far distant from one another, and of contrary Interests.

An. 408. *Stilicon*, who was accused for bringing them in, is Massacred, by order of *Honorius*. *Alaric*, King of the *Visigoths* his good friend, to revenge his Death, besieged the City of *Rome* three times, and the last time he takes it by Treachery, the 20th day of August, in the year 410. About the end of the same year he dyes in *Calabria*, near *Cosentia*, while he was making himself ready to go into *Africa*. *Ataulphus* his Cousin succeeded him; and Married *Placidia*, Sister to the Emperor *Honorius*, whom he had taken in *Rome*.

An. 412. *Ataulphus* goes into *Gallia Narbonensis*, and takes *Narbonna*; he remained there but Three years. The Count and Patrician *Constantius*, who was since

B 2

Emperour,

a. East *Frisia*,
d. North *Holland*.
b. *Zealand*.
c. *Bishoprick* of *Munster*.
d. *Bish.* of *Os-nabrug*.
e. *Dutchy* of *Westphalia*.
f. *Helse*.

406, &c.
Emp. *Arcadius* and *Honorius* in their 5th year, 406.

407.
Emp. *Honorius*, and *Theodosius II.* Son of *Arcadius*, in 408, in May.

408.

409.

412.

415. Emperour, and Married his Widdow Placidia, compelled him to go into Spain, where he was kill'd by his own People in Barcelonna, about the Month of September, Ann. 415. They elected Sigeric in his stead, and served him after the same manner within Seven days. Vallia his Successor was recalled into Gaul by Constantius, who gave him Aquitania Secunda, with some Cities of the neighbouring Provinces, amongst others Thoulouse, where he fixed his Royal Seat, Ann. 419. But he dyed in a few Months afterwards, and Theodorick succeeded him. Under this King and under Evaric or Euric, the Visigoths made themselves Masters of all the Three Aquitani, and the Two Narbonnensis.
- 419.

Church.

From the
year 300 to
the year 400.

Hitherto very few of the French had received the Light of the Gospel, they yet Adored Trees, Fountains, Serpents, and Birds; but the Gauls were most of them Christians; unless it were such as dwelt in places less accessible, as the Mountainous, Woody, and Boggy Countreys; or in the Germanick or Belgick Territories, which were perpetually infested by the incursions of the Barbarians. The Faith had been Preached to them by some Disciples of the Apostles, and even from the Second Age, or Century, divers Churches established amongst the Gauls, at least in the Narbonnensis, and Lugdunensis Prima. Under the Emperour Decius, about the year 250. there were divers Holy Preachers sent from Rome, who planted other Churches in several parts; as Saturninus at Thoulouse, Garian at Tours, Denis at Paris, Austremonius at Clermont, and Martial at Limoges. The persecutions of the Heathen Emperours had sorely shaken them: Constantine re-assured them, afterwards the incursions of the Barbarians again destroys them, especially those in Germania, and Belgica, and the Arian Heresie much troubled those in Aquitania: Clovis restores them, and endowed them plentifully.

In the fourth Age, the Gallican Church produced a great number of Holy Bishops; above all, Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, an invincible Defender of the Holy Trinity; Maximin and Paulin de Treves, who maintained the same Cause, and at the same time with him, the Great St. Martin of Tours, parallel to the Apostles. Liboire du Mans, Severinus of Colen, Vistricius of Rouen, all four contemporaries, Servais de Tongres, elder by some years, and Exuperius de Thoulouse, who lived yet in 405.

About the middle of the same Age, many of those that had Devoted themselves to God, came from towards Italy, to inhabit in the Islands of Provence, and the Viennensis Mountains; as likewise a while afterwards, great numbers flocked out from Ireland, and took up their stations in the Forrests of the Lyannoises and the Belgicks. Their example, and a Zeal to that Holy Profession, drew many People, either to come into their Monasteries, or dwell in Solitude; but still under the Conduct of the Bishops, and the Discipline of the Canons. Of these there were principally four sorts; such as lived in Community, those were called Cenobites; such as having formerly lived so, retired into Solitude, aspiring to a greater perfection, these were the Hermits, or Anchorites; such as associated in small companies, of three or four in a knot, without any Superior, or any certain Rule; and such as wandred all about the Countrey, on pretence of visiting Holy Places, and finding out such Persons as were most advanced in Piety. There were some also that strictly confined themselves to a Cell, either within some City, or in the Desert, they were called Incluses, or Recluses; all lived by the labour of their Hands, and most of them gave what they got to the Poor; though in the greatest strictness, they were not obliged to renounce their Wealth; nor were they excluded from enjoying it, in case they returned again to the World: but such a return was indeed, looked upon as a kind of a desertion.

Councils being extream necessary to preserve the Purity of the Faith, and Ecclesiastical Discipline; there were several held in Gaul, Ann. 314. The Emperour Constantine caused one to be Assembled at Arles, where there were Deputies from all the Western Provinces, to determine the Disputes of the Donatists in Africk. There was one at Colen in 346. which condemned Euphratas the Bishop of that City, who denied the Divinity of Jesus Christ; One at Arles, in 353. One at Beziers in 356. One at Paris Ann. 362. All three for the business of the Arians; The two first were favourable to them against S. Athanasius; the Third condemned them. One at Valence, in the year 374. about Discipline. One at Bourdeaux in 385. to whom Priscillians Cause having been referr'd by the Emperor Gratian, that Heretick perceiving clearly he was going to be condemned, appealed to the Tyrant Maximus, but it was to his great misfortune. One at Treves the year following, where Bishop Itacus was accused for having contrary to the Spirit of the Church, prosecuted Priscillian and his Abettors to the death: his Party, or Cabal, caused his bloody

bloody proceedings to be approved, which notwithstanding, were condemned by the most Conscientious Bishops. One at Turin, Ann. 397. Upon the desires of the Gallican Bishops, to compose the differences about Proculus de Marseille, and that of the Bishop of Arles and Vienne. Proculus pretended to Ordain Bishops in some of the Churches in Provence, which had been dismembred from his, or himself had instituted; they allowed him that Honour for himself only: the Bishops of Arles and Vienne disputed the Right of Metropolitan, it was divided between them by provision. This Cause having been transferred to the Holy Chair, and judged variously, by three or four several Popes, was determined by Symmachus, Ann. 513. who conformably to the Sentence of Leo, adjudged to Vienne, only the Bishopricks of Valence, Tarentaise, Geneva, and Grenoble, and all the rest to Arles.

Our Margent not allowing room enough to set down all the Popes without incumbrance, it was thought necessary to place them in the Page with the Kings, in the same Reigns wherein they sate in the Holy Chair. Though for those of this Fourth Age, it seems more fit to range them here to the time of Pharamond. Silvester I. therefore held the Chair from the 1 of February, Ann. 314. till the last of December, in the year 336. In the time of his Pope-ship, Constantine the Great was Converted to the Faith; and the Holy Nicean Council was Assembled, Ann. 324. Marcus Governed from the 16th of January following, to the 7th of October of the same year. Julius the I. from the 27th of the same Month, to the 13th of April, of the year 352. Liberius, from the 8th of May to the 3 of September, in the year 367. Damasus, from the 15th of that Month, to the 11th of December, Ann. 384. In 381. was the Council of Constantinople. Siricius was Pope from the 12th of January to the 24th of February, Ann. 398. Anastasius, from the 14th of March of the same year, till about the end of April, Ann. 402. Innocent I. from the 14th of May, to the 28th of July, in the year 417. And Zosimus, from the 18th of August, to the 26th of December, Ann. 418.

The

The First Race.

Pharamond, King I.

POPE S,

BONIFACE in December
418. S. almost Five years.

CELESTINE I. The 3 of
Nov. 423. S. 8 years 5 Months,
whereof Five years in this Reign.

412.

DURING the great Revolt of the *Armorice*, or Maritime People, (who were those of the coast of *Flanders*, *Picardy*, *Normandy*, and *Bretagne*) which hapned towards the end of the year 412, The French King being joyned with them, occupied that part of *Germania Secunda*, named *Ripuarie*, and the People *Ripuarie*, or *Ribarols*. The Romans by Treaty, or otherwise, left them the free Possession thereof; and it was a little after this that *Pharamond* began to Reign.

Emperour *Honorius* in his 18th. and *Theodofius* 11. in his 5th.

We find in the Historians of those times, that the French had had several Kings before him, I do not speak of those of the Monk *Hunibaud*, they being as Fabulous as the Author; But we find towards the year 288. *Genebaud* and *Atec*, who came to *Treves* to Demand a Peace of *Maximian*, An. 307. *Ascaric* and *Rhadagaise*, whom *Constantine* took in War, and whom he exposed to wild Beasts, as a punishment, for that having given their Faith to *Constantine* his Father, they had nevertheless taken up Arms again. In the year 374. one *Mellobaudes*, who being Grand Master of the Militia, and Count of the Palace to the Emperour *Gratian*, slew and vanquished *Macrian* King of the *Almans*, and did the Empire many other Services. About the year 378. one *Richemer*, who had the like Office under *Gratian*, as *Mellobaudes*. An. 382. One *Priam*, or *Priarius*, whom some will have to be the Father or Grandfather of *Pharamond*. In the year 397. *Marcomir* and *Sunnon*, Brothers, the first of which, *Stilicon* banished into *Tuscany*, and caused the other to be Mafacred by his own People, when he attempted to stir to Revenge the exile of his Brother. And An. 414, or 415. One *Theodemer*, Son of *Richemer*, who was Beheaded with his Mother *Ascala*, for having attempted against the Empire.

Nevertheless, common Opinion hath ever begun to reckon the Kings of France from *Pharamond*, whether because the preceding ones had never had any fixed abode in Gaul, or because he re-established the Royalty amongst the French. In effect, it seems the Romans had in some manner subjugated this Nation; and after the Treatment they had shewn to *Marcomir*, and *Sunnon*, and *Theodemer*, they would no longer suffer them to have any Kings.

He began to Reign, not in 424. which is the common opinion, but in the year 418. very remarkable for a great Eclipse of the Sun. It may be doubted, whether *Pharamond* be a proper Name, or whether it be only an Epithet, which signifies, that he was as it were, the Father, and the Stock of the French Nation: For *Pharamond* in the German Language, imports *Mouth of Generations*.

For the manner of the inauguration of the French Kings, the Lords, or Chief Heads having Elected them, or at least approving them, set them up on a great Shield or Target, and caused them to be carried into the Field, where the People were Assembled in Arms, who confirmed this choice with acclamations and applause. The same Ceremony was practised for Emperours and Gothic Kings.

1418.
Emp. *Theodofius* 11. and *Valentinian* 3. Son of *Constantinus* and *Placidia*, Sister to *Honorius*, 423. in August. Reigned 29 years, 6 Months.

History before Pharamond.

7

The Scottish Historians begin the Kingdom of Scotland, An. 422. with King *Fergus*, from whom they derive the Succession of their Kings; though withal they will have us believe, that he only restored it, and that it was first begun or formed 330 years before the Nativity of JESUS CHRIST; from which time it lasted till the days of the Tyrant *Maximus*, who ruined it about the year 378.

The Vandals, who had passed out of Gaul into Spain, were from thence called into Africk by Count *Boniface*, Revolted against the Empress *Placidia*: They went over, to the number of 80000, only under the Conduct of their King *Genferic*, and within seven or eight years, drove the Romans totally from thence, and settled their own Kingdom there.

The Romans drive the French beyond the Rhine, and take away the Lands they had bestowed on them in Gaul, or at least a good part of it. It is not certain whether this hapned in the last year of the Reign of *Pharamond*, or the First of that of *Clodion*.

In this year they date the death of *Pharamond*, who by that account had Reigned Ten years. They know not his Acts, the place of his Burial, the Name of his Wife, nor of his Children, excepting *Clodion*, who succeeded him.

An antient Chronicle gives him the Glory of settling the *Salique* Law by Four antient Lords, and says they laboured in it for three Males or Affizes. It is called *Salique*, from the Name of the *Salieus*, the Noblest of the French People.

Clodion

Clodion the Hairy, O R Long Locks, King II.

P O P E S,

CELESTINE I. *Three* | SIXTUS III. *The 26th of*
years. | *April, 432. S. Eight years.*

428.

HE was Surnamed the *Hairy*, or *Long Locks*, because in my opinion, he first brought in a custom, that Kings, and those of their Blood should wear Long Hair, well Combed and Curled, not only on the top of their Heads, as all the Princes of this Nation had done before him, but likewise on the hinder part. The rest of the *French* had all their Hair cut round, a little beneath their Ears.

431.

It is not known whether there were yet left them any Land in *Gaul*. It is certain that *Clodion* in the beginning of his Reign, Inhabited beyond the *Rhine*, and that he marched over it in the year 431. to make an irruption, but he was beaten, and driven back by *Aetius*.

He contained himself some years without undertaking any thing, making his Residence at the Castle of *Disparg*, on the other side of the *Rhine*: but being informed by his Spies, that there were no Garrisons in the Towns of *Belgica Secunda*, he went thither in great diligence with his People, and keeping his March private by the Forest *Charbonniere*, which is *Haynault*, made himself Master of *Bavay* and *Cambray*, and some other adjacent places.

The English Saxons subdued Great Britain: They had been called in by the natural Inhabitants, who being forsaken by the Romans, had set up Kings of their own Nation; and those Kings did not find themselves strong enough to oppose the Picts and the Scots, which were People inhabiting the Mountainous Countreys, now called Scotland. The English gave the name of England to their Conquest, and set up seven Principalities, or little Kingdoms, which in the end were United into one.

The Britains, or Inhabitants of Great Britain, being tormented with these Barbarians, got together in great numbers, and passed into *Gallia Armorica*: It was then the Romans, who suffered them to settle in the Countrey of *Vennes*, and *Cornualles*, and having in process of time, extended themselves to the Bishoprick of *Treguier* and *Leon*, and even to the *Loire*, and the Confines of *Anjou*; they gave the Name of *Bretagne* to that Province, which it retains to this day.

133.

The Burgundians a People of Germany, or *Scythia*, (for there were of them both in the one and the other) after they had remained a long time on the borders of the *Rhine* in *Germania Prima*, obtained the Countrey adjoining to *Geneva*, of the Romans: and there multiplied so much in a short time, that they seized on the Province of *Vienne*, on that of the *Sequani*, and of the First *Lyonnoise*. They had received the Christian Faith in Ann. 430. by the Preaching of *St. Sever*, Bishop of *Treves*, but some years after they fell into the Arian Heresie.

There were then Five several Dominations in *Gaul*, the Romans, the French, the Visigoths the Burgundians, and the Bretons.

Clodion

Clodion pursuing his Conquests, during the extream confusion of the affairs of the Empire, received a great check by the valour of *Aetius*, in the Countrey of *Artois*, near to *Vicus Helena*, perhaps it is *Lens*. Nevertheless *Aetius* having too much to do elsewhere, did not wholly destroy him; so that recovering Breath, he made himself Master of *Artois*, and enlarged his Dominion as far as the *Soame*, having taken the City of *Amiens*, which was his Royal Seat, and of *Meroveus* also.

Towards 444.

He likewise sent, saith a Modern Author, his eldest Son to besiege the City of *Soissons*, where that Prince having lost his Life, the Father was so touched that he died for Grief, after he had Reigned Twenty years. It was about the end of the year 447. having before constituted *Meroveus* Tutor to his Sons.

447.

It is certain he left two; and I find they were named *Clodeband*, and *Clodomir*. Some of the Moderns give him Three, whom they call *Renaud*, *Auberou*, and *Ragnacaire*; and from *Auberou* they make *Ansbert* the Senator to be descended, and from Male to Male, *Pepin* First King of the Second Race. But for *Ansbert*; others have proved, that he was issued of the Family of *Tonnance Ferreole*, Prefect of the *Gauls*. Pretorian.

C

Meroveus

Meroveus, or Merovee, King III.

From whom the Kings of the First
Race, have taken the Name of
Merovignians.

P O P E,

LEO I. The 10th of May, 440.
S. 21 years, 3. in the following Reign.

448.

ACCORDING to most Authors, who were nearest to these times, he was not Son to *Clodion*, but only of his Kindred. It is said, that his Mother bathing her self on the Sea-side, a Sea-Bull came out of the Water, and made her Pregnant with this Prince. This Fable seems to be grounded upon the Name, because *Mer-veich* signifies a Sea-Calf.

Now whether he were only Tutor to *Clodion's* Children, or otherwise, the French Elected him for their King or General Commander. This was in the City of *Ambiens*.

The Children of *Clodion* having been deprived of the paternal Succession, their Mother carried them beyond the *Rhine*: where it seems they disputed amongst themselves, about that part of their Succession; but in time that came likewise to *Meroveus*, we know not how.

After *Attila*, King of the *Huns*, who caused himself to be named the Scourge of *G O D*, had pillaged all the Provinces of the Empire in the East, and had killed his Brother *Bleda*, to invade his Kingdom: he would likewise needs plunder those of the West; He crossed the *Pannonias* and *Germany*, entred into *Gaul* with 500000 Combatants, under pretence of going to attack the *Visigoths*, in *Aquitain*; and after he had sacked and burnt *Metz*, *Triers*, *Tongres*, *Arras*, and all those Cities that lay in his March, he passed along by *Paris*, and came and besieged *Orleans*: The Town had already capitulated, and part of his Forces were entred, when *Actius* General of the *Romans*, *Meroveus* King of the *French*, and *Theodoric* King of the *Visigoths*, having joyned their Armies together, charged them unawares, and drove them thence, paving all the Streets with their slain.

448.

A little while afterwards they gave him Battle, in *Campis Catalaunicis*, which is interpreted the Plain of *Chaulons* in *Champagne*; but some imagine with probability, that it was in *Campis Secalaunicis*, in *Soulogne* near *Orleans*. *Attila* lost nigh 200000 Men. *Theodoric* King of the *Visigoths* was killed in the Fight, and the next day his Son *Theodismond* elected King by the *Visigoths*.

Notwithstanding this infinite loss, *Attila* had still Men enough left to Retreat to his own Countrey, *Actius* having discharged the *Visigoths* and the *French*, lest he should be obliged to pursue and make an end of them. The youngest of *Clodion's* Sons had cast himself into the Arms of that Prince who adopted him for his Son, and the other under the protection of *Attila*: what their Fortune was we know

know not; but for *Attila*, upon his return from another irruption he made into *Italy* about the year 452. he died in his own Countrey while he was in Bed with a new Spouse.

This year 452. is commonly reckoned to be the time of the wonderful birth, or beginning of the City of *Venice*, in the *Adriatick Gulph*. It is held that the terror of *Attila's* Forces, after he had taken *Aquila*, making all the people of those Countreys flee from thence, some numbers of them got into the *Island Rialto*, and other *Islands* adjacent, who fixed their Habitation there, which was the first foundation of that noble State.

The Emperor *Valentinian* caused *Actius* to be Massacred, who alone upheld the Empire, shaken and assaulted on all hands. The following year he is slain himself, by the friends of that great Captain, and upon the solicitation of *Petronius Maximus*, whose Wife he had violated. *Maximus* seizes on the Empire, and *Eudoxia* his Widdow, whom he Married. The pleasure of his Revenge, and his Reign, lasted but three Months: The People stoned him to death, as soon as *Genferic*, King of the *Vandals*, whom *Eudoxa* had called over from *Africa* to revenge her, was come to the Gates of *Rome*. But that Barbarian sacked the City, and took the Empress, who was carried into Captivity with her two Daughters, being at the same time both revenged and punished.

From thence followed the utter destruction of the Western Empire, there being no one Head left powerful enough to repair, or indeed prop the ruins of that vast Building: but only divers petit Commanders, who were but the sport of the Barbarians, and who consumed the small Forces they had, by pushing at one another.

So that *Meroveus*, and afterwards *Childeric* his Son, had the proper time to extend their limits. *Meroveus* took on the one hand all the *Germania Prima*, or territory of *Mentz*; and on the other the *Belgica Secunda*, which is named *Picardy*, a good part of the Second *Lyonnoise*, named *Normandy*, and almost all the Isle of *France*.

He Reigned almost 11 years, and dyed Anno 458. we know nothing either of his Age, nor of his Wife, nor his Children, but only that *Childeric* his Successor was his Son.

452.

454.

455.

Emp.
Marcian and
Maximus,
Murderer of
Valentinian,
455. in March;
Then Major-
ian R. six
years and
half.

Emp.
Stiff *Majorian*
and *Leon I.*
R. 17 years
and half.

458.

C 2

Childeric

Emp.
Valentinian III
and *Marcian*,
who Marries
Pulcheria,
Sister to *The-*
odosius, in
August 450.
R. Six years,
six Months.

Childeric, King IV.

Aged XX to XXV years.

POPE S,

LEON I. Three years,

HILARY the 12th Nov. 461.

S. Five years Ten Months.

SIMPLICUS the 20th Sept.

561. S. Twenty Five years,

Five Months.

458. **T**His Prince, being yet Young, much addicted to his Pleasures, and having a Kingdom too peaceable, gave himself the liberty to debauch his Subjects Wives and Daughters.

459. Or
460. The French who were not accustomed to such infamous dealings, degraded him from his Throne, either by Sedition only, or by some kind of judicial proceedings, and in his stead, Elected *Aegidius* or *Gillon*, Master of the Roman Militia, who was a stranger, but in high reputation for Wisdom and Probity. *Childeric* knowing after this, that they sought his Life also, retired himself into *Turingia* to King *Basin*, but left a faithful friend in France, named *Guyemans*, who promised to work his Restauration, by turning the Hearts of the French against *Gillon*.

460. *Guyemans* being very subtil, gained much upon the Good Will and Confidence of *Gillon*, and encouraged him to charge them with Taxes or Imposts; and when they made a great noise about it, he counsel'd him to strike off the most stirring Heads, who were the same that had degraded *Childeric*: then do they come secretly to make complaints to *Guyemans*, who persuades them to recall their natural King: and when he observes them disposed so to do, gives him notice of it, and for a token sends him the half of a Gold Crown broken in two, of which the King kept the other half. The French go as far as *Bar* to meet him, and re-establish him in his Royalty with formal Solemnity.

468. After his return, he made use of the heat of his Subjects against *Gillon*, he pushed at him vigorously, forced him to abandon *Coleu*, took *Treves* by Assault, and burnt it, Conquer'd the Countrey now called *Lorraine*; and afterwards crossing *Champagne*, which then remained firm to the Romans, he made himself Master of *Beauvais*, *Paris*, and of many other Towns upon the *Oise* and the *Seine*; the People giving themselves up to the French, rather out of choice than by compulsion, to free themselves from the horrible *Tailles*, and cruel Concussions of the Roman Magistrates, who had put them into so great dispair, that they sought their own relief in the ruine of the State.

A little after, *Childeric* came from *Turingia*, Queen *Basina* charmed with his Virtues, forsook her Husband to come to him; he took her to Wife, and within the year had a Son by her, who was named *Clovis*.

Gillon, as it should seem, had called in some Auxiliaries of the Saxons, Commanded by their King *Odoacer*, which he employed to defend the Cities above the *Loire*, as well against the *Visigoths* as the French. When he was dead, viz. in the year 464. the Count *Pol* took the Command, and *Odoacer* on his side, would secure the City of *Angiers*, and fortified the Islands in the *Loire* to preserve his booty: but *Childeric* vanquished the Count *Pol* near *Orleans*, and after he had possess'd himself of that City, pursued him to *Angiers*, where he forced his way in, and laid him dead on the Pavement. This done, he dislodged the Saxons from their Islands; and after an agreement with them, he set them at work to drive away the Germans, who at that same time had made an irruption into *Gaul*.

Anno

Anno 476. Of the Christian Era, and the 1229. from the foundation of Rome, the Roman Empire ended in the West, there having been in the last Twenty years Nine or Ten Abortives of Emperours, of which *Romulus*, whom they called *Augustulus*, was the last. He was a young Child of about Ten or Twelve years old, to whom the Patrician *Orestes* his Father, had given the Title of Emperour to Govern in his Name: *Odoacer*, King of the *Heruli* having slain *Orestes*, locked up this Child in a Castle, and gave beginning to the First Kingdom in Italy.

Divers years before *Gondiochus*, King of the *Burgundians* was dead, and his Four Sons *Gondebaud*, *Godegefile*, *Chilperic*, and *Gondemar*, had shared his Kingdom amongst them. Now Anno 477. *Gondebaud* the eldest, and the most knowing of all, had Leagued himself with the Second, to dispossess the two others; at first he was defeated; and kept himself hid for a time: then when they thought him dead, he comes forth on a suddain and surrounds them in *Vienne*: *Gondemar* was burned in a Tower, where he was defending himself: *Chilperic* fell into the Victors hands, who caused him to be Mangled with his two Sons, and his Wife thrown into the River with a Stone tied to her Neck, but spared the Lives of his two Daughters. They were called *Sedeucube*, and *Clotilda*, both of them were of the Orthodox Faith, though their Father and Uncle were *Arrians*. The First consecrated her self to God, the other *Gondebaud* kept, and had her bred up in his own House.

King *Childeric*, upon his return from an Expedition against the *Almains*, is assaulted by a Fever, and dyes, aged at least 45 years, of which he had Reigned 22 or 23. He left Four Children, one Son whom they named *Clouis*; and three Daughters, *Andefleda*, who espoused *Theodorick*, King of the *Orstogoths*, *Albofleda* and *Lantilda*. These two received Baptism with their Brother *Albofleda*, being Converted from *Paganism*, and *Lantilda* from the *Arrian* Heresie; These were not Married.

It is conjectured, that he held his Royal Seat at *Tournay*, because in our times, in the year 1654. digging under some Houses, there was a Tomb discovered, and amongst other singular Curiosities was found a Ring, whereon his Effigies and his Name are Engraved.

Clovis

Clovis, or Louis, so to be understood in rough the whole History.

Clovis, King V.

Aged Fifteen years.

POPE S,

FELIX III. *The 8th of March, S. Twelve years.*

GELASIUS I. *in March 492. S. Four years nine Months.*

ANASTASIUS II. *the 28th. Novemb. 496. S. Two years.*
SYMMACHUS *the 20th. Novemb. 496. S. Fifteen years, Eight Months, whereof Three years in the following Reign.*

* *Clodovic, Ludwin, or Louis, all the same Name.*

Clovis, or Louis, (for 'tis the same Name) handsome, well shap'd, and personally brave, was not so soon at age to Command, but he undertakes a War against *Siagrius*, Son of that *Gillon*, who had been set up in the place of his Father *Childeric*; he Fights him, and Defeats him near to *Soissons*; the unfortunate Man flies to *Aleric*, King of the *Visigoths* for refuge: but *Clovis* by Threats, forces him to send him back; and when he hath him in his hands, he puts him to death, having first secured all his Towns to himself, which were *Soissons*, *Rheims*, *Provence*, *Sens*, *Troye*, *Auxerre*, and some others; and thus there remained nothing in the hands of the *Romans* amongst the *Gauls*.

It was a Law amongst the *French*, that all the Plunder should be brought in common, and shared amongst the Soldiers; there had been taken a precious Vase or Vessel in a Church by his People, he desired as a favour, they would set it apart to restore it to the Bishop, who had besought him for it; an insolent Soldier opposed it, and gave it a blow with an Ax, saying he would have his share: *Clovis* took no notice of it for the present, but a year afterwards, upon a general Review, he quarrell'd with him, because he did not keep his Arms in good Order, and cleft his Head with his Battle-Axe: a bold Undertaking, and which made him to be the more dreaded by the *French*.

From the year 489, *Theodoric*, King of the *Ostrogoths* was entred into Italy; after various events, having overcome, and put to death *Odoacer* King of the *Heruli*, he settled a potent Monarchy there, Anno 494.

Clovis subdues a part of the *Thuringians*, and imposes a Tribute upon them.

His Victories and his Conquests increase his Renown, and his Dominion, and lift him above other Princes; his Power must have been great, since *Gondebaud* King of the *Burgundians* was either his Vassal, or his Officer, perhaps Grand Master of his Militia.

Towards the end of the year 491, he Married *Clotilda*, Daughter of King *Childeric*, and Neece to that *Gondebaud*, who consented not to that Match but out of fear; *Aurelian* a *French* Lord was the Mediator, and had the County of *Melun* for a recompence.

The *Almains* one of the most puissant people of *Germany*, who then inhabited *Swabia*, part of *Retia* on this side the *Rhine*, *Switzerland*, and perhaps the Countrey of *Alsatia*, to *Strasbourg*, were entred in hostile manner upon the Lands of *Sigebert*, King of *Colen*, or of the *Ribarols*: *Clovis* his Kinsman went to his assistance, and gave them Battle near *Tolbiae*; it is guessed to be *Zulg*, within Ten Leagues of *Colen*. In the midst of the Engagement, his Men gave ground, and ran into disorder: the greatness of the danger made him then think of Praying to the God of his Wife, and to make a Vow, that if he delivered him from that peril, he would be Baptized. Immediately the Scene of the day changed, his Men returned to

Emp. *Anastasis* raised to the Empire by *Ariane*, the Murderer of *Zeno* her Husband.

496.

to the Charge, the Enemies were put to flight, and left their King, and a multitude of their Army slain upon the place.

He hotly pursued his Victory, entred upon their Countrey, and without Mercy exterminated all that were on this side of the *Rhine*; the others saved themselves in *Italy*, under the protection of *Theodoric* King of the *Ostrogoths*. It is to be believed, that at the intreaty of this great Prince, who was his Brother-in-law, he suffered such as desired it, to return to their own Dwellings; but he perfectly subdued them, gave them some Counts, and a Duke to Govern them, and shared their Lands amongst his Captains. After this check they had no more Kings, and were but inconsiderable, till the time of the Emperour *Frederick* the II. under whom, in my opinion, they gave the Name to all *Germany*.

As he returned from this Expedition, his Wife took care to send some Holy Men to him, to exhort him to keep his Word, and to instruct him in the Orthodox Faith. *St. Vaast*, who was as then but a Priest, and dwelt at *Verdun*, Catechized him by the way. *St. Remy*, Arch-Bishop of *Rheims*, powerful in Works and Eloquence; confirmed him mightily in the belief of Christianity.

Having therefore brought the most part of his Captains to have a good opinion of this Conversion, he received Holy Baptism, with great Ceremony in the Church of *Rheims*, on *Christmas* day, Anno 496. The Bishops plunged him in the Consecrated Lavatory: Three thousand of his *French* Subjects followed his example; and this regenerated Flock with their Leader, wore the White Robe eight days together, according to the Ceremony then practised in the Church.

It is said, that Heaven in favour of his Conversion, Honoured him and the Kings of *France*, his Successors, with many miraculous and singular Favours; That the Saint *Ampoule*, i. e. Holy Oyl, was conveyed at his Baptism by a Celestial Dove; That the Shield Semé with *Flower-de-Luces*, and the Standard Royal de l'*Oriflamme*, were by an Angel, deposited in the hands of a good Hermit, living in the solitudes of *Joyenval*, near *St. Germans en Laye*; That he had the Gift of Healing the Evil, and made proof of it upon *Lanices* his Favourite. But God made him a more extraordinary and more excellent Present than all those, when he bestowed upon him the Heavenly Knowledge of the Orthodox Faith, there being amongst all the Princes upon Earth, none but himself that did not live either in Error or Idolatry.

This Conversion did him no little Service towards keeping the *Gauls*, who were all Christians, in Obedience, and to allure others who were Subjects to the *Gothick* and the *Burgundian* Princes, whose Government was odious to them, because they would compel them to follow the Opinion of *Arrius*.

The zeal of Christianity did not allay his Warlike heats, *Gondefigilus* having promised, if he would assist him in suppressing his Brother *Gondebaud*, to share the spoil with him; he set with his Army upon the *Burgundians* Countrey; *Gondefigilus* pretending he was mightily scared, sent to pray his Brother to come to his assistance; *Gondebaud* failed not, but when it came to the Battle, which was fought on the borders of the River *L'Ouche*, near *Dijon*, *Gondefigilus* went over to the *French*, and began to Assault him: *Gondebaud* finding it was a thing designed betwixt them, fled to *Avignon*, *Clovis* pursues, and besieges him there. The Sage *Aredius*, Principal Counsellor to *Gondebaud*, cunningly contrives to do his Master Service upon this occasion; the Siege spinning out to some length, he pretends to desert him, and renders himself to *Clovis*, with whom he manages Affairs, so wisely, as that King agrees to a Composition, and *Gondebaud* becomes his Tributary.

When *Clovis* was out of that Countrey, and perhaps employ'd in other business, *Gondebaud* scorning to pay him the Tribute, assembles his Forces together, and besieges *Gondefigilus* in *Vienne*. One *Fontenier*, whom they had thrust out amongst the useless People, discovered to him the mouth of an *Aqueduc*, by which way he sent in some Men, who surprized the City; his Brother having sheltered himself in a Church belonging to the *Arrians*, was there slain, together with a Bishop of the same Belief. Thus *Gondebaud* remained sole King of all *Burgundy*.

It is my opinion, during these years that the *French*, as *Procopius* tells us, not having been able to subdue the *Armorice*, betwixt the *Seine* and the *Loire*, did incorporate with them by a mutual Confederacy, which of two made them but one People. The *Roman* Garrisons not being strong enough, either to Retreat or to Defend themselves, restored their Towns to them, but did not quit the Countrey, where they for a long time afterwards retained their Laws, their Discipline, and Habits.

496.

496.

500.

500. and 501.

Towards 504 or 505.

The Citizens of *Verdun* being Revolted, it is not said for what reason, *Clovis* being ready to force them, the Prayers of *Euspace*, Arch-Deacon of that City, a Man of a very Holy Life, allayed his Wrath, and obtained their Pardon.

I cannot tell precisely in what year hapned that which *Procopius* relates, how *Clovis* and *Theodoric*, King of the *Ostrogoths*, having made an agreement together to conquer *Burgundy*, and divide it, upon condition, that if either of the two Armies did not meet at a certain time appointed, they should pay a certain Sum to the other: the *Visigoths* made no great haste, but left the *French* to bear all the brunt; then coming when the hottest work was over, and the Countrey subdued, took their share of the Conquest, paying the Sum as had been stipulated.

Neither the one nor the other held those Countreys long, but restored them entire to *Gondebaud*; who afterwards made a strict Alliance with *Clovis* against the *Visigoths*.

There is great likelihood that it was in these peaceable days that *Clovis* laboured to reform the Salique Law, which having been made by the *French*, when *Pagans* might contain many things, contrary to the manners and Laws of Christianity. This Law was only for the *French* in his own Kingdom, for those of *Colen* had another which we find to this day by the name of the Law of the *Ripnarians*, conformable, notwithstanding in many particulars to the Salique Law.

Two Kings powerful and young, as were *Clovis* and *Alaric*, could not be long Neighbours and good Friends. Divers petty differences set them at variance, by the secret practices of the Bishops of *Aquitain*, who being troubled they should obey *Alaric* an *Arrian* Prince, pushed on *Clovis* to a Rupture. The Two Kings had an Interview, and discoursed each other in the *Island D'Or*, nigh *Amboise*, * between the City of *Tours*, which belonged to the *Visigoths*, and that of *Orleanse*, appertaining to the *French*. This Meeting salved up their quarrel for a time, and *Theodoric*, King of the *Ostrogoths*, Father-in-law to *Alaric*, and Brother-in-law to *Clovis*, undertook to make them agree; but as great a Politician as he was, he could not restrain the Ardour of *Clovis*. This Conquerour knowing the *Visigoths* were softened, or effeminated by a long Peace, and having made sure of *Gondebaud*, by a League contracted betwixt them, resolved to Attaque *Alaric*, under the specious pretence of Religion; the *French* followed him with great cheerfulness, those of *Aquitain* invited him, Heaven conducted him by visible Signs and Miracles: Immediately the City of *Tours* surrenders to him; *Alaric*, who was getting his Forces together at *Poitiers*, lets him pass along to *Vienne*, then imprudently resolves to give him Battle; it was in the Plains of *Vouglay*, Ten miles from *Poitiers*. *Clovis* having exhorted his Soldiers, Armed them with the Sign of the Cross, and for the Word, gave them the Name of the Lord. *Alaric's* Army was defeated, and he slain in the Fight by *Clovis's* his own hand.

The vanquisher divided his Army in two Bodies, with the one his Son *Thierry* makes himself Master of *Albigeois*, of *Rouergne*, of *Quercy*, and of *Anvergne*; and himself with the other, of *Poitou*, of *Saintonge*, all *Bourdelois*, and *Burdetux* it self, where he passed the Winter; then in the Spring, of *Thoulouse*, wherein was the Treasure of the *Visigoths*: At his return he took the City of *Angoulesme*, the Walls whereof fell down before him; in fine, of all the Three *Aquitains*, the *Catholicks* casting themselves into his Arms, to be freed from the yoke of the *Arrians*.

At the same time *Gondebaud*, pursuant to the Treaty made with *Clovis*, Conquered the two *Narbonnoises*, and the City of *Narbona*, from whence he drove *Gesulic*, so was called the Bastard Son of *Alaric*, who had seized on the Kingdom of the *Visigoths*, because *Almaric*, the Legitimate Son, born of the Daughter of *Theodoric*, was yet in his infancy.

The Fame of *Clovis's* his Valour, spread even to the East; The Emperour *Anastasi*, thereby to engage him the closer to the Empire, sent him Consular (Honorary) Letters, and the Imperial Ornaments, viz. The Purple Robe, the Mantle, and the Diadem. *Clovis* having put them on in *St. Martins Church*, Mounted on Horseback in the *Portall*, and bestowed a Largeſs on the People; after that day he was ever Treated with the Title of *Consul*, and *August*, which were not altogether useless to him, towards the bringing the *Gauls* to better Obedience, by those Titles, for which they had still some reverence.

Theodoric, King of the *Ostrogoths*, jealous of his success, takes in hand the Defence of his Grand-Son, and sends a great Army on this side the Mountains, made up of *Goths*, and of *Gepids*, and Commanded in Chief by the Count *Ibba*. The *French* held then the City of *Carcaſſonne*, besieged, and the *Burgundians* that of *Arles*;

Arles, the first quitted their Siege, and joyned the others at *Arles*, to hinder him from palling the *Rhofne*.

There hapned many Combats, and at last a bloody Battle; the Count gained it, having killed 30000 *French* and *Burgundians*, and afterwards wrested from them all they had conquer'd in *Provence*, and in *Languedoc*, excepting *Thoulouse*, and *Uzes*.

After this advantage, *Theodoric* remained King of the *Visigoths*; and having taken away the Crown and Life of *Gesulac*, joyned what they held in *Gaul* and in *Spain* to his Kingdom of *Italy*, till his Grandson * *Amalaric* should be come of age.

Clovis fretted at these losses, distemper'd with a long Fever, and having the Spirit of a Conqueror, that is to say, unjust, and Sanguinary, lays snares for the other petty Kings of the *French*, who were his Kindred, and rids himself of them by methods full of Cruelty and Treachery. He incited *Chlodoric* Son of *Sigebert*, King of *Colen*, to kill his Father, and caused him afterwards to be Massacred by his own Domestiques. He compelled *Carric* and his Son (we know not in what Countrey they Reigned) perhaps it was at *Triers* or *Arras*) to enter into *Holy Orders*; and being informed that the Son expressed some threatnings, he sent, and caused the Throats of both to be cut. He cleft in two the Heads of *Ragnacaire*, King of *Cambray*, and *Riquier* his Brother, with a Battle-axe, they being both delivered into his hands by their own Subjects, and his Satellites assassinated *Rignomer*, King of *Mans*, in his own City.

He dyes himself at *Paris*, the 26th of November, in the year 511. and is interred in the Church of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, which he Built; and where *St. Genewiefue* had been buried the same year: his Reign was 30 years, and his Age 45. Some have made him parallel with *Constantine* the Great, and find great resemblance betwixt them both, for Good and Evil.

He had four Sons living, *Thierry*, *Clodomir*, *Childebert*, and *Clotaire*: the first by a Concubine, the other three by *Clotilda*, and by the same also a Daughter, named *Clota*, or *Clotilda*, who Sixteen years afterwards married *Amalaric*, King of the *Visigoths* in *Spain*.

Under his Reign the *French* wholly freed themselves from the *Roman* Empire, and became their Allies on equal terms; till then, as I believe, they had been stipendiaries, or tributary to them. That part of *Gall* which reaches from the *Rhine* to the *Loire*, was called *France*. The *French* measured those Lands, and took the third or fourth part, which they shared amongst themselves. There were but two sorts of People, or Conditions amongst them, the Free-men and the Slaves; all the Free-men bore Arms. *Gall*, which was almost a Desert, began to be re-peopled; and to rebuild their Towns. The *Galls* paid a Tribute to the *French*, but the natural *French* paid hardly any thing but their personal Service. These lived according to the Salique Law, the *Galls* Conformed to the *Roman* Institutions. These were called *Romans*, all the other Nations which flocked thither from beyond the limits of the Empire, were named *Barbarians*.

They were bred to the exercise of War, from their greenest years, of a good shape and stature, enured to Labour, strong, and so nimble, that they were upon the Enemy almost as soon as the Dart they had thrown against them. They had left off the use of Arrows, and employ'd in their stead for offensive weapons, the Sword, the Angon, which was a Dart of moderate length, having an Iron bearded Head, and cheeks of Iron, and the two-edged Axe, which they called *Francisque*. This might be darted as well as the Angon, but neerer at hand. For defensive Arms, unless it were their Commanders, they had only the Buckler, which they managed very dextrously to shelter, and Tortoise-like, cover themselves when they went to make a Charge or an Assault. Their whole Armies were Infantry; or if there were some few Horse, they served only to attend the General, and carry his Orders.

They retained a good part of the establishment, made by the *Romans*, as the manner of raising Imposts, but much lesser, of providing Magazines for the subsistence of their Forces, of maintaining Horses and Carriages for Travellers on the great Roads, of publick Sports, Horse-racing, and combats of wild Beasts; and their Kings believed themselves as absolute as Emperours, created *Dukes*, *Counts*, and great Masters of their *Militia*, nay, even Patricians, and perhaps the Mayers of the Palace held the Office of *Præfetti Prætorii*.

In the Fifth and Sixth age, the *Gallican* Church received few into the Church for Bishops but Saints, or such as they made so. They were for the most part, the greatest Lords of the Countrey, who to secure themselves from the suspicions and jealousies

510.

* Or *Amalric*.510.
and
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Manners and
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jealousies the *Visigoths* and *French* might have against them, cast themselves into the Church, as a safe Harbor or *Asylum*.

They reckon amongst the most Holy, *Honorat d' Arles*, being of the Monastery of the Isle of *Lerins*, which bears his Name to this day; *Hilary* his Successor, and *Eucherius* of *Lyons*, coming from the same place, *German d' Auxerre* and *Loup de Troyes*, *Palladius*, or *Palais de Bourges*, *Brice de Tours*, *Agnan d' Orleans*, *Simplicius de Vienne*, and *Mamertus* his Successor: This was he who instituted, or rather revived those Processions or Litanies we call Rogations, which all the Church hath received. All these did not survive the one half of this Age, unless *Loup* or *Lupus*, who lived a long while after.

In the Second, lived *Apollinaris-Sidonius* of *Clermont*, *Aicimus Avitus*, the Successor to *Mamert*, *Eleutherius* of *Tournay*, *Remy de Reims*, the true Apostle of the *French*, and *Vaast of Arras*; these three survived a long time after *Clovis*. We should not omit the illustrious Virgin *Genevieve*, who even in her life time was the Patroness of *Paris*, and remaineth so still; nor *St. Maximin*, or *Mesmin*, Abbot of *Micy*, near *Orleans*, which Place now bears his Name, and from whence came about Eighteen or Twenty good Friars, who spread themselves in several Countreys, where they are all at present prayed to as Saints; nor the good Hermit *Severin*, whom *Clovis*, being long sick of a Fever, caused to come from the Monastery d' *Againe*, that he might be healed by his Prayers; Nor that other, named *Maixan*, who had his little Cell in that part of *Poitou*, whereon there is built an Abby, and at length a Town of his Name.

Clovis resettled the Bishopricks in *Belgica*, bestowed great Possessions on the Church, and built many. The *French* who were Converted, imitated his Pious Examples. I do not know, whether before his Reign there were many Parish Churches in the Countrey, but since his time we find great numbers, and likewise many Oratories, in which the Sacraments were not administered.

We need not tell you that the Titles of *Pope*, of *Father of the Church*, of *Beatitude*, and of *Beatissimus*, of *Holiness*, of *Sovereign-Priest*, of *Servant of the Servants of God*, of *Apostolique*, were common to all the Bishops; nor that almost every one of them erected Monasteries in their Episcopal Cities. They often elected Widowers and Married Men, provided, they had been so but once, and to a Maiden. The Vote of the People passed in these things for a Call from God: they were bound to obey, and to live with their Wives as with their Sisters: if they had any Children, or Nephews that were Wise and Learned, they often succeeded them. Their Election was made by the Clergy of their Church, and by the People; the Confirmation by the comprovincial Bishops, principally by the Metropolitan, and never without him: They were to have regard only to Merit, oftentimes they considered his Birth: and even in those early days there were some wicked enough to make use of Bribes and Corruption.

Simony is the most antient or first, and will be the last of Heresies; In all Ages it hath stuck like Rust on the Church, the others did not make any great mischief in *Gall* during this age. That of *Eutyches* did not extend so far, but the Condemnation of him by the Council of *Chalcedon* was sent by *Pope Leo I.* who before had demanded the Suffrages of the Bishops, the more to authorize that celebrated Letter, which he wrote to the Council.

The Monk and Priest *Leporitis* hatched an Heresie, almost the same as that which *Nestorius* maintained since; but having been for that reason expelled from his Church at *Marseilles*, he retracted in Writing Anno 425. That of *Pelagius*, a Monk of *Great Britain*, who began to dogmatize towards the year 412. was first discovered by two of the *Gallican* Bishops, named *Heros* and *Lazarus*, who prosecuted his condemnation, first in *Palestine*, afterwards in *Africa*.

After *St. Augustin* had trampled that proud Heresie in the Dirt, which made the Salvation of Man depend upon his own strength; no body in *France* durst openly embrace it. But in *Provence* there were Priests and Monks who framed a middle Opinion, between that Error, and the Doctrine of this great Bishop: they were called *Semipelagians*.

As for Councils, they were often held by Order from the Emperours and Kings. Sometimes the desire of the Pope, the request of a Metropolitan, that of a single Bishop, or the least occasion caused them to assemble. It is not known in what place that was held which Anno 429. sent *St. German*, and *St. Lupus* into *England*, to op-
pugne the Errors of the *Pelagians*; nor that which Anno 444. deposed *Cbelidonius*, Bishop of *Besançon*, because he had been married to a Widow, and had been assist-
ing

ing in judgment, of matters criminal; but it is well known, that the Council at *Riez* was held in 439. The first at *Orange* in 441. That of *Vaison* in 442. That of *Angiers* in 443. The second of *Arles*, towards the year 452. The third of the same place, Anno 455. That of *Tours*, 461. That of *Vannay*, 465. The fourth of *Arles*, 475. That of *Agde*, Anno 506. and that of *Orleans*, (the first that was celebrated under a *French King*) Anno 511.

All these Councils were composed only of the Bishops of the Province where they were held, excepting that of *Agde*, and that of *Orleans*; whereof the first comprehended the three *Aquitanes*, and the two *Narbonnoises*, as yet subject to *Alaric*, King of the *Visigoths*; and the other of the three *Aquitanes*, newly conquered by the *French*, and the second, third, and fourth *Lyonoises*; for the first belonged to the Kingdom of *Burgundy*.

At the third of *Arles*, that Error was condemned which they call the *Predestinati*; and there was another called at *Lyon* for the same purpose: but both by the pursuit of *Faustus de Riez*, who was a *Semipelagian*.

At the fourth of *Arles*, was Treated concerning the difference of *Faustus*, Abbot of *Lerins*, with the Bishop *Theodorus*, and there they made for the first time, a notable breach upon the Authority of the Bishops, in limiting their power over Monasteries; they had ever had it entire, even to that degree, that they had the power of placing Abbots, and to chuse them out of any of the Clergy.

In these Councils, several Canons were made for Ordinations, to prevent the encroachments the Bishops made upon one another, to preserve the Rights, the Privileges, and the Goods belonging to the Church. To regulate the Functions of the Clergy, hinder them from Pleading before Secular Judges, Repress Usury, and the liberty of running out of their Dioceses. To preserve the Chastity of Virgins, and Widows; touching Homicides, and false Witnesses; touching Penances, and the Penitents; touching the Holiness and Celibacy which the Priests and Deacons ought to observe. To the same end tended the Epistles of the Popes *Innocent*, *Zozimus*, *Boniface*, *Celestin*, *Leons*, *Simplicius*, *Felix*, *Gelasius*, *Anastasius*, *Symmachus*, which they generally directed to the Bishop of *Arles*, as their Vicar, to be sent to the other *Gallican* Bishops.

As there were no great Bishopricks in *Gaul*, the *Gallican* Church was much more submissive, and subjected to those Bishops of *Rome*, then the *Eastern* ones, or those of *Africk*, but yet much less then the *Italians*. There was often recourse had to them; upon the greatest occasions they were consulted withal, touching the usages and meaning of the Canons: and afterwards when they found that their Answers were held for Decisions, they Ordained what they thought good, even before they were consulted withal. They made themselves immediate Judges of all Disputes between Bishops, before the Cause had been brought to the Metropolitan, intermeddled in bounding their Territories and Jurisdictions, deposed those that were not well Ordained, or were Criminal, and compelled them to trudge to *Rome* to prosecute their business before them. The Power they had by the Primacy of their Sec, to cause the Canons to be duly observed, advanced them to this great Authority, but the Bishops took great care they should not be infringed, and themselves acknowledged they were obliged to walk by them.

Childebert, I. King VI.

POPE S,

512. **HORMISDA**, *The 26th of July, 414. S. Nine years.*
JOHN I. *The 23 August 423. S. Two years nine Months and a half.*
BONIFACE II. *The 15th Oct. S. One year.*
- JOHN II.** *In Decemb. 431. S. Three years four Months.*
AGAPETUS, *In July 534. S. One year.*
SILVERIUS, *In June 536. S. Four years.*
VIGILIUS, *In 540, S. 15 years.*

Thierry, King of Metz, or of Austrasia, aged between 28 and 30 years. *Clodomir, of Orleans, aged 16 or 17 years.* *Childebert of Paris, aged 13 or 14 years.* *Clotaire of Soissons, aged about 12 years.*

511. **T**hese four Brothers divided the Kingdom betwixt them, and drew their shares by Lot; *Thierry* had all *Austrasia*, and the Countreys beyond the *Rhine*; the other Three had *Neustria*; they were all equally Kings, and without dependence upon one another: yet nevertheless all these parts together, made but up the body of one Kingdom. The Historians count their Succession by the Kings of *Paris*, because that City, hath since been the Capital of all *France*.

512. &c. Five or six years successively these Princes lived in quiet; the three Sons of *Clotilda* being yet young, and perhaps the two last under the Government of their Mother; it seems a little after the death of their Father, the *Visigoths* regained from them the Countrey of *Rouergue*, and some other Lands in the neighborhood of *Languedoc*.

France then began to be divided into *Osterrich*, or the Eastern part, called by corruption, *Austria*, and *Austrasia*; and into *Westrich*, or Western part, and by corruption, *Neustria*. *Austrasia* comprehended all that is between the *Meuse* and the *Rhine*; and even on this side the *Meuse*, *Rheims*, *Chalons*, *Cambray*, and *Laon*. Besides antient *France*, and all those people subdued beyond the *Rhine*, as the *Bavarois*, the *Almains*, and a part of the *Turingians* depended upon it. *Neustria* extended from this side the *Meuse* unto the *Loire*. *Aquitain* was not comprised under the name of *France*, nor *Burgundy*, not even after it was conquer'd, nor *Bretagne*, *Armorick*, at least the lower, because it was an independent Estate.

516. *Gondebaud*, King of *Burgundy*, dyed in the year 516. He had compiled, or written a Law, called by his Name, the *Law Gombete*, which was long in use amongst the *Burgundians*, as the *Salique* was amongst the *French*. He had two Sons, *Sigismund* and *Gondemar*: The first succeeded him in all his Dominions; and having been Converted many years before, by the Instructions of *Avit*, Bishop of *Vienne*, he abjured *Arrianisme*, at his first coming to the Crown, and brought all his People over with him to the *Orthodox Faith*.

Emp. Justin is Elect. in July. R. 8 years.

518. towards 519.

A Danish Captain, named *Cochiliac*, exercising Piracy, had made a Descent on the Lands belonging to *Thierry's* Kingdom, near the mouth of the *Rhine*; when he would have gotten on Ship-board again with his Plunder, comes the Prince *Theodebert*, eldest Son of *Thierry*, who assaults him, kills him, and having stained both Land and Sea with the Blood of those Pirates, regained all what they had seized and stolen.

Sigismund

Sigismund had at his first Marriage espoused *Ostrogotha*, Daughter to King *Theodorick* of *Italy*, by whom he had a Son named *Sigeric*. After the death of that Queen, he took one of his Servants into his Bed, who having conceived a Step-mother's hatred against the young Prince, made him seem criminal in his Father's Eyes, by her frequent calumnies, who caused him to be strangled with a Napkin as he was sleeping: but immediately he was so struck with Remorse, that he retired himself for a time to weep for this crime, into the Monastery of *d' Agaune*, which he himself had built, or much enlarged, in Honour of *St. Maurice* and his Companions.

522.

The Divine Justice, as may be well believed, stirred up the *French* Kings to chastise him, though he had married his Daughter, Sister to *Sigeric*, with King *Thierry*; the other three Brothers forbore not to conspire his ruine, being incited thereto by their Mother *Clotilda*, who yet cherished in her bosom, the desire to revenge her Father's death. If at least we may suspect such a thing from so pious a Princess.

523.

In few days they made themselves Masters of a great part of *Burgundy*, either by the gaining of some Battle, or the defection even of the *Burgundians*. *Sigismund* fearing to be delivered up by his own Subjects, disguises himself like a Monk, and retires to the top of an inaccessible Mountain; he had not long been there, but some of those he thought his most faithful Servants, went and found him, and advised him to quit that place, as not safe, and betake himself to *St. Maurice's* Church, the most Sacred Asylum of all those Provinces; when he was come almost to the Gate of that Monastery, the Traitors delivered him into the hands of the *French*; *Clodomir* carries him away with his Wife and Children, and shuts them in a Castle not far from *Orleans*.

524.

As for *Gondemar*, having saved himself by flight, he awhile afterwards, gathers up his Brothers Wrecks, and puts himself in possession of the Throne. *Clodomir* could not endure it, and Leagued himself with *Thierry* his elder Brother, to compleat his overthrow. Before he set forth, he was resolved to rid himself of *Sigismund*. *St. Avey*, Abbot of *Micy*, endeavoured in vain to prevent him by his Pious Arguments; adding, In the Name of God, the threats of a Reprisal on his Head and his Family: but he Treated him in Ridicule, and caused *Sigismund* to be cruelly Maltreated, with his Wife, and Children, and their Bodies to be thrown into a Well.

The prophetick threatnings of the Holy Abbot, soon had their effect. It was impossible but *Thierry* must in his Soul have a just Resentment for the death of *Sigismund*, his Father-in-law; so that when he beheld *Clodomir* far engaged in the medley (which was, in a Battle they fought against *Gondemar* near *Autun*) he forsook him, and suffer'd him to perish. The *Burgundians* knowing him by his long Royal Locks, cut off his Head, and fixed it on a Lance; but that spectacle, instead of terrifying the *French*, inflamed their Courage and Fury: they revenged his death by a horrible slaughter of the *Burgundians*, and conquer'd a part of that Kingdom, to wit, that which lay nearest the Kingdom of *Orleans*.

Clodomir was aged some Thirty years, he left three Sons, then but Children, *Theobald*, * *Gontair*, and *Clodoaldo*, whom *Clotilda* their Grand-mother took care to breed, hoping that when they came to be of age, their Uncles would restore their Father's Kingdom to them. *Clotaire* his younger Brother presently married his Widow, she was named *Gondiocha*; so little the Princes of this First Race had any consideration for their Blood, being as brutish in their Amours, as in their Revenge.

* Or Gontier.

THIERRY *in Austrasia, at Metz.* **CHILDEBERT** *in Neustria, at Paris.* **CLOTAIRE**, *in Neustria, at Soissons.*

524.

The Kingdom of *Burgundy* was not shared amongst these Brothers, till some years afterwards, and *Thierry* had no part of it.

Theoderic, King of the *Ostrogoths*, and *Visigoths*, the greatest Prince amongst the Barbarian Kings, had he not been an *Arrian*, being in the end become a persecutor of the Catholics, died at Rome the second of September; he left his Kingdoms to two Sons of his Daughters, that is to say, that of *Spain*, or the *Visigoths* to *Amalaric*, and that of *Italy*, or the *Ostrogoths*, to *Athalaric*, who was under the Tutelage of his Mother *Amalasuinta*: To this last he likewise gave *Provence*, which in those times comprehended the Second *Narbonnois*, part of the First *Viennois*, and all the Fifth; and to the other, the First *Viennois*, otherwise called *Septimania*, and which even at that time was also known to the *French*, under the Name of * *Gothia*, because it was poss'd by the *Goths*.

Amalarick

526.

Emp. Justinian, Son of a Sister to Justin, Created by his Uncle, in April, R. 38 years, 7 Months, * *Languedoc*.

528. Amalaric re-established in his Kingdom, dreading the Power of the French Kings, desired their Sister Clotilda in Marriage.

The King of Turingia (perhaps it might be Basin) had had three Sons, Hermenfroy, Baderic, and Bertier. The First married Amalabergue, Daughter of Amalafrode, who was Sister to Theoderic, King of the Ostrogoths, and Widow of Trasimond, King of the Vandals, at the instigation of this wicked and ambitious Woman, not content with having taken away the Life, and part of the Kingdom from Bertier, he was besides, Leagued with Thierry, King of Metz, and by his assistance, had in the same manner, Treated his other Brother Baderic. This year 531. Thierry, angry that he gave him no part of this last Conquest, as he had promis'd him, made an agreement with his Brother Clotaire, to over-run Turingia. Hermenfroy meets them, and fights them; at the first they were in some little disorder, their Horses falling into pits, covered with Branches and Turfs; but having gotten out of the snares, they drove him as far as the brink of the Ousestrud, where there was so great slaughter, that the dead Carcasses made a Bridge over the River. He narrowly made his escape out of this danger, and with much ado shut himself up in a Fort.

531. The Kingdom of Turingia wholly Conquer'd and Extinguished, remained to Thierry, Clotaire satisfied himself with the Spoil and Captives, amongst whom was found the Prince Amalafroy, and the young Radeconda, Children of Bertier. He caused Radeconda to be carefully brought up, and Married her some years after; but by the Council of some wicked People, he caused Amalafroy to be slain, and Radeconda afterwards parted from him, and went and Founded the Monastery of the Holy-Cross at Poitiers, where she piously ended her days.

Mean while Thierry being returned to his Kingdom, allured Hermenfroy to his Court, having sworn he should be in all security; then barbarously falsifying his Faith, as they were one day walking together upon the Walls of Tolbiac, there came a fellow and thrust him down from top to bottom. Amalabergue, the cause of all these Tragedies, made her escape into Africk to her Mother.

531. The same year upon a false report blown abroad, that Thierry had been slain in the Wars of Turingia; Arcadius, one of the Senators of Auvergne, invited Childebert to seize upon the Town of Clermont, which belonged to Thierry's share. The People and Lords being well contented to be rid of the Government of the Austrasians, submitted easily to his; but after finding that Thierry returned victorious, he quitted Auvergne, and marched into Septimania, to make War upon Amalaric, King of the Visigoths.

531, and 532. His pretences for this War, were the Outrages that Arrian Prince used towards his Sister Clotilda, in hatred, for that she constantly persevered in the Catholick Religion. Amalaric lost the Battle not far from Narbonne, which was his Royal Seat; and when he thought to fly to his Ships, he was killed, either in that City, or in Barcellona, by the French, or by Theudis himself, who succeeded him. Clotaire nevertheless gained nothing but some plunder, and the honour of having revenged his Sister, who died on the way as he was bringing her back: For Septimania still remained in the hands of the Visigoths; but their Kings, naturally timorous, transferred their Royal Seat to Toledo, to be for the future at a more safe distance from such like irruptions.

534. Childebert and Clotaire being associated, go on to pursue Gondemar, take him prisoner in a Fight, lock him up in a Tower (where in all probability he ended his days) and invaded all that was left of his Country. Thus the First Kingdom of Burgundy was extinguished, after it had subsisted Four score and ten years, and became united to France; but it retained its Name, its Laws, and its particular Magistrates. Its Governours were ordinarily stiled Patricians.

534. The two Brothers desiring to share Burgundy between them, sent to the Queen Clotilda their Mother, that she should let them have the three Sons of Clodomir, to put them in possession of their Fathers Kingdom; Clotilda did the more easily believe it, because in effect, they had not yet divided it amongst themselves: but when they had these poor innocent Creatures in their hands, they most inhumanely massacred the two eldest; the Third, named Clodoald, or Cloud, was saved by his Fathers *Bravo's, and after he had lain some time concealed, he secured his Life by cutting off his Hair, and then confining himself in a Holy Sanctuary, or Retreat at the Borough of Nogent, near Paris, which keeps even to this day, his Relicks and Name.

* Barons.
Tis the
Town of
St. Clou.

Because

Because Thierry of Metz refused to accompany his two Brothers against Gondemar, the French Austrasians, angry that they should not have their share in the plunder of Burgundy, threatened they would own him no longer; In the First and Second Race they have often given themselves this liberty: He was forced, that he might appease them, to lead them into Auvergne, who were revolted from him, to give themselves up to Childebert, whence they brought away an innumerable multitude of Captives, and all that was portable.

A Lord named Munderic, reckoning himself of Blood-Royal, acted the part of King, and made the Mobile follow him as such. Thierry at his return from Auvergne, besieged him in the Castle de Virry, and seeing he could not gain it by force, he makes use of Perjury: Aregisa, one of his Captains engages his Faith that he should be well received; and when he was come out of the place, he gave a Signal that they should fall on him. Munderic perceiving it, prevents him, and kills him with a Dart; and afterwards taking his sword in hand, together with such as had follow'd him, he sold his Life at a dear rate.

The same year saw an end of the Kingdom of the Vandals, and Africk, with the Islands of Corfica and Sardinia, and the Baleares returned to the Empire, after they had been cut off from them 107 years. The Emperor Justinian, under pretence of taking in hand the Defence of King Hilderic, whose Kingdom Gilimer had usurped, sent the great Captain Belisarius thither, who made an end of that Conquest in less than Six Months, having happily overthrown those Arrian Barbarians in some Battles; taken Carthage, and received the Tyrant Gilimer upon Composition, who had sheltered himself in a Fortress.

The Visigoths during the Wars of Burgundy and Turingia, had taken divers places of Septimania. The Princes Gontier and Theodebert, who were Sons, the former of Clotaire, the latter of Thierry, had Orders from their Fathers to recover them. Gontier returned without doing any thing; Theodebert took some Castles in the Country of Beziers, but suffered himself to be taken also by the Beauty of the Artificious Deuteria, Lady of Cabriere, who received him into her Castle, and into her Bed.

From Septimania he carried the War to Provence, reckoning to have a better Market of the Ostrogoths. When he had sorely shaken it, and already received some Hostages from the City of Arles, he received news that his Father was very sick at Metz: he goes away in all diligence, and arrived there some few days before he died.

Thierry Reigned a little more then 23 years, and had lived about 55. He had no Son but Theodebert; but a Learned Historian gives him likewise a Daughter, named Theodechildus; he believes it to be her that was Married to Hermegisle, King of the Varni, of whom Procopius relates a memorable Adventure, and who being returned into France, amongst many pious Works, built the Monastery of St. Pierre le Vis, near Sens.

It is fit we observe that the * Bavaois, or Bojarians, were under his obedience, since in their Estates, or General Assembly at Chaalons, he put their Laws in Writing. They were originally of Germany; it is not certain of what Canton, but that they had the same Language as the Lombards. About the time of the death of Odoacer, King of Italy, they were come to possess that part of the * Norica which lies on the Banks of the Danube; and in time they also gained the Mediterranean part, and Rhetia Secunda, which was situate betwixt the Rivers L'Ocin and the Lec, so that they were bounded by Pannonia, Swevia, Italy, and the Danube. Perhaps Clovis subdued them at the same time he subdued the Almans, but they had always retained their Laws, and a Duke of their Nation, who was confirmed by the King of Austrasia, he was to be of the Race of the Agilolfingues, or Descendents of Agilolfse, who in all appearance brought them into that Country.

* They were
named Bavo-
bates, or Bavo-
arians.

* Part of the
high and mid-
dle Austria.

CHILDEBERT in 75 CLOTAIRE in — and —
Neustria at Paris. 52 Neustria at Soissons.
Burgundy betwixt both. THEODEBERT
aged about 30 years,
in Austrasia.

The Uncles of Theodebert were prepared to invade the Kingdom of his Father, his diligence broke their measures. After he had agreed with them by a Peace, which he bought, and that he in appearance had tied the knot of a strict amity with Childebert, who promised him the Succession, because he had no Children, he sent for Deuteria, and publicly Married her, despising Wisgard, the Daughter of Wis-

534.
and
535.

con, King of the Lombards, whom he had betrothed in the life time of his Father Thierry.

534. In this year they place the Erektion into a Kingdom, True or Fabulous, of the Countrey of Yvetot in Normandy, which was done, say they, by King Clotaire, in satisfaction for his having with his own hand in the very Church, and on a * Holy Friday, killed one Gantier, who was Lord of the Mannor.

* Good Friday

Athalaric, King of Italy, dies in the age of Adolescence. Amalasuinta his Mother, espouses Theodad, Son of Amalafrede, Sister to King Theoderic, and sets him on the Throne: but shortly after the Ingrateful makes her away, upon a suspicion of Adultery.

The death of Amalasuinta caused the ruine of the Ostrogoths. Justinian, with whom she had always kept in amity, gave Command to Belisarius to revenge her death, and to recover Italy. At first Dalmatia, the Islands of Sicily and Sardinia, after that Abbruzzza and Lucania, the Campagna, or Terra del Lavor, surrenders to him without any resistance; and the City of Naples is surprized by a way thorough an Aqueduct. Theodad sends an Army under the Conduct of Vitiges his * Officer; but the Ostrogoths who had a hatred for him, elect this Vitiges; who to secure the Diadem for himself, puts Theodad to death, and marries Mattasuinta, Daughter of Amalasuinta.

* Great Master of his Horie.

536. When Theodad dyed, he was in Treaty with the French, and proffer'd them Provence, and Two thousand pound of Gold, if they would embrace his Defence. Vitiges being pressed by Belisarius, and finding himself not strong enough to resist the Imperialists and the French, put in execution what his Predecessor had projected, and deliver'd Provence, and the Money to the French. If we must believe Procopius; Justinian confirmed this Cession by his Letters Patents. It seems they divided it into two Provinces, that of Marseilles, and that of Arles.

537. Theodebert made no scruple to take off both Parties, that he might be the better enabled to ruine them both; He had caused Ten thousand Burgundians to slip into Italy, who having joyned with Oria, one of Vitiges Chiefs, had helped him to retake Milan.

539. When he believed both parties to be much weakned, he entred the Milanois with Two hundred thousand Men. The Roman Army, and that of the Ostrogoths were encamped one just over against the other neer Pavia; either of them thought he came to their assistance, and his design was to surprize them both. He therefore Assaults and Defeats the Ostrogoths, and then comes thundering upon the Romans, and cuts them all in pieces: But a Plague and Famine soon revenged them upon him for this perfidiousness. When he found his Men perished by thousands, he repass'd the Mountains with all speed, for fear lest Belisarius, who was in Tuscany, should come and attaque him.

539. Afterwards Vitiges being Besieged by Belisarius in Ravenna, omitted not to crave help of the French, who promis'd to come to his assistance with Five hundred thousand Men; but before they were arrived, he had compounded with Belisarius, and was gon to Constantinople, where of a King, he became an Officer to the Emperour. The Visigoths in his stead chose Theodobaldus Governour of Verona; and he being slain three years after, they substituted the famous Totila, who Took, and Sacked the City of Rome twice, in 547. and in 550.

540. The Queen Denteria became so furiously jealous of her own Daughter, because the King her Husband began to look on her, that she made her away in a cruel and ingenious manner, having caused untamed Bulls to be harnessed, to draw her Chariot, who precipitated her from off the Bridge at Verdun into the Meuse. The French, who during the Two first Races, and a good while in the Third, had a right to concern themselves, and to intermeddle about the Marriage of their Kings, offend-ed at so unnatural an act; and besides, touched with a just sence of pity for Wisgard, whom Theodebert had contracted seven years before, obliged the King to repudiate Denteria, and take Wisgarda. This lived but two years, and made room for a third Wife.

541. The following year Childebert's Uncle and he, fell unawares upon Clotaire; he had only time to retire with what people he could get together to the * Forrest d'Ar-lanne, (neer the Banks of the Seine, and to stop up the Avenues with great Trees, cut down and laid across. When they were ready to force him in this Post, the Heavens moved by the Prayers of the Queen Clotilda, excited a miraculous Tempest, which not hurting the Camp of Clotaire, and thundering upon theirs, did so astonish them, that they sent to him to desire a Peace; and his Amity.

* It is not well known what Forrest this was.

Theudis

Theudis Reigned then over the Visigoths; the French being ever their mortal enemies: Childebert and Clotaire palled the Pireneans, and ravaged all Arragon. The City of Saragossa being besieged, the Inhabitants bethought themselves of making a general Procession round their Walls in the habit of Penitents and Mourners, carrying, instead of a Banner, the Vest of St. Vincent, Martyr, their Patron. This extraordinary Spectacle amazed Childebert, and mollified him; insomuch as he accepted of some Presents made him by the Bishop, amongst which was the Robe of St. Vincent, which he brought to Paris, where he built a Church in Honour of that Martyr, and put that precious Relique there in Depositum.

543.

The Spanish Authors say, that upon their return, the French were beaten at their passage to the Mountains, by one of the Generals of the Visigoths, who was called Tedisile: If this be so, there is some likelihood that they made two Expeditions into Spain at different times, yet soon after one another.

It is now St. Germain des Prez.

In the year 548. Theudis, King of the Visigoths was killed in his Palace, and this Theudisile set upon his Throne; but within two years after he was Treated in the same manner, and Agila put in his place.

544. or 545.

Whilst the Imperialists and the Ostrogoths were engaged with each other, Theodebert, who was already master of Rhetia, of Vindelicia, and of Suevia, would needs take his advantage of that War, and by his Lieutenants (Hamingue was the Principal) made himself Master of the lesser Italy, that is to say, what they have since called Lombardy. After which, Justinians Forces having gained some advantage over his, That Emperour had the vanity to thrust in amongst his other Titles, that of Francia, which is to say, Conquerour of the French.

548.

Theodebert not able to suffer it, would cross over Pannonia, and Mese, and bring all his Power into Thrace, to let him see the French were not vanquished. As he was preparing for this Expedition, a mournful accident took away his Life. Being one day a Hunting, (an exercise fatal to many Princes) a wild Bull pursued by his Hunt-men, whom he waited for with a Javelin in his hand, broke down a Branch, which hit him so rudely upon the Head, that a Fever seized him, whereof he dyed in the 14th of his Reign, and about the 43 of his Age. He had one Son and one Daughter, Theodowal, or Theodebaldus, and Bertaire; Theodebaldus born of Denteria, succeeded in his Estates; a Prince of a weak Mind and Body, who became impotent and benumbed from his Waste downwards. Bertaire kept her Virginity, and served the Church with great Devotion.

About the time of the death of Theodebert, hapned that also of Clotilda, who piously ended her days at Tours; She retired her self thither, to pray to God on the Sepulchre of St. Martin, where in those times were the greatest Devotions of the Gauls and French.

548.

As Theodebert had been a Prince of vast Undertakings, he had mightily burthened his Subjects with Imposts, even the French. Partenius had been the chief Author and Minister; he was a terrible Glutton, as most of those Men or Cattle generally are, who took Aloes to digest his Meat, wherewith he cramm'd himself, and so emptied his Belly more Beast-like then he filled it. The French Men being stirred up to do Justice upon him, he besought two Bishops to convoy him to Tryers; he was in no more safety there then at Metz, the People seeking for him to murder him, and having haled him out of a Church Chest, where those Prelates had concealed him, affronted him by a thousand Outrages, and after tied him to a Post, where they stoned him to death.

548 or 49.

CHILDEBERT in } SCLOTAIRE in }
Neustria, at Paris. } Neustria at Soissons. }
Burgundy belonging to both these.

THEODEBALDUS,
Aged 13 or 14 years,
in Australia.

Ambassadors from Justinian solicited Theodebaldus to abandon the Defence of the Ostrogoths, and to make a League with the Empire; he refuses the one and the other, and nevertheless sends his to Constantinople, to Treat of some difference concerning the Cities he held in Italy. They had full satisfaction from Justinian, but could not prevail with him, whatever instances they urged, upon the requests of the Italian Bishops, to restore to their Sees, Pope Vigilius, and Datius, Bishop of Milan, whom he detained, and Treated very ill.

551.

552, &c.

A Civil War being broke out amongst the Visigoths, between King Agila and Athanagildes, this last had recourse to the assistance of the Emperour Justinian, who failed not to make use of so good an occasion. The Patrician Liberius having conducted several Forces there on his behalf, seized on several Towns, and was going to regain all Spain, as Belisarius had Africk, if the Visigoths had not killed Agila, and Elected Athanagildes; which did not however prevent the Romans by the Alliances they made in the Countrey, and with the assistance they received from time to time, to maintain themselves there about 90 years, till the Reign of Suintila, who drove them quite out from thence.

553.

Totila, King of the Ostrogoths, too proud of the Victories gained over the Romans, is Defeated, and slain in Battle by Narses the Eunuch, Lieutenant to the Emperour Justinian. Teia his Successor hath the same misfortune a short time after, and Narses brought under the Imperial Laws, the greatest portion of what that Nation possessed. Thus the Kingdom of the Ostrogoths was extinguished, in Italy, where it had subsisted but 58 years.

The remainder of the Ostrogoths having implored the assistance of the French, two Alman Lords, who were Brothers (they were called Leutarus and Bucelinus) by the permission rather than by Order of Theobaldus, descend into Italy with 75000 Combatants, partly Almans, and partly French, and ravage it both on the Right and Left, even to the further end of the Countrey.

554.
* Dutches of
Parma, Plai-
sance, Modena,
and Boulognia.
* States of
Venice, Trent
and Mantua.

The Army of Leutarus, which had pierced as far as Otranto, thinking to bring their Plunder to some safe place, was beaten near Fano, in the Province Emilia, * and from thence, being Retreated by very difficult ways into * Venetia, which then belonged to Theobaldus; when they thought to rest themselves in a little Town, the small and unwholsome Lodgings bred so furious a Contagion, that it destroyed them all, not one Soldier escaping.

555.

That of Bucelin, who staid in the Countrey de Lavour, being already weakned very much with the like Plagues, was made an end of in a Battle which Narses gave them near Capoua, from whence only Five Men escaped. The year following the Duke Amingua, another General of Theobaldus, being joyned with the gleanings of the Ostrogoths, whom the Count Vidin had gathered up, had the same fate as Bucelin; there remained nothing to the French in Italy, but the passage of the Alpes.

After such bloody Losses, Theobaldus ended his languishing Life, being in the 20th of his Age, and the 7th of his Reigh. He had Married but one Wife, Valde-trade, or Valdrade, Daughter of Wacon King of the Lombards, by whom having no Children, his Succession returned to his Two Great Uncles. But Clotaire who was the strongest, because he had Five Sons, all bearing Arms, seizes upon it immediately, and on his Wife likewise, whom he Married. As touching the Kingdom, Childebert, who had none but Daughters, durst not then speak a word; but as for the Wife, the Bishops made him so many Remonstrances about that Incest, that he quitted her, and gave her in Marriage to Garibald, Duke of Bavaria.

CHILDEBERT in and CLOTAIRE in Neu-
Neustria at Paris, stria and Austrasia.
Burgundy to them Both.

555.

The Saxons, who were Tributaries to the French, even from the time of Thierry of Metz, having heard of his death, took occasion to Revolt conjoynly with the Turingians. Clotaire straightway goes thither, and having beaten them near the Weser, plundered the Countreys both of the one and the other.

556.

The following year they revolt again, but when they saw him on the Frontiers, they sent Deputies to implore Mercy, and to submit to any Conditions. The French would give no Ear, but resolved to chastise them; and because he refused to lead them on, they tore down his Tent, and forced him to go in the Front; and indeed they were beaten with a horrible slaughter, and the King gladly proffer'd the Saxons that Peace which had been denied them.

557.

His Brother Childebert, jealous of his prosperities, incited them a third time to take up Arms against him, and at the same instant, set his own Son Chramne to rebel against him. Clotaire had bestowed on him the Government of Aquitain, where he had behaved himself so tyrannically, that great Complaints were brought against him; his Father had therefore recalled him to Court, to give an account of his actions: he having refused to come, he sends his two other Sons, Charibert and Gontran into Aquitain, to compel him to Obedience; and in the mean time marches against

against the Saxons, whom he brought under by several Defeats, and imposed a Tribute on them of 500 Oxen.

While he was in Saxony, a rumour was spread that he was slain; Childebert falls into Champagne, and ravages it; the two young Brothers being affrighted, retired into Burgundy; Chramne pursues them, and from thence comes to Paris, where he engages himself by an Oath to Childebert, never to reconcile himself to his Father.

558.

Childebert returning from Champagne, was struck with a troublesome malady, which having made him languish for some time, ended not but in death. St. Germain, Bishop of Paris, buried him in the Church of St. Vincent, which he had Erected. Amongst his Virtues, he was eminent in his Charity towards the Poor, and his Zeal for Religion. The first made him part with all his Gold and Silver Plate, to bestow it in Charity; the other was signalized by the several Foundations for pious Uses, and by his care to propagate the Faith, and preserve its Purity. For he made an Edict to demolish all the Pagan Temples; and the Pope Pelagius being suspected guilty of the Errors, condemned by the Council of Chalcedon, he sent to him to know his Profession of the Faith, that he might take some course against that scandal.

His Wife Ultrogoth survived him a long time, and led a Holy Life, with two Daughters she had by him; they were named Chrotberge, and Chrotseinda; they never Married. Their Uncle Clotaire, whether in hatred to their Father, or for fear lest they should pretend to the Succession, detained them in prison with their Mother, till he had secured himself of the Kingdom.

This is the First Example of the Salique Law, in favour of the Males to the Crown. Clotaire succeeded, to the exclusion of his Nieces; and he was so happy, that having survived his three elder Brothers, he rejoined in his own person, the entire Succession of the Grand Clovis.

E 2

Clotaire

Clotair I. King VII.

POPE,

JOHN III. 559. In March S. 14
years, Two only under this Reign.

560. **T**He Prince *Chramne*, destitute of the protection of *Childebert*, reconciled himself to his Father; but soon after he flies off again, and retires into *Bretagne* to *Conobert*, one of the Princes of that Countrey; for there were divers, and such as did not depend upon the *French*. His Father hotly pursues him, and fought him neer the Sea-side; History does not exactly mark out the place, but that the *Bretons* were defeated, *Conobert* killed in the Fray, and *Chramne* taken prisoner. The cruel Father orders his People to burn him, with his Wife and his Children, which they presently executed on the spot, putting Fire to a place filled with Straw, where they had locked them up.

560. So cruel an action caused in him a cruel Repentance, in vain he strove to appease that remorse by his Devotions, and great Donations to the Church. Coming back from a great Hunting in the Forrest of *Cuise*, a burning Fever seized on his Bowels, whereof he died at *Compiègne*. He was in the 61 year of his age, and about the end of the 49th of his Reign.

561. His four Sons conducted his Corps with great Pomp, the Priests Singing all the way to the City of *Soissons*, where they buried him, as he had ordained, in the Church, and before the Altar of * *St. Mydard*.

* Vulgarly,
St. Mydard.

He had four or five Wives, amongst the rest, he kept two Sisters together at one time, *Ingonde* and *Haregonde*, by the First he left three Sons, *Cherebert*, *Gontran*, *Sigebert*, who Reigned, and a Daughter named *Clodofuinda*, who Married *Alboin*, King of the *Lombards*. By *Haregonde* he had *Chilperic*, who Reigned likewise; and by *Ghinsine*, the unhappy *Chramne*. Many Authors, antient enough, give him a Daughter named *Bliilda*, and Marry her with the Senator *Ansbart*, whom they make paternal Grandfather to *St. Arnold*. Some modern Critiques have maintained, that the Chronology did not agree; but there is no appearance that so many Authors should, or could have invented such a Fable without any necessity, or ground to move them to it.

Cherebert,

Cherebert, King VIII.

Cherebert,
Aribert,
Caribert, is the
same Name.

POPE,

JOHN III. S. Ten years under this Reign.

CHEREVERT, King of Paris,
aged Twenty years.
GONTRAN of Orleans, and of
Burgundy, aged 36 years.

SIGEBERT of Austrasia, aged
Twenty five or Thirty years.
CHILPERIC of Soissons, aged
Twenty, or Twenty five years.

THe Kingdom was for the Second time divided into Four, for his four Sons, which was the cause of infinite Civil Wars, Murthers, Treasons, Plunderings, and Calamities.

Before their shares were settled, *Chilperic* the youngest of them had seized upon all the Fathers Treasure, which was at *Bresne*, and afterwards that at *Paris*; but he was driven thence by the other three. This done, they drew Lots which gave the Kingdom of *Paris* to *Cherebert*, that of *Orleans*, and a good part of that of *Burgundy* to *Gontran*, (he resided at *Chaalons*) that of *Austrasia* to *Sigebert*, and that of *Soissons* to *Chilperic*.

Besides this, each of them had a share in *Aquitain*, as the four Sons of *Clouis* before had, and also in *Provence*; that so each of them, and altogether, might be obliged to maintain them with their joyned Forces.

The *Austrasians* had nominated for the Office of *Mayre* of the Palace, a Lord named *Chrodin*; he refused to accept of it, considering, that all the Grandees of the Countrey, being his Kindred, would have thought they might have taken the liberty of committing all sorts of violence on the People with impunity; and that he could not have the severity to punish them for it. He therefore advised them to make another choice, and they relying upon his probity, he recommended *Gogon* to them, who was of his Educating, and taking him by the Arms, he puts them round his Neck, in token that he owned him for his Superiour.

The *Avars*, a People of *Hun*, flying the Tyranny of the *Turks*, who were of the same Nation, had forsaken their Native Soil, and were come to the Service of the Emperour *Justinian*. After his death, being slighted by *Justin*, they sought their Fortunes elsewhere, and having penetrated into the heart of *Germany*, they ravaged *Turingia*, which belonged to *Sigebert*. This King not fearing these Barbarians, who were reckoned so terrible, attacked them neer the Banks of the *Elbe*, and having mated them in a great Battle, he sent them back again with shame to the *Danube*, from whence they were come.

Chilperic in the mean time falls upon his Territory, and ruined all the Countrey of *Rheims*. *Sigebert* being come back, repels him most vigorously, and took his Son *Theodebert* prisoner, with the City of *Soissons*. In this same year the quarrel ended in a Peace, followed with the liberty of the young Prince; but not a perfect reconciliation.

In 570. began the Kingdom of the *Lombards* in Italy, their King *Alboinus* being Crowned at Milan this year, after he had conquer'd all the Countrey from the Alps to *Tuscany*, excepting only the Exerchat of *Ravenna*, which yet remained in the Empire. The name of *Lombards* came either from their wearing of long Beards, or that they were armed with long * Bards; which was a kind of Axe. Their first Habitation was on the further Banks of the *Elbe*, whence coming forth, and having often changed their Dwellings, Four hundred years together, they in the end fixed themselves in *Pannonia*, in the days of the Emperour *Justinian*. From thence their King *Alboinus*, a very War-like Prince, and brought some Forces into Italy for the Romans Service, in the time of the *Frunque* haarfes. Now they had taken such delight in the Habitation of so rich and fruitful a Land,

561.

562.

565.

Emp. *Justin*.
Son of a Si-
ster of *Justi-
nians*, in No-
vemb. R. 13
years 9
Months;

567.

570.

* Thence
comes the
Name of
Halbards.

that that Great Captain being dead, they all went thither with their Wives and Children, in the year 568, under the Conduct of that King. He likewise carried thither Thirty thousand Saxons, who were willing to follow him, and the remainder of the Gepides, whose Kingdom he had extinguish'd in Pannonia.

570. The Neighborhood soon set them together by the Ears with the French, and begot a mortal Enmity between them. As they were huge covetous, and pulled up with their Victories, they were not satisfied with the spoils of Italy, but made frequent incursions into Rhetia and Provence. In that very year, some numbers of them, in a body, without a Head, were fallen into the Countrey of Valais, but instead of carrying away Plunder, they lost their Lives.

571. The year following, they marched much stronger into the Kingdom of Burgundy, and at the first, in a bloody Battle, defeated the Army which King Gontran had sent against them, and slew their General. This was Amat Patrician or Governour of the Province of Arles; but when they would needs come again the Third time, and had ransacked the Countreys about Ambrun, the Patrician Mummole, Succellor to Amat, inflamed, or surrounded them; and having stopped all the ways, by felling of huge Trees, charged these Robbers so smartly, that he destroyed almost the whole Army, or made them prisoners.

562. and the following. There was nothing more disorderly then the liberty which these Four Kings of France took in their Marriages. Gontran after he had choien a Servant for his Mistress, belonging to some Courtier, from whom he had forced her, espoused Marcetrude, Daughter of Magnachaire, whom he rejected in a short time afterwards, to take one that waited on her; she was called Austrigilda Bobilla. Chilperic had repudiated Queen Andovere, though he had three Sons by her, for the love of Fredegonda, one of the Women belonging to his Chamber. Cherebert put away Ingoberge, whom he had Married in the life time of Clotaire, and Married with Mereslede, Daughter to one that worked in Woollen; and then afterwards with her Sister Marcovefe, though she were under the Holy Veil, and likewise with Theodegildus, Daughter to a Shepherd.

King Sigebert on the contrary, desiring a lawful Marriage, and one well qualify'd, espoused Brunecild, or Bruneband, Daughter of Atanagildus, King of the Visigoths. Sometime afterwards Chilperic follow'd his example, and having for a short while quitted his Amours to Fredegonda, demanded likewise Gelasuinta, Sister to Brunecild. The Father consents to it, but not without a great deal of repugnance, and the obliging both himself, and the chief Lords his Subjects, to swear by many Oaths, that he should never take any other whilst she was living.

570. Cherebert being gone into Xaintonge, which was in his Lot, dyed in the Castle of Blaye on the Garonne, and was buried in the same place, within the Church of St. Roman. He was little less then Forty nine years, and had Reigned Nine. He had but three Daughters, Berte by Queen Ingoberge, and Bertselede, and Crodielde by some Mistress. These two last were Veiled; but very vain Nuns. Berte was Married to Ethelbert, King of Canterbury in England, and the most potent of all the English Kings. She was bestowed upon him, on condition she should have the free Exercise of the Christian Religion: and to this end she took a Bishop along with her. She was a very Beautiful, and yet a more virtuous Princess, who wrought upon the mind of her Husband to embrace Christianity, and who insinuated Civility, and Politeness amongst the English, who were very barbarous till then.

Chilperic

Chilperic, King IX.

GONTRAN in Neustria and Burgundy, at Chaalons. SIGEBERT in Austrasia, at Mets. CHILPERIC in Neustria, at Paris.

570. **C**herebert's three Brothers immediately re-divided the Kingdom amongst them, and even the City of Paris, and put in this Condition, which they confirmed by Oath, upon the Relicks, or at the shrine of some Martyr, That neither of the Three should go in thither, without the consent of the other two, and he that should offer it, was to forfeit his share in that City, and in the Kingdom that was Cherebert's.

571. Chilperic, notwithstanding his solemn Oaths, soon joyned again with his Fredegonde; and that he might have liberty to Marry her, he caused Gelasuinta to be strangled in her Bed. His Brothers conceived a horror for this Crime, and made War upon him; Sigebert, more hotly then the other, being incited by his Wife Bruneband, to whom he was forced to give up for reparation of this Murther, the Countreys of Bourdelois, Ly-mosin, Quercy, Bearn, and Bigorre, which he had given to his Sister for a Marriage Portion, and which he had seized on afterwards.

The Avarois broke the Treaty, and made a Second irruption into Turingia; Sigebert presenting himself to give them Battle, upon the nick of the On-sett, instead of Weapons, they made use of Diabolical Enchantments, and caused hideous Fantaimes, or Spirits to appear, most dreadful to the French mens Sight; perhaps they had ugly Vizards on, or had blacked their Faces. Whatever it were, it dismayed them so much, that it put them to the rout, and drove them into a corner, where they hemmed them in on all sides. Sigebert could not get out from this extremity, but by the power of Money, and by furnishing them with Provisions, which they had great need of.)

572. Going from hence, he made War against Gontran, to get from him the City of Arles, and joyn it with those of Aix, Avignon, and Marseilles, which he held in Provence. Firmin Count d'Auvergne, and Andover, drawing near with some Forces, the Burghers easily surrendered to them, and then drove them out again with more ease. For as soon as Celse the Patrician of Arles, appeared on the behalf of Gontran, they perswaded them to go forth and Fight him, assuring them, that whether Victors or Vanquished, they would receive them again into the Town: but when Celse had repulsed them, and they desired to be let in, they kept the Gates fast shut against them. Thus their Men were all cut off or drowned in the Rhosne, and they made prisoners. Sigebert having missed his Design, agreed the more easily with Gontran.

574. Anno 574. Alboinus, King of the Lombards was poisoned by Rosamond his Second Wife, cruelly enraged, for that he had constrained her at a Feast, to drink out of the Skull of Cunimond, King of the Gepides, her Father. Clepbns having succeeded him; and a while after he being also assassinated by one of his own People, the Lombards would have no more Kings, and committed the Government to Thirty Dukes, each of them having a City. Three of the most potent, undertook to Conquer, upon the score of conveniency, that part of Gauri, which lies between the Alpes and the Rhosne, and entred upon it with three several Bodies of Soldiers. But the Patrician Mummole beat them in several Rencontres, and drove them out all three.

Upon the dividing the Kingdom of Cherebert, Touraine and Poitou fell to Sigebert, Chilperic burned with a desire to accommodate himself therewith, at what price soever. This unjust desire caused a cruel War, the desolation of many Provinces, and in fine, the death of Sigebert; King Gontran their Elder, endeavoured all he possibly could to prevent them, and when he could not, he sometimes went along with the strongest.

After

574. and the following.

After two or three Ruptures, and two or three Agreements, *Chilperic*, who would not let fall his design, allured *Gontran* to his Party, took up Arms again, and fell into *Champagne*; whilst on the other side, his Son *Theodebert* entred into *Poitou*. *Sigebert* hearing of it, took a positive Resolution to pursue him to the death. Having therefore drawn together all those fierce People from beyond the *Rhine*, he penetrated without opposition, even to the Banks of the *Seine*. At the same instant he sent *Gontran-Boson*, and *Gondegilus* to *Poitou*, to drive out *Theodebert* thence. That young Prince being forsaken by his Men, would nevertheless Fight, but he was Taken, Slain, and Stript by Order of *Gontran-Boson*, who afterwards being afraid of *Chilperic*'s wrath, took Sanctuary in *St. Martins* at *Tours*.

575.

With the lamentable news of the death of his Son, *Chilperic* received notice likewise of the agreement between *Gontran* and *Sigebert*. The same hour, overwhelmed with grief and astonishment, he went from *Rouen*, whither he had retired himself, and snut himself up, together with his Wife and Children in *Tournay*. Everything surrendered to *Sigebert*, *Paris* opened her Gates to him, and his Wife *Bruneband* animated by revenge, came presently thither with her Children to establish her Throne, and push forward her Husbands resentment against *Chilperic*. For this purpose he dispatches away a part of his Army which besieged him in *Tournay*; and he with the other Body encamped at *Vitry*, where he took the Oaths of the *Neustrian* Lords, who having abjured his Brother, acknowledged him for their King, and lifted him up on their * Target or Shield; or set him on the Throne.

* Pavois.

Nothing was left for *Chilperic*, but the determinate Courage of *Fredegonde*, this was enough to save him. She by her flattery and caresses, knew so well how to Enchant a couple of Citizens of *Teroenne*, Men robust and bruitish, that they coming to *Sigebert*, under pretence of entertaining him with some affair of great consequence, did stab him in his Tent, where they were soon cut in pieces by his Soldiers, as she wished.

Sigebert was very near the 44th year of his age, and about the end of the 14th of his Reign. He had a Son but four years and eight Months old, named *Childebert*, and two Daughters, *Ingond* and *Clodovinde*, the first was Married to *Hermenigildus*, the Son of *Lenuigildus*, King of the *Visigoths*; the Second betrothed only to *Recaredus*, elder Brother to *Hermenigildus*. His Body was interred in *St. Mards* at *Soissons*, near his Father, by whose Order he had finished that Church.

G O N T R A N	36	C H I L P E R I C	36	C H I L D E B E R T II.
King of Burgundy	36	King of Soissons and	36	called the Young, aged
at Soissons.	36	Paris, in Neustria.	36	Five years, in Austrasia.

575.

The death of *Sigebert* was followed with a suddain and general Revolution, the *Austrasians* raised the Siege of *Tournay*, and having joyned with those who were at *Vitry*, they retired in confusion: the *Neustrians* returned to the Obedience of *Chilperic*; and *Bruneband* found her self surrounded and cooped up in *Paris*, where she then was with her Children, and knew not how to get thence. But the wisdom of the Duke *Gombaud*, the greatest Lord of *Austrasia*, found out a way to save the Pupil *Childebert*, having let him down over the Walls in a Basket, and put him into the hands of a faithful Person, who himself carried him into the City of *Metz*.

Already some of the *Austrasians* had made their Composition with *Chilperic*, but the rest being assembled together in great numbers, according to their custom, set the young Prince upon the Royal Seat on *New-years-day*, and put him under the protection of *Gontran*; so that *Chilperic* lost his hopes of invading that Kingdom: but he seized upon that of *Paris*, and banished *Bruneband* to *Rouen*, and her two Daughters to *Meaux*.

576.

He had sent *Meroveus* his eldest Son by Queen *Andovere*, to seize upon *Poitou*, which belonged to the Kingdom of *Childebert*. *Meroveus*, instead of putting this design in execution, went to *Tours*, and from thence to *Rouen*, where he suffered himself to be so much surprized with the charms of *Bruneband*, as then aged at least 28 years, that he Married her; *Pretextat*, Bishop of *Rouen*, God-father to the young Prince, making the Marriage. The Father hastens thither, and having by deceitful words drawn those so newly Wedded out of a Church, where they had taken shelter, he set a Guard upon *Bruneband*, and carried his Son away with him.

Mean

Mean time the *Austrasian* Lords, who were come to submit to him, returned again to *Childebert*: *Godin* amongst others, who to carry somewhat with him that might bid him welcom, armed the *Champanois* and made himself Master of *Soissons*, where he wanted but little of surprizing *Fredegonda*. *Chilperic* was quickly there, vanquishes him, and re-takes the Town: but *Fredegonda* believing that *Godin* had not undertaken so bold an enterprize without the participation of *Meroveus* and *Bruneband*, obliged her Husband to confine that young Prince, and a while after to force him to turn Priest, and send him to the Monastery of *Aunisse*, which is called now *St. Calais*, the name of its first Abbot.

The *Austrasians* demand their Queen *Bruneband* with so much earnestness, that he sent her to them; and yet he could not forbear to invade the Lands of *Childebert*. His Son *Clovis* took the Town of *Saintes*: but the Duke *Didier* going to besiege that of *Limoges*, met in his way the Patrician *Mummole*, whom *Gontran* sent to defend the Country belonging to his Pupil: the Fight was so obstinate that there were slain Thirty thousand on both sides, three parts of them were *Didier*'s, who saved himself with much ado.

576.

577.

About the same time *Meroveus* escaped from the Monastery, and secured himself in the Church called *St. Martins* of *Tours*, prompted thereto by *Gailen* his most intimate Confident, who was come to visit him, and drawn by *Gontran-Boson*, who had sheltered himself in that place, as we have related. The Step-Mother *Fredegonda* favoured this *Boson*, for the same reason that *Chilperic* would put him to death, and maintained a private Commerce with him, that he might destroy *Meroveus*, as he had made his Brother *Theodebert* to perish.

The young Prince having notice that *Fredegonda* sought by all means to take away his life, did not find himself there in security: He goes out from thence accompanied with this *Boson*, whose treachery he knew not of, and would go to find out *Bruneband*, but the *Austrasians* refused to admit him: he remained then some time concealed, and a Vagabond in *Champagne*. After which, this *Boson* and *Giles* Bishop of *Rheims*, upon the pretence of delivering up the City of *Teroenne* to him, made him fall into their Ambuscades, surrounding and taking him Prisoner in a Village, of which they gave immediate notice to *Chilperic*: he went thither with all diligence, but found that his unfortunate Son was dead, he had been Poynarded by the order of *Fredegonda*, who made him believe, that apprehending he should be put to tortures, he had borrowed the helping hand of *Gailen* his favourite to dispatch him.

577.

A while before the Bishop *Pretextat* his Godfather, was accused before the Bishops assembled in Council at *Paris*, where no proofs appearing strong enough against him touching what was alledged, he suffers himself to be induced by two false Brothers, upon an assurance the King would pardon him, to confess more than they could desire, for which he was banished to an Island near *Constances*: but with hopes of returning, because he pretended he had not been degraded, though they had placed *Melanctius* in his See.

Death having snatched away the two Sons which *Gontran* had by *Austrigilda* his second Wife, although he were not above the age of getting Children, not being above Fifty, he desired the *Austrasians* to bring his Nephew *Childebert* to him, and Adopted him, having placed him in his Royal Seat. These two Princes being thus allied, sent to *Chilperic* to demand their part of the Kingdom of *Paris*, and declared War against him: *Chilperic* did but scoff at them, diverting himself in building of *Cirques* (or places for publick Spectacles) at *Paris* and at *Soissons*, where he would have entertained the People with Chariot-races, could he have found Charioteers that had skill enough.

The *Bretons* about the year 441. had possessed themselves of *Vannes*; afterwards *Clovis* had taken that place again, and likewise the Cities of *Nants* and *Rennes*, at that time governed by *Roman* Captains. This year 578. *Waroc* or *Guerec* a Count of *Bretagne* had the boldness to seize again upon *Vannes*, which appertained to the Kingdom of *Chilperic*, and march up to the *French* who were encamped on the Banks of the River *Vilain*. They had some Companies of *Saxons* or *Sesnes-Bessins* in their Army; one night he passes the River and beat up their Quarter; but three days afterwards finding himself too weak for so potent an Enemy, he desires Peace, swore fealty to the King, and renders up the City of *Vannes*, upon condition he should remain Governor. A short while after he again seizes it, and so long as he lived put the *French* to a great deal of trouble.

578.

Emp. *Tiberius* II. chosen by *Justin* in August, R. four years.

F

Chilperic

* The 7th or 8th part of a Muid, and the Muid is a third part of a Tun.

579.

Chilperic and his wicked Wife *Fredegonda* over-burthened the People with Imposts: they had taxed an Amphore of * Wine upon every half Acre of Vineyard, several other Charges upon things of another kind, and a Tribute upon the head of every Slave, and indeed a kind of Poll-money for every Freeman; insomuch that their Subjects ran away out of the Kingdom, as a place of Torment, and peopled that of *Gontran* and *Childebert*: wiser in so doing, than those of *Limousin*, who having opposed a *Referendaire* (or Lord Chancellor, so named in those times) who was going to settle the Taxes or Duties in that Country, and having burnt his Registers, left themselves exposed to the Sanguinary Avarice of an Intendant (or Judge) whom *Chilperic* sent thither to chastise their Sedition.

597.

This year *Sampson*, eldest Son of *Fredegonda* died: the following year *Chilperic* was tormented with a long and continual Fever; as he was upon Recovery, two other Sons whom he had by that Woman, were afflicted with a Dysentery, which was rife all over *France*, and affected Children most generally. *Fredegonda* believed this Sickness of her Children was inflicted by Heaven, who thus avenged the sufferings of the oppressed People: she was stricken to the heart, and wrought so far upon her Husband by her arguments and intreaties, that he threw the Lists of all the Tax-gatherers into the Fire, and recalled those that were sent abroad to collect them.

580.

But this forced Repentance did not save the life of her two Sons; as on the other hand these Afflictions laid upon her, only made her the more wicked: she was pierced with sorrow for the loss of all her Children, and with jealousy that there was one of her Husbands yet alive, begotten on Queen *Audovere*; his name was *Clavis*. This Prince seeing himself necessarily the Successor, let fall some words of Resentment and Threatning imprudently; By this she well foresaw what must become of her if he Reigned, and resolved to prevent it: she therefore accuses him to his Father for having poisoned her two Sons, and pre-possessed him so far with this Calumny, that he gave up his only Son to her Vengeance. The wicked Woman causes his Throat to be cut, and the Body to be cast into the River, and afterwards the unfortunate *Audovere* to be Strangled, though she wore the Sacred Vail, and her Daughter *Rafina* to be locked up in the Monastery of *Portiers*, after her Sattelites had deflowered her. A Fisherman having found the Body of the young Prince, and knowing it to be his by the long Hair, buried it under a Monument of Turf, from whence King *Gontran* afterwards transferr'd it to St. *Vincent's* Church in *Paris*.

Two years before *Chilperic* had sent Ambassadors to the Emperor *Tiberius*, to congratulate him, as I believe, upon his promotion to the Empire, and make up some kind of League with him against the *Lombards*. This year they brought him back all imaginable satisfaction and very rich Presents, amongst others were Medals of Gold a pound in weight.

581.

The Kingdom of *Austrasia* and *Childebert's* Person being under the Government of Queen *Brunebaud*, the Lords of the Country despised the Commands of a Woman, and lived in excessive Licentiousness; Those that gave her the most trouble, were *Ranchin*, and *Gontran-Boson*, *Orson*, *Bertefrey*, and *Giles* Bishop of *Rheims*, who associated together and oppressed whom they pleased. *Long* Duke of *Champagne*, a faithful Servant to his Prince and Master, as Wise as Just, was insufferable to them because of his good qualities: they took up Arms to destroy him, and he got his Friends together to defend himself. The Queen had all the trouble imaginable to prevent their coming to blows, even to the enduring outrageous words from *Orson*: but after all she could not so well secure the Duke from their fury, but he was forced to quit the Kingdom, and take refuge with *Gontran*.

581.

The most dangerous of these Factional Spirits was the Bishop of *Rheims*: as he was secretly engaged and wedded to *Chilperic*, of which he had given testimonies, having formerly treacherously delivered up the City of *Rheims*, and drawn *Meryman* into the fatal snare: he caused his Faction to act so powerfully, that the *Austrasian* Lords, to the prejudice of the Alliance their King had made with his Uncle *Gontran*, obliged him to make a League with *Chilperic* against him; The Lure was, That *Chilperic* having at that time no Son, promised the Succession to him.

This League being made, *Childebert* sent to demand the half of *Marseilles* of his Uncle, who very far from restoring it, made himself Master of the other, by the treachery of *Dynamius* Governor of *Provence* for *Childebert*. After this fear *Dynamius* goes over to *Gontran*, as in revenge the Patrician *Mummole*, pushed at by some intrigues of Court (ever fatal to great Commanders) forsakes *Gontran*

to

to be of *Childebert's* side, and fortifies himself in the City of *Avignon*, which that King without doubt had put into his hands for his security, and that from thence he might make incursions in the Enemies Country.

The business of *Marseilles* caused an absolute Rupture betwixt the two Kings; *Chilperic* who desired this, presently falls upon *Gontran's* Countries, and the Duke *Didier* by his order invades *Perigord* and *Aginois*, without much opposition.

Another of his Dukes by name *Bladast* was not so fortunate against the *Gascons*; 581, or 82. For having undertaken to seek them out in their own Country to chastise them for the frequent Irruptions they made into the third *Aquitaine*, he was hemm'd in, and his Forces cut in pieces. The *Gascons* then inhabited upon the Confines of *Cantabria*, between the Countries of the *Visigoths* and the *French*, and by their Excursions made themselves formidable both to the one and the other, carrying away whatever they could meet withall, and afterwards sheltering themselves again on their Mountains.

There was only *Chilperic* that made open War upon *Gontran*: but the Patrician *Mummole* with the secret support of the Lords of *Austrasia*, was contriving a dangerous Design against him; There was a certain Person named *Gondebaud* who pretended to be the Son of King *Clotaire*, and he might well be so, considering the multitude of Wives that King had. This *Gondebaud* not having been able to get his pretended Brothers the Kings to acknowledge him, had retired himself to *Constantinople*, *Tiberius* the Emperor then living; It happened that *Gontran-Boson* made a Voyage into those parts, it is not mentioned upon what account, and he persuades this Man so much that the *French* wished for him, and that *Gontran* and *Chilperic* having no Children, he might safely come to the Succession, that he resolved to return into *France*. *Tiberius* having a prospect of what he might possibly attain to one day, assisted him with great Sums of Money: he comes ashore at *Marseilles*, was received by the Bishop, and afterwards Entertained at *Avignon* by *Mummole*. But the same *Gontran-Boson* who had persuaded him to return, having set himself now to persecute the Bishop and such as favoured him, he wisely withdrew himself into an Island at the mouth of the *Rhone*: and then the Traitor seized on all his Moneys, and took a Commission from King *Gontran* to besiege *Mummole* in *Avignon*. *Childebert* being informed of it, sent one of his Dukes, who quashed that Design.

The Provinces suffered most horribly by the cruel Discord of these Kings, the Soldiers who marched every where, plunder'd, burnt, and put all to the Sword. There was no Discipline, but so uncontroul'd a License, that the Soldiers would fly in the faces of their own Officers, if they did but question or forbid them, as soon as on the meanest fellow.)

(With this cruel Desolation, Heavens sent a cruel Epidemical Disease which raged over all *France*, but most fiercely over *Paris* and that Vicinage: it was called, *Lues Inquinaria*, because it appeared in those parts: it burnt those that were tainted with it, with great pain, and made an Escar in a short time like a Caustery: the most part died howling and shrieking most horribly, and there was no cure found but in the Churches, and especially that of our Ladies.)

Chilperic had besieged *Melun*, and commanded three of his Dukes to attack *Bourges*: the *Berryvians* came forth to meet them, and gave them Battle, which was very bloody to both Parties; *Gontran* who went in his own Person to fight *Chilperic*, having met with a Body of his Men, who had left the rest to get Plunder, cut them all off; *Chilperic* much cooled with this Rebuke, caused some Propositions to be made towards an Accommodation: and *Gontran* who was of a mild and peaceable Temper, receives them with joy.

Chilperic thought with himself that now he should get him to joyn to oppress *Childebert*, in whose Kingdom he had great intelligence by the means of the Bishop of *Rheims*: but maugre all the intrigues of those Factional Spirits, *Gontran* and *Childebert* were reconciled, the Uncle restored that part of *Marseilles* which began the breach to his Nephew again, and they formed a League together to recover at their joyn't Charges and Expence, those Cities belonging to *Cherebert's* Kingdom, which *Chilperic* had gotten from it.

Upon the point when *Childebert* was preparing himself to assault *Chilperic*, the Emperor *Mauritius* for the Sum of 50000 Crowns of Gold, ready Money, obliges him to carry his Forces into *Italy* against the *Lombards* who held the City of *Rome* besieged. The young Prince but Fourteen years of Age went in Person; Their King *Autaris* did not oppose Force with Force, but putting his Men into several

583.

Emp. *Mauritius* Son in Law to *Tiberius*, in Aug. Reigned nigh twenty years.

583.

583.

places, let the Torrent run on: and that it might for ever be turned another way, he yielded up his Kingdom to the French, and became their Tributary.

It is fit we understand that in the year 584. the Lombards perceiving that the Emperor Mauritius would needs endeavour by all means to root them out of Italy, they thought the best way to preserve themselves was to restore their State to a Monarchy again, and made Autaris the Son of Clephus King; But nevertheless their thirty Dukes kept as their Propriety, and as Hereditary the Titles to those Cities they then held: but so that they should be obliged in certain Services to him, particularly to obey and follow him in time of War. This is perhaps the true Original of that Knights Service, or Fee, so much searched after by the Curious: at least it is said they were settled or establish'd according to the Custom of the Lombards.

584. After many Wars, Chilperic thinking to enjoy some rest, was Assassinated in the Court of his Palace of Chelles in Brie, which hapned towards the end of September. One Evening in the twilight, as he was alighting from his Horse, being come from Hunting, accompanied with but few, a Murderer gave him two Stabs with a Knife, one under his Arm-pit, the other into his Belly. An Author attributes this unhappy blow to Brunehaud, but others accuses his Wife Fredegonda, who was obliged, say they, to prevent him, because he had discover'd her Adultery with a Lord named Landry.

History describes this King to us Proud, Inhumane, Malicious, Dissembling, and a great Projector of Imposts: but Crafty, Patient, Magnificent, and instructed with good Learning. In our days have been found (it was Anno 1643.) a couple of Tombs just by one another, under ground at the entrance into the Church of St. Germain des Prez; the name of Chilperic which was written upon one of the two, hath made it to be conjectured that it was his, and the other his Wife's: however it be, that other Tomb in the same Church, whereon we see his Statue, is a Cenotaph which hath been placed there in these last Ages.

Of so many Sons as he had gotten on divers Women, there remained but one, who was but four months old, and had as yet no name: he caused him to be Nursed at the Burrough of Vitry near Tournay for fear they should destroy him by Poyson or Witchcraft, as he believed they had done the others.

He had likewise a Daughter by Fredegonda (she was named Rigunsa) who was then on her way into Spain to meet with Ricaredo the King, eldest Son to Leuwigildus, to whom she was betrothed. When she was gotten to Thoulonsa the news came of her Fathers Death: Didier Duke of that Country rifled all her Equipage, so that she went no farther, but returned to her Mother, to whom she gave a great deal of trouble, being much like her in Humour and ill Qualities.

Clotair

Clotair II. King X.

POPES,

PELAGIUS II. S. Five years during this Reign.

St. GREGORY I. Called the Great, chosen Sept. 590. S. thirteen years six months.

SABINIANUS, In Sept. 604. S. five months nineteen days.

BONIFACE III. Chosen in Sep. 606. S. nine months.

BONIFACE IV. Chosen 607. S. six years eight months.

DEUS-DEDIT, Elected in 614. S. three years.

BONIFACE V. Chosen in 617. S. nine years.

HONORIUS I. Elected 13 May 626. S. twelve years five months, of which six years in this Reign.

Uncle.

Cousin Germans.

GONTRAN in Burgundy } CHILDEBERT } CLOTAIR II. Aged four
and part of Neustria. } in Austrasia. } or five months in Neustria.

584. The Conscience of the Crime and the fear of Childebert, who was at that time at Meaux, terrified Fredegonda so much, that leaving part of her Treasure at Chelles, she flies to Paris, and thrusts her self for Sanctuary in the Church of Notre-Dame, under the Protection of the Bishop.

Gontran having heard of the death of his Brother, came presently with great Company; Childebert was set forward likewise to have gotten in, but finding the place was possessed, he retires to Meaux, and sends Ambassadors to him, to demand part of the Kingdom of Paris, and then again some others to pray him to deliver up Fredegonda to him to punish her for the Murder of her Husband, and of Meroveus and Clovis. To the first he Replied, That all the Kingdom of Paris belonged to him, because his Brothers Sigebert and Chilperic had forfeited their shares by violating the Treaty of Agreement made between them three: and as for the other, he would refer it to an Assembly of the Estates, which was to be held on a day appointed.

He remained two months at Paris, in which time Fredegonda knew so well how to soothe him, that he took her and her Son into his Protection, and ordered the Lords of Chilperic's Kingdom to repair to Vitry, and acknowledge that Son for their King, and to name him Clotair, however he appropriated most of the Kingdom of Paris to himself, only the City of Paris excepted, which he left to the young Child.

He afterwards employed himself in doing Justice to those that made complaints of the several Violences of the deceased Chilperic, and of all the Grandees belonging to that Kings Court, who being unjust and griping to the utmost extremity, had suffered all manner of Robberies and Spoil in them. In fine, believing himself Master of all France, during the Minority of his Nephews, he took possession of their Lands in Neustria as he pleased: but in Austrasia his Power was not owned.

The hatred they had against Fredegonda did not diminish, she durst not come out of her Asylum of Notre-Dame, wherefore he sent her to Van de Ruil near Rouen; Being there in more security, she began afresh to make use of Poyson and Poyniard, they did several times apprehend and discover some Assassines which she was sending to Murder King Childebert and Brunehaud; That Queen having detected one especially amongst the rest (it was a Clerk) after he had been put to many Tortures,

tures, sent him back again to her in derision: and she for shame and madness, caused the Feet and Hands of this miserable Wretch to be cut off.

535.

Two years after the beforementioned *Gondebaud*, who was come from *Constantinople*, had kept himself close and concealed in an Island at the mouth of the *Rhône*, *Gontran-Boson*, the *Patrician Mummole*, *Didier* Duke of *Thoulouze*, *Bladaste*, who had been beaten by the *Gascons*, and some other Faction Heads sworn Enemies to King *Gontran*, had persuaded him to take the Title of King, lifting him up upon the * Target at *Brive la Gaillarde*: The Lords of *Childebert's* Court, several Bishops of *Aquitain*, *Brunchaud* her self, who desired him for her Husband, favoured him openly enough, and all the Country beyond the *Garonne* obeyed him.

* They set up their new made King on a Shield or Target, and so carry'd him before the People.

The thing did particularly concern King *Gontran*, he feared his Nephew *Childebert* might assist this Conspiracy, which aimed at no less than to strip him: it was by this Motive that he desired he would come to him, and that he confirmed the Adoption before made, putting his Javelin into his Hand; At the same time he caused an Army to march into *Aquitain* under the Conduct of *Leudegisle*, and the *Patrician Egila*. *Gondebaud* knowing they approached, shuts himself up with good store of Ammunitions in the strong City of *Lyons de Cominges*: he was there besieged a while after. The Fifteenth day of the Siege, *Mummole* ever perfidious, and the other Lords delivers him to the Besiegers, thinking to purchase their Lives with the price of his; In effect he was kill'd upon the place; but they fared never the better for that, *Mummole* was treated in the same manner as well as Bishop *Sagittary*, as soon as they had orders from the King; The City was sacked and destroy'd, and remained buried in its Ruines, till about the year 1005. when Bishop *St. Bertrand*, whose name it bears, Rebuilt it in the very same place: but of a far less Circumference than before.

585.

That War ended, *Gontran* came to *Paris* to hold the little *Clotair* at the Font, which was not performed this time, *Fredegonda* keeping the Child at a distance, and fearing that he desired to see it only to seize upon it, and to shave it, for he could not believe it was his Brothers Son; so that to cure him of this doubt, she sent him three Bishops, and three hundred Notables, who affirmed upon Oath, that this little Prince was Legitimate.

584, and 85.

The Prince *Hermenigilda* second Son of King *Leuvigilda*, had Married *Ingonde* Daughter to King *Sigebert*: The young Princefs having Converted him to the Catholick Religion, *Goisuinte* her Mother in Law used her outrageously; *Hermenigild* her Husband had taken Arms against King *Leuvigild* his Father, and being Leagued with the *Sueves* and the *Greeks*, had trusted his Wife in the hands of these last; Now, not being able to resist his Father, he had surrendered to his Mercy, and the Father kept him miserably confined in close Imprisonment. The *Greeks* seeing him detained, retained his Wife also, and Embarked her to transport her to *Constantinople*. Her Brother *Childebert*, that he might obtain her Release of the Emperor, sent a puissant Army to make War upon the *Lombards*: but it being made up half of *French* and half *Almains*, the Discord betwixt those two Nations made them trudge back again as they went, without so much as seeing the Enemy.

585.

Immediately after this, it was known that *Ingonde* was dead in *Affrick*, and that *Leuvigildus* had caused her Husband to be Strangled. King *Gontran* animated with a just Resentment against those *Arrian* Barbarians, undertook to drive them out of *Languedoc*; His Forces of the Kingdom of *Burgundy* besieged *Nismes*, and those of *Aquitain*, *Carcaffonne*: but there was so little Order and so much Licentiousness in both these Armies, that they reaped nothing but shame, nor did they make any feel the effects of War but their own fellow Subjects, plundering and killing all the poor Peasants: and indeed at their return the lower Countries being utterly destroy'd, and the Bridges broken down, some of them perished for Hunger, others in passing over the Rivers, nay above five thousand by their own Swords, in the Contests one Company had against another almost every hour.

586.

Leuvigildus broken with Age, spared not either Prayers or Presents to obtain a Peace with *Gontran*: but that King would never hearken to it, he could not so soon forget the ill Treatment they had shewed to his Nephew, nor the Affront he had received the year before from *Recarede*, who had made Inroads and taken some Places in *Provence*.

587.

Some while after this *Leuvigildus* dies, but had before renounced *Arrianism*, and his *Recared* or *Richard* professed the Catholick Religion, and Established it amongst his People.

Before

Before his Death he had practised some Intelligence with *Fredegonde*, to rid themselves of their common Enemies: he meant *Childebert* and *Gontran*, who at that time were firmly united; For *Gontran* having again declared *Childebert* his only Heir, without making any reckoning of *Clotair* whom he counted a Bastard or one foisted in, *Fredegonda* mortally hated them both, and sought to thrust them out of the World: Two Clerks were apprehended whom she had sent to assassinate *Childebert* with Poysoned Knives, they were put to death by Torments, their Noses, Hands, and Ears being cut off.

587.

Every hour were such like Plots found out contrived by that wicked Woman; *Pretextat* had been restored to his Bishoprick of *Rouen* by King *Gontran*, she could not behold him without rage, in so much that having one day had some words with him, (for she was come from *Val de Ruel* to *Rouen*) she hired a wicked Slave, who upon *Easter-day* wounded him to death, whilst he was at the Altar in his Cathedral Church; The Murderer (for she was compell'd to deliver him up to a Nephew of that Bishop to do what he thought good with him) confessed that she and *Melantius*, with the Archdeacon of *Rouen*, had given him Money to commit the Parricide; and that none might doubt of this truth, she put *Melantius* into that Episcopal See.

586.

587.

King *Gontran* by good fortune avoided three or four Attempts she made against his Person; and notwithstanding, either out of faint-heartedness, or because the *Neustrian* Lords jealous of their Authority, would not have suffered him to undertake any thing against the Mother of their King, he did not do so much as he ought to secure his Life by the Chastisement of this *Megera*.

When *Childebert* had attained to the age of Fifteen years, he began to make himself to be feared by some examples of severity, having caused Duke *Magnoald* to be killed, whom he had invited to his Palace to see a Combat of Wild Beasts, and Arrested *Gontran-Boson*, to Punish him according to what Judgment King *Gontran* should pronounce, who very well knew the Treachery of this Villain, and indeed did not pardon him.

587.

The other Grandees of *Austrasia*, particularly *Ranchin*, *Ursion*, and *Bertefroy* took the alarm at it: *Fredegonda* by her secret Correspondence encreased their Apprehensions, so that in Confort with her, they conspired to kill their King, and make his two Sons to Reign, the eldest of which was but two years old. *Childebert* having had notice hereof from *Gontran* his Uncle, sent for *Ranchin*, and caused him to be knocked on the Head going out of his Chamber; *Ursion* and *Bertefroy* who had sheltered themselves in a Church were handled after the same manner.

The Emperor *Mauritius* had for some time solicited King *Childebert* upon very advantageous Conditions, to make a Descent into *Italy*, for the driving out the *Lombards*: at length *Childebert* to acquit himself of his Promise and the Sums he had received, went thither with a powerful Army. *Autari* knowing by experience that Money drew the *French* thither but would not drive them back again, did not profer them any, but resolved in himself either to Conquer or else to dye with Honour; The Fates were favourable to him in a great Engagement at the entrance to the *Alpes*; *Childebert* having been soundly beaten, retired.

588.

What ever Intreaties *Recared* could make to King *Gontran*, he could not obtain a Peace; on the contrary, he was obstinately bent to continue the War against him: but he only encreased his Shame and Losses. Duke *Boson*, whom he had sent into *Septimania*, despising the Enemy and minding nothing but to Debauch, suffered himself to be drawn into an Ambuscade, where most part of his Army was defeated by a very small number of *Visigoths*.

589.

The Strife and troubles between the Nuns of the Abby of *St. Croix* of *Poitiers* did puzzle King *Gontran* as much as if it had been a business of greater moment; amongst them there were two Princesses, *Crodiel* Daughter of King *Cherebert*, and *Basine* Daughter of King *Chilperic*: *Crodiel* having a fancy in her own Head to Command, accused *Lubovere* her Abbess of many Irregularities to make her be put out; After that she went away with forty Nuns of her Cabal, to make complaint to King *Gontran*: then being returned to *Poitiers*, she seized upon *St. Hilary's* Church with a Troop of Pick-pockets, who committed a world of Villanies and lewd Actions there: They were fain to make use of the Regal Authority and Power to punish those Rascals, and call an Assembly of the Bishops to judge of the Accusation against the Abbess: She was declared Innocent, and *Crodiel* and *Basine* Excommunicated; which was again confirmed by another Assembly of Bishops of the Kingdom of *Gontran*: but at the Intreaty of the King's, the Council of *Mets* gave

589. & 90.

gave them Absolution. *Basina* went again into the Monastery, *Crudeild* stubborn in her Disobedience, had leave to dwell in a Country-House which King *Childebert* had ordained for her.

590. A second Army which *Childebert* sent into *Italy* against the *Lombards*, did most of it perish there by Famine and Sickness: but withall struck King *Autaris* into so much dread, that he promised the *French*, if they would leave him in Peace, that he would every year send them some Presents.

Childebert discovered again another of those Assassins whom *Fredegonde* sent to Murder him; This new Attempt, giving him occasion to examine and inquire into the old Conspiracies, they apprehended *Sonnegifile* who had been concerned in that of *Ranchin*: This Person accused *Giles* Bishop of *Rheims*, and the King gave order to lay hold on him: but upon complaints made by the Bishops, that they should treat a Prelate thus without hearing him, he released him to bring it to a formal Trial. For this end he calls a Council at *Mets* the Fifteenth of *November*, and there this unhappy Wretch convicted by Witnesses, and his own Confession of Treason, and *Lose Majestatis*, and of his having been the Firebrand of the Civil Wars, he was deposed from his Bishoprick and banished to *Strasburgh*, the King having given him his Life upon the Petition of the other Bishops.

The Count *Waroc* and other Princes of *Bretagne*, notwithstanding the Oath they had given two or three times, ransacked the Bishopricks of *Remes* and *Nants*, which belonged to King *Gontran*; he would once for all punish their audacious Attempts, and commanded his Forces in the Kingdom of *Burgundy* to march that way. They had two chief Commanders, *Ebracaire* and *Boubeleine*, who could not accord together: The first of these left his Companion with the best part of the Army upon the point of the business; however *Boubeleine* defended himself valiantly for two days together, but on the third he was overwhelmed and perished with almost all his Men. *Ebracaire* being returned to Court was deposed of all his Estate and Goods to the King, who awarded them to the Heirs of *Boubeleine*.

590, or 591. King *Gontran* Hunting one day in the *Vosges*, perceived that some body had killed a Buffalo; The Keeper accused the Chamberlain to the King: and the Chamberlain denying the Fact, *Gontran* compels him to justify himself in Combat, as the custom then was in doubtful cases. His Champion and the Keeper kill each other; and he, as being Convicted by the death of his Champion, was tied to a Stake, and Stoned.

592. From the same Principle of levity of mind, which caused these violent Fits in *Gontran*, proceeded his Inconstancy and Apprehensions, which turned him sometimes on one side, sometimes on another: He could not but mortally hate *Fredegonde*, and yet nevertheless upon her intreaty he came to the Palace of *Ruel*, and held the young *Clotaire* her Son at the Font for his Baptism in the Church of *St. Genevieve* of *Nanterre*, which gave great Umbrage and cause of Complaint to *Childebert* his other Nephew.

593. The following year, or according to others, two years after, this Prince being at *Chaalons*, where he kept his ordinary Residence, and had caused the Church and Abby of *St. Marcel* to be built, he fell Sick, and died the 28th of *March*, being in the One and thirtieth or two and thirtieth of his Reign, and above the Sixty eighth of his Age.

Of several Children he had had by several Wives, but one survived him, which was a Daughter named *Clotilda*, who was veiled. It appears, he left all his Lands to *Childebert*, and little or nothing to *Clotaire*, though he were his God-father.

He was beyond comparison the best of the four Brothers, pious, Charitable, a lover of Justice and of publick good, respectful to the Church and Prelates, taking a particular care the Canons should be observed: but Inconstant, Timorous, Suspicious, and easie to be caught by Flatteries, and transported with Choler, which but too frequently gave him cause to repent.

CHILDEBERT in Austrasia, and CLOTAIRE in Neustria,
Burgundy, and part of Neustria.

Childebert, Valiant, powerfully Armed, and enriched by the Succession to *Gontran*, whereof he went immediately to take Possession, thought to have an easy task of *Clotaire* a young Child, and his Mother *Fredegonde*, who was hated by all the *French*: but this Woman, Subtil and Courageous, sparing neither Flatteries nor Money, nor Promises, regained the most alienated Minds, and tied them to her Service.

Service. She appeared every where, carried her Son about with her, and holding him up, sometimes in her Arms, shewed him to the Soldiers, and crouds of People, and did animate them with compassion of his innocence.

Thus with their faithful assistance, and with the Conduct of her Landry Mayre of the Palace, she obstructed the progress of the Enemy, having surprized and defeated his Army by stratagem, in a place of *Soissonnois* which they called *Truac*. The Dukes *Gondouand*, and *Wintrion* Commanded it; There was slain 3000 Men on their side, which did not a little confirm the Crown to *Clotaire*; but could not however prevent *Childebert* from tearing away some Towns at the further part of his Kingdom.

The *Warnes*, *Garues*, or *Guerins*, were a People of *Germany*, whose first Habitation had been in that Countrey, where is at this day the Duchy of *Mecklenburgh* (where there is a River which they yet call *Warne*, which passes by *Rostoc*.) From thence they issuing out with the *English*, the *Saxons*, and the *Heruli*, were come to Lodge in *Friesland*, and in *Batavia*; on the North of those Countreys, the *French* held beyond the *Rhine*; and there had settled a little Kingdom: but I believe they had been conquered by *Theodebert*, or by *Clotaire* I. and subjected to the Kingdom of *Austrasia*. Now having Rebelled this year 594. against *Childebert*, they were utterly extirpated, either by the Sword, or led away into Captivity; inasmuch, as since that time the name of them hath never been heard of.

About the Month of *October*, in Anno 595. *Childebert* and his Wife were both snatched out of the World by Sickness, near the same time; perhaps it was by poison from *Fredegonde*'s Shop, or of *Brunehauds* preparation, *Fredegonde* being their avowed Enemy, and *Brunehaud* put beside her Authority by her Sons age, which she might possibly endeavour to recover in the minority of her Children. *Childebert* dyed in the 25th of his age, and the 20th of his Reign. I know there are some Chronologists that allow him three years more; as also 33 years Reign to *Gontran*: but let us leave them to handle these Bryers and Thorns. He had two Sons, *Theodebert* and *Thierry*, who succeeded him; *Theodebert* had *Austrasia*, *Thierry* had *Burgundy*, and the Kingdom of *Orleans*.

CLOTAIRE II. In Neustria, aged Eight years, under THEODEBERT, and THIERRY, King
FREDEGOND his Mother, King of Austrasia, aged
Nine or Ten years. Eight or Nine years.

BROTHERS.

Under Brunehaud their Grandmother.

Thus in all the Kingdoms of *France*, they were but Children that had at this time the Titles of Kings, and which was worse, two Women versed in all manner of crimes, held the reins of Government. *Brunehaud* ruled those of her Grand-Children by her self, and by her Confidants, she resided in *Austrasia* with *Theodebert*, whose Seat was at *Mets*, as *Thierry*'s was at *Chaalons* on the *Soane*.

Fredegonde more Fortunate, and also more Active than she, betook her to the Field to regain *Paris*, and the Cities on the *Seine*, which *Childebert* had taken from her. The *Austrasians* came to meet her, and there were the three little Kings to be seen, of whom the eldest was but Eight years, at the Head of their Armies. The Victory fell to *Clotaire*, with the Cities for which he fought.

Soon after *Fredegonde*, Victorious and Triumphant, but more Illustrious, yet for her Crimes, then by her good success, dyed, aged 50 or 55 years, with this advantage, that she left her Sons affairs in a condition to defend themselves alone.

This year or the following, the *Huns* made inroads upon *Turingia*, passing thorough the *Behemans*, or *Bohemians* Countrey, (a Slavonian People) who were their Subjects. *Brunehaud* durst hazard nothing against them, but removed them by force of Money.

This Princess was not less cruel and vindictive than *Fredegonde*; and besides that, very covetous, and who making her Revenge ever tend towards the filling of her Purse, took away the Lives of the Richest to get their Wealth. Amongst others, she caused the Duke *Wintrion* to be killed, who had great Treasures; he was Father of that *Glosina*, who much against his Will, did shut her self up in a Monastery at *Mets*, where she is to this day venerated as a Saint.

598. This Conduct of *Brunebaud* became so insupportable to the *Austrasians*, that they haled her by force out of the Royal Palace, and led her even to the Frontiers of the Kingdom, where they left her all alone, clothed only in Rags, nigh the Castle d' Arcies, upon the River *Aube*, which parted the Kingdoms of her two Grand-sons. A poor Man knowing whom she was, conducted her to *Chaalons* upon the *Soane*, to her Son *Thierry*, who received her both with joy, and indignation at once. Her Conductor for his reward had the Bishoprick of *Auxerre*.

The two young Brothers could not forget the loss of *Paris*, and other Cities about the *Seine*, which *Clotaire* had forced from them; their Grand-Mother provoked them to call him to account, and invade his Kingdom. Knowing their design, he comes boldly to meet them, even near the Frontiers of *Burgundy*. The two Armies fought nigh the Banks of the little River *Aronne*, which glides betwixt that of *Tonne* and *Loing*, and falls into the *Loing*, close by *Moret*. *Clotaire* lost the Battle, and almost Thirty thousand Men, and saved himself by speedy posting to *Paris*. But he durst not stay there long, for the Victors being advanced as far as *Essonne*, he retired into the Forrest of *Arelanne*. In fine, he was constrained, lest he should lose all, to yield up to them, the greatest part of his Kingdom; to *Thierry*, all that was between the *Loire* and the *Seine*, as far as the Sea, and to *Theoderet* the Dutchy of *Dentelen*, which was between the *Oise* and the *Seine*, or perhaps between the *Somme* and the *Oise*.

600. During the controversy between the Cousins, the *Gascous* took occasion to come and plant themselves in the Countrey of *Oleron*, of *Bearn*, and of *Soule*. The two Brother Kings thought it to better purpose, having vanquish'd them, to make them become Tributaries, then to drive them quite away, and gave them a Duke to Govern them, he was called *Genialis*. But as they are a stirring People, during the Civil Wars of the *French*, they gained all *Aquitania Tertia*, which because of them is named *Gascogne*.

601. *Brunebaud* had all the power in the Court of young King *Thierry*, having made him taste the pleasure of Women, and Love betimes, to keep him from meddling with business of State by charms of voluptuousness, and out of fear, lest a lawful Wife, if he should take one, should induce him to retrench her Authority, by gaining the Affections of her Grand-Son from her. This year he had a Son by one of his Mistresses, which they named *Sigbert*.

Emp. Phoca, chosen by the Army; kills Maurice in Novemb. R. 18 years.

Though *Brunebaud* were a Great-Grand-Mother, she was not exempted from Love, nor from inspiring it in others, by the opportunities she had of bestowing the greatest Favours, but this she did most commonly at the expence of the richest, whom she fleeced by her Calumnies, and her assassinations. The precedent year she had taken away the Life of *Egila*, Patrician of *Burgundy*, to enrich her self with his spoil.

602.
603.

She loved amongst others, a young Lord named *Protades*, of *Roman* extraction, that is to say, *Gaulois*, and had already made him Duke des *Transjurains*: (this was not enough, she must raise him to the Office of *Mayer* of the Palace) But *Bertoald*, who then executed it, must first be put out of the way. To this end she sent him to gather up the Imposts in *Neustria*, newly taken from *Clotaire*, and as yet not well subjected. *Landry*, *Mayer* of the Palace, soon chafes him, pursues him even to *Orleans*, and Besieges him. King *Thierry* being informed thereof, Mounts on Horseback, the Battle was fought at the passage over the River of *Estampes*, most part of *Landry's* Men were cut off; but *Bertoald* was slain there, as *Brunebaud* had wished, and she gave that Employment to her *Protades*.

603. At the same time King *Theodebert* had taken the Field, to run upon *Clotaire*; but the two Kings being there present, *Theodebert*, grants him a Peace, desiring to preserve him for a time of need against his Brother *Thierry*; who likewise, and perhaps upon the same consideration, did in a while after, make his accommodation with *Clotaire*.

604. The Old One had not forgot the Outrage she had received by *Theodebert*, or rather the *Austrasian* Lords; she infinitely desired *Thierry* might make himself Master of that Kingdom, that she might execute her Revenge. She made him believe therefore that *Theodebert* was not his Brother, but that he was the Son of a Gardiner. Was it that she would have it meant he had been Supposed, or Changed; or that the Queen *Faileube* had committed Adultery with some person of that condition? Upon all occasions she and her Favourite thundered it in the Ears of *Thierry*, and laid hold of every little subject of *Pique*, to exasperate the Spirit of that young ambitious and violent Prince: Inasmuch as that in fine, he took up Arms to deprive his own Brother, both of his Crown and Life. One day as the two Armies were encamped near each

each other, the *Lendes* or Vassals of the Kings, detesting this impious War, endeavoured an accommodation; *Protades* opposing it, those that belonged to *Thierry* gathered together, and notwithstanding the Intreaty and Commands of that Prince to the contrary, went and slew him in his Tent, where he was playing at *Chefsi*.

605.

605 & 6.

In time *Brunebaud* found means to sacrifice all those that had procured his Death, to the *Manes* of her beloved Friend. But notwithstanding, instead of one Gallant she chose many, and those the handsomest of her Court. The scandal was so great, that *St. Didier*, Bishop of *Lions*, was obliged by his Pastoral Office and Duty, to make some publique Remonstrances of it to her. They wrought no effect upon a Soul so plunged in the Mire of her Lust; but they acquired the Crown of Martyrdom for this Holy Prelate. This Second *Jefabel* having first caused him to be degraded, and banished by an Assembly * of Bishops, devoted to her passion; then two years after stoned to death by her *Satellites*.

* At Chalons.

Some remembrance of Conscience having touched *Thierry*, he would needs take a lawful Wife, and caused *Hermenberg*, the Daughter of *Bertric*, King of the *Visigoths*, to come out of *Spain*, that he might Marry her: (But *Brunebaud* by her Witchcrafts, as it was said, hindered him from consummating the Nuptials, and even perswaded him to send her back, and most unjustly detain all that she had brought with her for him.

The disorders of this Court were at such a height, that it was to ruin ones self not to approve of it. Nevertheless, the H. Abbot *Colomban*, who feared nought but God alone, spared not to conjure King *Thierry*, to put an end to his Debauches, by a legitimate Marriage, and refused to give Blessing to his Bastards, boldly assuring him, that God would never suffer the Sons of Sin to Reign. This Christian liberty thwarted too much the Interests and Pleasures of *Brunebaud*; she ceased not from irritating the King her Son against the Saint, till he had caused him to be plucked out of his Monastery with violence, and turned out of his Kingdom.

608.

At that time when she her self was driven from the Court of *Austrasia*, she had left one of her Servants there, bought with the price of Money, named *Bilechild*, a Virgin of much Wisdom, and more Beauty: *Theodebert* having Married her, the kindness that Prince had for her, begot the aversion of *Brunebaud*. It hapned that this year she dyed by some ill beverage. It was not known from what hand it was directed, whether that old jealous Woman, or her Husbands, who was grown weary of her, and would have another; as indeed he Married *Theodechild*, one of the same quality and condition.

But her death was imputed to *Brunebaud*, as well as the War that was kindled betwixt the two Brothers. *Theodebert*, a Prince more stupid and cruel then valiant, began it to his own misfortune, having taken *Alsatia*, and the Countreys of *Suntgaw*, from *Tergow* and *Thierry*, alledging for a pretence, that he reclaimed them, as pieces belonging to the Kingdom of *Austrasia*. They had been so indeed; but *Childebert* had cut them off by his Testament, to joyn them to *Burgundy*.

The Lords of both Kingdoms prevailed with the two Brothers, to meet with Ten thousand Men apiece at a Castle situate on the *Rhine*, between *Savern* and *Strasbourg*, to refer all the differences between them to the *French*. *Thierry* came innocently thither with the numbers agreed to, but *Theodebert* brought a great Army, and beset his Brother; inasmuch as he was constrained, that he might get himself out of this Net, to yield up to him that Countrey which was in question.

After this, *Thierry* inflamed with a desire of Revenge, which was more blown up by *Brunebaud*, easily perswaded himself, that he was not his Brother, and vowed to pursue him to the death.

610.

Emp. Heraclius elected by the Army; put Phocas to death, R. 31 years.

610.

611.

The end of this detestable War was, that *Thierry* having vanquished his Brother in two Battles, the most bloody and furious that can be imagined, the First hard by *Toul*, the Second at *Tolbiac*: he destroyed him with his whole Race. Some say that the *Ribarols* when he had made his escape to *Colen*, cut off his Head, and stuck it on the top of a Pike, to get the better Composition from the Conquerour; others tell, that he was taken beyond the *Rhine*, and carried to *Brunebaud*, who having first caused him to be shaved, Murthered him some few days after, as well as his two Sons, *Clavis* and *Meroveus*, which last she brained against a Wall. He Reigned 16 years, and Lived 25.

When *Thierry* had resolved first upon this fatal War, he made an agreement with *Clotaire*, that he might have no Enemy behind his back, and promised to restore the Dutchy of *Dentelen* to him, upon condition; he would not concern himself in this quarrel.

CLOTAIRE II.
in one part of Neustria.

and

THIERRY.
in Austrasia, Bur-
gundy, and part of
Neustria.

612. This War finished, *Clotaire* according to the Treaty, put himself in possession of the Dutchy of *Dentelen*; but *Thierry* naturally violent, and grown more insolent by his Success and Victories, sent to him to withdraw his Garrisons, otherwise he would over-run his whole Countries with Armed Soldiers. And indeed *Clotaire* having scoffed at his threatening words, he made all his Forces march that way, when a sudden death put a period to all his Designs, and made his Armies retire again into their own Provinces.

612. His Brother had left a Daughter, named *Bertoaire*, who was about Twelve years old, he took a fancy to Marry her, *Bruneaud* strove to dissuade him, shewing him that it was not lawful to Marry with his Niece; upon this he flies out into fury, even to the reproaching her, that she was then a wicked and unnatural Woman, who had caused him to Murder his Brother and Nephews; and had he not been withheld, had at that time run her through with his Sword; but she cunningly dissembling it, took a fit opportunity to give him poison, which brought a Disentery upon him, whereof he dyed in violent Torments. He is allowed 17 years Reign, and to have lived 26 years.

He had Six Sons, all Bastards, *Sigebert*, *Childebert*, *Corby*, *Meroveus*, and two others, whose Names are not known. *Sigebert* was 11 years old, and *Childebert* Ten. He left *Austrasia* to the First, and to the Second he gave *Burgundy*.

CLOTAIRE II.
in Neustria.

SIGEBERT, in Austrasia,
aged Eleven years.

CHILDEBERT
in Burgundy, aged
Ten years.

Bruneaud imagined that she should Reign still, under the name of her Great Grandsons; and to this end she would needs make one King of *Austrasia*, and the other King of *Burgundy*. But the *Austrasian* Lords, amongst others, *Arnulph* and *Pepin*, who could no longer endure this abominable Conduct, were more willing rather to submit to *Clotaire*; who much unlike his wicked Mother, had many Virtues of a good Prince. Those of *Burgundy* were likewise drawn into the same Conspiracy by their *Mayer Varnaquier*. *Clotaire* assured of their Suffrages, pushed forwards with his Forces into *Austrasia*, as far as *Anderuac*, which is betwixt *Bonne* and *Coblentz*: She sends to warn him out of the Territories of her Grand-Son; and he answers, that the Succession after *Thierry's* death belonged to him, to the exclusion of Bastards, and protests to stand to the Judgment and Award of the Lords of those Kingdoms.

But she being rather willing to trust to the chance of War, then their Judgment, caused *Sigebert* to mount on Horseback, who got together those People beyond the Rhine, as *Varnaquier*, who had not declared himself, did those of *Burgundy*. *Sigebert* was advanced to defend the Frontiers of *Austrasia*, as far as the Plain of *Chaalons*, near to the River *d'Aisne*: there when the Armies were in a posture ready to come to blows; *Sigebert's* Men, upon a signal given, instead of sounding a Charge, sounded a Retreat; *Clotaire* pursues gently, without pressing upon them; and when they were got to the Banks of the *Soan*, they delivered up to him *Sigebert*, and his Brothers *Corby* and *Meroveus*. *Childebert* saved himself on a nimble Horse; it is not known what became of him, a brave subject for the Genealogists, who would oblige some Family with his illustrious Pedigree.

613. When *Clotaire* had got these Children, he went and encamped at *Rionne*, upon the brink of the *Vigence*, which disgorges into the *Soan*. *Bruneaud* was retired with *Thudelain*, Sister to *Thierry*, to the Castle of *Urbe*, in the Country of the *Transjurains*; she was immediately taken, and brought to *Clotaire*: the same moment he had her in his power, *Sigebert* and *Corby* had their Throats cut; *Meroveus*, who was his God-Son had his Life spared: but he must dye as to the world, by taking Sacred Orders upon him.

That done (the French were called together in a Military Assembly, to judge the miserable *Bruneaud*, *Clotaire* himself became her Accuser, and represented all her Crimes, nay, even more then ever she had committed, for he reproached her even with

with the death of Ten Kings, though he himself had killed two of them that very hour, and his Mother at least four. All cried out aloud, that she deserved death, and the most exquisite Torments; and this voice of the French Nation formed her Sentence. She was wrackt three days together, afterwards they led her through the whole Camp upon a Camel, then they fastned her to the Tail of an unback'd Mare, who beat out her Brains, and dragging her over Stones and Briars, tore her in pieces. Others say she was drawn in pieces by four wild Horses; the Flames consumed her Carcass that was left, and the Wind sported with her Ashes. A terrible Judgment, which God, the Sovereign of Kings, caused these Men to execute upon her.

CLOTAIRE II. called the GREAT;
remains sole King, Aged 32 or 33 years.

Thus for the Second time were all the parts of France restored to one hand; but *Clotaire* himself Governed only *Neustria*; for *Austrasia* and *Burgundy* would needs retain the Title of a Kingdom, and their distinct Officers: *Varnaquier* was *Mayer* of *Burgundy*, *Radom* of *Austrasia*, and they Ruled as Vice-Roys.

He had given the Office of *Patrician*, or Governour, in the Dutchy *Transjurane* to Duke *Herpin*, a very good Man, to settle things with Order and Justice. The Grandees of the Country fearing the Reformation might extend to them, caused him to be slain by the People. *Clotaire* going expressly into *Alsatia*, punished that crime, by the death of many that were guilty.

The *Patrician Alecia* had tampered in it with Count *Herpin*, and *Lendemon*, Bishop of *Sion*: beside, he grew so impudent, as to send to tempt the Queen by that wicked Bishop, to throw her self into his Arms with all the Kings Treasure, endeavouring to make her believe the King would dye that year infallibly, and that he being of the Royal Blood of the *Burgundians*, would recover the Kingdom of *Burgundy*. The Queen sad and alarmed, having related this feigned Prophecy to her Husband, the Bishop made his escape into the Monastery of *Luxeu*. He had the good fortune to obtain his Pardon, by the intercession of the Abbot *Eustaise*; but *Alecia* being Commanded to Court to give an account of his actions, could not justify himself, and paid down his Head for it.

Clotaire heaving no more Enemies, made it all his business to regulate his Kingdom, and establish Law and Justice. All those that had unjustly been thrust out of their Estates he restored again, he abolished all Imposts, that had been made without the consent of the French People, by *Bruneaud* and *Thierry*; revoked all excessive Grants, and resumed all that had been Usurped, or Alienated from the Demesnes of the Crown; enlarging the Fountain of his Revenues, at the same time when he eased his Subjects, for he had learned by *Bruneaud's* example, that those people can easily forsake that Prince who oppresses them.

And likewise that he might keep Peace abroad, he released the *Lombards* of the 12000 Crowns of Gold which they owed him for Tribute; provided they paid him down in hand, what was due for three years only.

Queen *Bertrude*, a very good, and most amiable Princess, being dead, Anno 620. he espoused *Sichilda*; of whom he became so jealous, that he caused a Lord named *Boson* to be killed, who he imagined held too great a correspondence with her. His eldest Son, whether by *Bertrude*, or by some other, was then about Twelve years old. He placed him under the Tuition of *Arnulphus*, or *Arnold* Bishop of *Metz*, to instruct him in good Literature and Virtue.

The Book of the Gifts of *Dagobert* relates, how one day this young Prince Hunting a Buck, and that Beast taking Cover in the place, where as then were the Reliques of *St. Denis* and his Companions; a Divine power withheld the Dogs, so that they could never break into the place; That *Dagobert* some while afterwards, having incurred the indignation of his Father, because he had chastised the insolencies committed against him, by *Sadragisile*, Duke of *Aquitain*, who was made his Governour or Tutor, and remembering this Miracle, put himself for security into the same place; and that he found the same effect against those Men the King his Father sent to take him thence: In acknowledgment of which miraculous protection, he took the Holy Bodies out of that little Chappel, which was then but ill adorned, and much neglected, and built them a magnificent Church and a fair Abby. This Narrative, to say no more, is much suspected of falsity.

Austrasia

623.

Austrasia more exposed to the Barbarian Nations than the other parts of *France*; needed to have a King upon the place; *Clotaire* gave this Kingdom to *Dagobert*, under the Regiment of *Pepin* the Old, who was *Mayre* of the Palace; (the Moderns call him *Pepin de * Landen*;) and *Arnold* Bishop of *Mets*; but reserved to himself all the *Ardenne*s, and the *Vosge*, with the Cities of *Aquitain*; which the Kings of *Austrasia* had possessed.

* This a Burgundian upon the confines of *Brabant*, and of *Lias* *Latin*.

CLOTAIRE II.
in *Neustria* and *Burgundy*.

DAGOBERT
his Son in part of *Austrasia*, aged 15 years.

Dagobert was 15 or 16 years of age when he began to Reign, whilst he followed the wise Counsels of *Pepin* and *Arnold*, and afterwards of *Cunibert* Bishop of *Colen*; his Life was an exemplar of Wisdom, of Contineny, and of Justice.

624.

The Nation of the *Vencdes* and *Slavonians*, inhabited originally that part of the European *Sarmatia*, which is at this day called *Prussia*; from whence in process of time, they spread from the *Scythian* Sea even as far as the *Elbe*, and from the *Elbe* as far as *Bavaria*, and *Hungary*, nay even into *Greece*; and occupied *Dalmatia*, and *Liburnia*, which from their Name have to this day the appellation of *Slavonia*. There were above Thirty people *Slavonians*; those who possessed *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, and the other Countreys along the *Danube*, were under the Dominion of the *Avarois*, who were gotten into the Lands which the *Lombards* had forsaken, when they passed over the *Alpes*. The places near *Italy* obey'd the *Lombards*, there were some of them free; those that were under the subjection of the *Avarois*, finding it heavy and tyrannical, cast off the yoke, and chose for their King one named *Samon*, a French Merchant, Native of the Bishoprick of *Sens*, who Traded into their Countrey, and appeared to them to be a Man of a good Head-piece. It is believed he resided in *Carinthia*, and that from thence he extended his Kingdom to the *Elbe*, and at length to the confines of *Turingia*.

6:6.
The 4th. of
Dagobert.

The fourth year of his Reign, *Dagobert* is sent for by his Father, who Marries him with *Gomatrude*, Sister of *Sicbilda* his Wife. The Nuptials were kept at the Palace of *Clichy*, where his Festival ended in a quarrel between the Father and Son. The last would have what his Father reserved to himself, of that which belonged to the Kings of *Austrasia*. The business put to a reference of Twelve French Lords, the Son gained what he demanded, except the Cities of *Aquitain*.

St. Arnold quits the Court and his Bishoprick, to retire into Solitude, where he passed the remainder of his most happy Life. *Cunibert* Bishop of *Colen*, a Prelate of great Merit, took his place in the Councils of *Dagobert*, and the friendship of *Pepin*.

Varnaquier was Deceased, and his Son *Godin* killed by the Kings Command, upon an accusation of the crime of *Lese Majestatis*, brought against him by his Fathers Wife, whom he had Married, but was forced to part withal, because such Incest was punishable with death; *Clotaire* assembles the Estates of *Burgundy* at *Troyes*, and asked whether they would Elect another; they made reply, that they desired no other but him; and since that they were a long time without any.

628.

Those of *Saxony* were a potent People, it comprehended divers of different Names, and they had Dukes in each Countrey. Those that owed Tribute to the French, were this year revolted against them, *Dagobert* making War upon them was wounded with a blow of a Sword, which took off part of his Helmet, and a little of the skin of his Head, with some of his Hair. It is said, that having sent these Tokens to his Father all bloody, who was Hunting nigh *Ardenne*s, the King moved by his good nature, got what Forces he could together, and having passed the *Rhine*, attacked the *Saxons*, encamped on the other side of the *Wefer*, where he slew *Bervold* their Duke with his own hand; and after scowring over all the Countrey, he did not leave any one of them alive, that was taller than his Sword.

In the Assembly of the Estates of *Neustria* and *Burgundy*, which was holden at *Clichy*, there arose a great quarrel. *Eginare*, Intendant of *Ariberts* Palace, the Second Son of *Clotaire*, having been killed by *Egina*'s People; the Favourite of this King, the young Prince and his Uncle *Brunulp* would revenge his death. *Egina* encamps with his Friends upon the side of *Montmercu*, or *Montmars*, at this day *Mont-marre*

Mont-Martre. But the King having commanded the *Burgundians* to fall upon the first that began to stir, it cooled the hottest amongst them.

After *Adalald* King of the *Lombards*, and Son to King *Agilulf*, had been poisoned by his People, *Arivald* was raised to the Throne upon the consideration of his Wife *Gundeberge* Sister to *Adalald*; who nevertheless being accused how she intended to Poison him, that she might Marry *Tasin* Duke of *Tuscany*, he had kept her Prisoner for three years. King *Clotaire*, to whom she was of Kin, took compassion on her; and commanded his Ambassadors to reproach that wicked Husband. One of these having upon his own head proposed to the *Lombard* King that it would be well to put the decision of so important a matter to the Judgment of God by Combat, two Relations of *Gundeberges* brought a Champion, who vanquishing *Adalulf* (so was the Accuser called) asserted and recovered the Honour and Liberty of that Princel.

This year is remarkable for the Death of that famous Impostor, and most false Prophet *Mahomet*, whose abominable Religion composed partly of *Judaism*, and partly of the Whimsies of several Hereticks who were retired into those parts, and accommodated to the Sensualities of Corrupt Nature, was embraced by such Robbers and wicked Varlets as knew neither Justice nor the Deity. The greatest part of our Hemisphere hath submitted to the Tyranny of that Law; and had it not been for the Valour of the French, they had divers times made themselves Masters of all Europe.

The Era or manner of accounting and Calculating the time by this Sect, commences at the year of the *Egyra*, or the Retreat of *Mahomet* to the City of *Medina*, which hapned the 26th of July in the Six hundred twenty second year of *Jesus Christ*; But it must be noted that they are Lunary years, consisting but of 354 days, whereas those amongst Christians are solary of 365 days, without reckoning the Bissexile.

The Death of *Clotaire* hapned Anno 628. in some House of his near *Paris*: He was buried at *St. Vincents*, at this time *St. Germain des Prez*; The time of his Reign in *Neustria*, within four months of the time of his Age, was about forty five years, and his Reign over all *France*, after the death of *Thierry*, was fourteen.

We know the names of two of his Wives: the one was *Beretrude*, the other *Sicbilda*; perhaps he may have had some other before these. He left two Sons, *Dagobert* and *Aribert*, of what Mothers we cannot tell certainly, but only that they were not both of one and the same Bed.

He was an affable Prince, very different from the cruel and brutish ferocity of his Predecessors, just, Pious, instructed in good Learning, and Liberal, especially towards the Church and such as professed a Monastick Life.

Their Kings were always chosen of the Blood of the Reigning Race: three Conditions were required in them, their Birth, (it mattered not whether they were Legitimate) the Will of the Father, and the Consent of the Grandees; the last did ever almost follow the two first. After the death of *Clotvis* (as I believe) they added to the ancient Custom of lifting them upon the Target*, that of seating them on the Throne or Regal Chair; which had neither Arms nor Back, for a King must support and sustain himself by his own strength; The Regal Ornaments were long Hair or Locks pleited, the Purple Mantle and Tunick, and the Diadem or Headband enriched with Precious Stones.

When they left Children that were in Minority, if they had not allotted their shares, the Queen-Mother and the Grandees ordained as they thought convenient, and had the Administration of Affairs, and the Education or Bailiffs of the Minor Kings. From hence these Lords were called *Nourricers*; (* *Nursers*) but there was one amongst the rest that bore this Title.

When a King undertook any Expedition, they held up their Hands in token of the Assistance which they promised him; Peace might be made without them, but War could not. In Civil Discords they made themselves Arbitrators between the Princes, and obliged them to agree.

The first day of *March* they held an Assembly in the open Field under Tents, where the Militia was often sent for; Because of the day on which they met, it was called the *Field of Mars*. The Kings presided and consulted with the Lords concerning the Affairs of that year either touching Peace or War; These Assemblies gave them the Command of the Armies, which was not necessarily tied to their Persons, at least till the time of *Clotvis*. They ever had about them a certain number of *Braves* or *Barons* who guarded them, and for their safety exposed themselves to all manner of dangers.

628.

628.

Manners and
Customs.

* Le Tavoit.

* Fosters.

Campus Martis

The

The most eminent Offices of the Kingdom were the Prefect or Mayre of the Palace, who was elected by the great ones or Grandees, and confirmed by the King; The grand Referendary, who had the Royal Seal, and under him several lesser or petty Referendary's, and also great numbers of Expeditioners, whom they called *Chancellors*, because they did their business *Intra Cancellor* or *Lattices*; The grand Apocriary who was the chief of the Priests and Clerks of the Court (in the second Race he was called Arch-Chaplain:) The Count of the Palace who was Judge, the Chamberlain * who gave all Orders in the Kings Chamber, the Count of the Stable who took care of the Stables and perhaps of the Equipage. I cannot tell whether they had in those times a Provost or grand Seneschal of the Table, as there was since under *Pepin* the Bref. The Children of Lords were bred in the Kings House, or in the Houses of great Officers, and Trained up to all noble Exercises, more honourably then Pages are in these days.

* *Cubicularius*.

The Kings Revenues consisted in Lands or Demeasins, and in Imposts which were taken only of the *Gauls*, for it was thought odious to take any of the *French*; Some of them were levied in Moneys, others in Goods. When they made the Division of Lands into Acres, or Furlongs, the Kings for their shares had much of the best, especially about and near the greatest Cities; They made their Residence and built them Palaces in the most pleasant places, and especially near some great Forests: for they delighted in Hunting, and made a general one every Autumn. In all those places which they called *Ville Fiscales**, they had Officers or Servants, who were named *Fiscalins*, and he that commanded them, *Dom-stick*. There they laid in Stores of Provision, as Wines, Wheat, Forage, Meat, especially Venison and Pork. Amongst the Lords they always chose out some to eat at their Table; and that was one step towards the highest Employments. They only took the Quality of *Illustrious**, which was common to all the Grandees of the Kingdom; Sometimes the Title of *Dominus* was given them, which was likewise ordinary to all that were any way considerable, also of most *Glorious*, most *Pious*, most *Clement*, and *Precellentissime*. The Kings wrote their names under that of the Bishops when they wrote to them. On the contrary Pope *Gregory I.* and the Emperor *Mauritius* preposed theirs before that of any Kings, *Gregory II.* did not do so. The Popes and Councils stiled them sometimes their Sons, and sometimes the Sons of the Catholick-Church; Their Male-Children in their young age were named * *Damoiseaux*; and at their Birth they gave some *Fiscalins* their Freedom in all the Lands and Houses belonging to the King their Father.

* *Regie*.

* *Vir illustre*.

Queens were stiled most Pious and most Clement.

* *Domicelli*.

They oft took Wives of mean Birth and servile Condition, on whom they did not bestow the Title of Queen till after they had born Children, nor always then neither. The Daughter of a King had that Title as soon as they were Married: They had their Dower in Lands, some Possessions in proper which their Kindred inherited, their share of the Household Goods, and great Officers just the same as the Kings had. Oft times the Sons of *France* before they came to Reign were called Kings, and the Daughters Queens.

There were but two Conditions of Men, the Free or Ingenuous, and the Slaves; Amongst the Free there were Nobles, who were so by Blood, and by Antiquity, not by Exemptions, and amongst the Nobles the Grandees *optimates*. I believe that those they called *Majores* were the Noble, and the *Minores* those that were not so.

One knew not then what People of the Gown or Robe meant, all the *French* made profession of bearing Arms: Justice was rendred by People Armed, their Battle-ax and Buckler hung upon a Pillar in the midst of the *Malle*. In the Kings House it was the Count of the Palace that administered it, sometimes the King himself took the Seat together with the Bishops and the Grandees, and having heard Causes of highest concern, pronounced Sentence himself; In Villages the Centeniers, in Cities the Counts and Dukes that gave Judgment without any thing of Pleadings or Writings. They were called in general terms *Judges* and *Seniors*; The Kings gave them these Offices for time, and frequently continued them for Money. Sometimes it was left to the People to chuse them, and perhaps it was their Right. There were no Degrees of Jurisdiction, all judged without appeal, because they took Cognisance of nothing but what was proportionable to their Degree; It is true the Parties had a way of carrying their Complaints to the King, if they believed they had not been judged according to Law: but if the Complaint were not made good, they were condemned, if * Persons of Quality to a pecuniary Mult, the other

other to be * Whipp'd. The Counts and Dukes had *Viguers*, or Lieutenant-Generals who did Justice in their absence, and several petty *Viguers* which administered it in the Country. They had Assessors whom they called *Racibourges*; they sat on every eighth or every fifteenth day, according to the multiplicity of Affairs; But the Dukes held the Grand Assizes from time to time, where the Bishops of the Province were bound to be present; There were likewise a kind of Commissary's or Envoys, some for the King, others for the Dukes, who went about to visit the Provinces; In their Proceedings and Publick Acts they counted their Terms by Nights. As the *Galls* governed themselves according to the *Roman* Rules and Laws, they were forced to have Judges that understood them: and the *French* might perhaps imitate and follow them in many of their Contracts, for the *Salick* Law was not extensive enough to comprehend and regulate every particular case.

* *Majores personae, Minores personae*

The same Counts and Dukes, as judged the *French*, led them to the Wars: There were no other Soldiers but the Militia: They commanded those of the nearest Provinces, or of any Province as they thought fit; those that failed were put to a Fine; they gave Letters of Dispensation to such as were grown over-aged in the Service. In all the Provinces and particularly on the Frontiers they had Magazines of Provisions and Forage, but as I believe they had no pay but their Plunder, which was brought together and so shared always equally amongst them.

They put those into the condition of Slaves or Servants whom they took Prisoners of War, as likewise such as were sent them for Hostages, if they broke their Faith.

The great ones that were accused of any Crime, were judged Militarily by their Equals, the Execution was performed with a Sword, or Battle-Ax, sometimes by Dukes and Counts themselves. Often times their Kings would not wait till Judgment was given, their Wrath or Covetousness made Death go before any Sentence; As for the People of a meaner Stamp, they were extended on a Stake, and were either Strangled or Whipp'd. In some places they were Hanged on a Gallows, or they were branched upon a Tree; For lesser Crimes they were condemned to grind like Mill-Horses, to dig Vineyards, to work in Quarries, and sometimes they were Branded with a hot Iron. When a Man was accused for a Crime of State, they tore off his Military Girdle and his Clothes, and dressed him all in Rags. Between Private Persons, they might seek their satisfaction with their Swords, and do themselves justice, whence proceeded infinite Murthers, if the King did not prevent it. Murderers bought their Lives with their Money, and the punishment of most Crimes, unless they were Crimes of State, were pecuniary and determined by the Law. The whole Kindred were liable to the payment, if the guilty Person were insufficient. When the Parties wanted Evidence to prove the Fact, they came to a Combat, either in Person, or by those Champions they could procure; This they said was to determine a Cause by the Judgment of God Almighty. The Ordeal-Trial by red hot Irons, or Brads, that by boiling Water or cold Water, and another likewise by presenting themselves before the Cross, were in use also by the approbation of the Bishops. Such as had any Quarrels and Contests gave their Oaths for caution and security in publick, which were made upon the Shrines of Saints or on their Tombs. This was also the way to purge or clear themselves of any Crime when accused in a Court of Justice; and the Accused in certain cases; as Adultery and the like, when it could not be fully proved, was allowed to bring several of their Friends to make publick Oath, either Men or Women, according to their Sex.

As for Marriages they took the liberty to repudiate or cast off their Wives when they could not endure them; Their Kings had sometimes several at the same time, and the Proximity of Blood or Degrees of Parentage never hindered them from satisfying their Desires; When it pleased them the Children of their Mistresses succeeded them, as well as the Legitimate.

They made Money of the Gold they found in their own Country, and Coyned it more fine, and of a much higher value than the *Visigoth* Kings, a Mark of the Excellency of their Royalty above all others. Payments were made as much with Gold and Silver not Coined as Coined. But we shall elsewhere more amply Discourse and Explicate the Manners and Customs of this Nation, and all the Orders they observed in their Judicatories, their Wars, and in their Government.

The natural Language of the French was the Teutonick or German: the *Austrasians*, at least those nearest to the *Rhine*, kept to it ever, and use it still, but much changed or corrupted. Those the most distant on this side, and the *Neustrians* left it by little and little for that of the *Galls*, which was the *Romanick*, or *Romanciere*, otherwise called the *Rustick Latin*, engendred of the *Rust* and the Corruption of the *Roman* or *Latin*, wrested and turned according to the genius of the Nation, and the Idioms of the several Provinces, as well for the inflexion and signification of Words, as the Air, Accent, and Phrase.

The Church.

Notwithstanding the Conversion of *Clovis* and all the care of the Prelates, who by Authority of the Kings pulled down the Temples, there were yet a world of *Pagans*, especially amongst the *French*, and those of the most Principal; and as for those that were converted, they had much ado to wean them from their ancient Superstitions: they bore a Reverence still to the places where the Gentiles had Worshipped and Adored, and still retained some remainders of their Ceremonies, their Festivals, Augures, and the Witchcrafts of Paganism, which they mingled with the Exercises of the Christian Religion.

Since the Baptism of *Clovis* the *Gallican Church* not only enjoyed in all liberty the Gifts the *Galls* had bestow'd upon her, but likewise acquired much greater ones by the liberality of the *French*. Her excessive Riches begot envy in the Ambitious and the Covetous; To enjoy them, they Courted and Caball'd for Bishopricks, which they would not have desired, if there had been nothing but Study and Labour. The Grandees of the Court renounced the noblest Employments for a Miter, where they met with Honour, Authority, Riches, and assurance against Disgrace; There was no need of forbidding them to chuse Lay-men against their Wills: but rather not elect them when they used underhand dealings to obtain it. There were few chosen but of noble Race: and the Elections were ever made with the Kings leave, never against his Will. Oft times he forced them by his absolute Commands, or prevented them by Recommendations, which were all one as a Command. The Bishops knew well enough this was to violate the Canons: but the fear of bringing things to greater disorder, Interest and Complaisance shut up their Mouths and tied their Tongues. The only Man *Leontius* of *Bordeaux* had the courage or boldness to call a Council at *Saintes* to thrust out one *Emerius* a young Youth who had been named for Bishop of that Church by *Clotaire I.* but King *Cherebert* his Son received him but very scurvily that was put in his place, and caused him to be carried into Exile in a Chariot full of Thorns.

These unworthy Elections and Intrusions bred most infinite Disorders, publick Simony, which spread it self from the Head even over all the Members, the Non-Residence of Bishops, their servile and perpetual adherence to the Court, a disgust to Christian Vertues and the Functions of their Ministry, the love of Vanity and the things of this World, which led them into all manner of Pleasures and Secular Employments, as Feasting, sumptuous Cloaths, Hunting, and the use of Arms. From hence arose the scorn of the People towards these false Pastors who were crept in at the Windows, and in the Civil Wars a wonderful desire and itch to invade the Wealth and Goods of the Church, as esteeming it only the taking from such as were wholly unworthy of enjoying them, thereby to correct their excess by paring away what was superfluous.

It cannot be denied but there were some extreemly irregular, as *Salonius d' Ambrun*, and *Sagittarius de Gap*, who should rather be termed Bandits then Bishops, *Giles de Rheims* a perfidious and factious Firebrand of Civil Wars, *Saffarac* Bishop of *Paris*, and *Contumeliosus* of *Riez*, both of them, as I think, guilty of Uncleaness, and Deposed for that Crime, and that *Cautin* of *Tours*, of whom *Gregory* recounts most horrible wicked things.

But in Recompence there were a great many, who having edified their Flocks by a most Religious Conduct, have left their Names and Memory in great veneration amongst all the Faithful.

In the beginning of this Age flourished *Remy de Reims*, and *Vaast d' Arras*, whom I have mentioned in the last, but were still in being, *Gildard of Rouen*, *Aquilin d' Eureux*, *Contest de Bayeux*, *Melaine de Rennes*, *Avite de Vienne*, *Cesarius d' Arles*, *Venne* de Verdun*; a little after *Ageric* or *Agroy* of the same City, *Lubin de Chartres*, *Firmin d' Uzès*, and *Macarius* or *Malo* first Bishop of *Quidalet*. This City having been ruined, the Bishoprick was transferr'd to another, which was raised out of its Ruines,

* In Latin
Videmus.

Ruines, and bears the name of this holy Prelate. About the middle of the same Age, were *Nicetius de Treves*, *Paul de Leon* in *Bretagne*, *Felix de Nantes*, *Aubin d' Angers*, *Lauto* or *Li de Contances*, *Medard de Noyon*, *Saulge d' Alby*, *Germain de Paris*. This last died *Anno 579.* and was Interred in the Church of *St. Vincent*, which was likewise called *St. Croix*, and is at this day *St. Germain des Prez*; And about the latter end lived *Gregory de Tours*, who hath written the History of the *French*, till within a year or two of the time of his Death: it hapned, as I believe, *Anno 595.* *Sulpicious de Bourges*, whom they surnamed the Severe, to distinguish him from the Affable who since sat in the same Bishoprick, *St. Gall de Clermont*, *Milleard* or *Millard de Sees*, * *Avigla de Nevers*, and *Sanson de Dol*.

* Agricola.

Amongst those most holy for a Monastick Life, we find Queen *Radegonda*, *Institutrice* of the Monastery at *Poitiers*, and *Glodesina* or *Glosina* of that which bears her name at *Metz*, she was Daughter of Duke *Guintrion*; *Maur* the Disciple of *St. Bennet* came to dwell in France about *Anno 540.* and brought his Order which in time increased so much, that it abolished, if we may call it so, all the others. *Clond* or *Clodold* lived in the Diocess of *Paris*, *Leufroy* in that of *Eureux*, *Calais* * in that of *Mans*, *Cibard* * in *Perigord*, *Leonard* in *Limousin*, the Hermit *Victor* at the Diocess of *Troyes*, *Celerin* in that of *Sees*, and *Senoc* in *Poitou*.

* Carilese.
* Sparchius.

The Church of *Rome* had in *Gaul*, as in divers other Countries, a certain Revenue in Lands, which she called her Patrimony; and the Popes had a Vicar, who failed not to set a value on his Power, to make this Commission of the higher value. It was the Bishop of *Arles* (from whom they had taken almost all the Rights and all the Authority he pretended to, as well for the Antiquity of his Church Established by *St. Trophime* Disciple of the Apostles, as from the preheminance of his City, which the Emperor *Honorius* had made the capital of seven Provinces) they pitched upon (for fear he should make his too great a See) to be their Vicar in *Gaul*; and so he held two during pleasure, which he might have held in chief, and that Superiority which his Bishoprick gave him over the seven Provinces, was absorbed by that which they gave him over the whole seventeen.

Moreover they favourably received all those that appealed to *Rome*; *Leo X.* restored *Chilidonius* of *Besancon*, deposed by *Hilary* of *Arles* his Vicar, and *Agapet* restored *Contumeliosus* whom *John II.* his Predecessor had judged very Criminal.

As they had a right to see the Canons observed and the ancient Customs, when any one desired any Prerogative or any License, they applied to them, so that by little and little it brought them to allow some small favour, even in things of little weight, but at length even to dispence with the Canons. Pope *Gregory I.* amongst others gave it to several Churches; which induced others to desire it also, and sometimes pretend that his Predecessors had before granted them the like.

The question concerning Images made a noise in France even in the days of that Pope. For he reproved *Serein* Bishop of *Marsilles*, for having broken them down, but however applauded his Zeal from having hindered the People from adoring them: because they might be used as Books to instruct the ignorant, but not as the Objects of Divine Adoration.

We observe in this Age near forty Councils; I shall quote those of whom we have any Canons or Acts. The first of *Orleans*, which we mentioned before, was assembled in 511: in the Reign of *Clovis*; The second in 533. to abolish the remainders of Idolatry; The third five years after; The fourth in 541. and the fifth in 549. These four in the Reign and by the Authority of *Childebert*, who likewise called another at *Arles*, (which was the fifth) *Anno 554.* There were two held in the Reign of *Sigismund* King of *Burgundy*, that of *Epaon*, *Anno 517.* and the first of *Lyon* in the same year: This last upon the account of * *Estienne* his Intendant, who had Married *Palladia* his Cousin-German, and was upheld in it by that Prince. There were two Convocated at *Arles*; to wit, that which is reckoned the fourth in *Anno 524.* by the consent of *Theoderic* King of the *Ostrogoths*, to whom the Province at that time obeyed, and the fifth above-mentioned in the Reign of *Childebert*. Three met in the Countries of *Atalric* King of *Italy*, that of *Carpentras* in 527. of which there is but one Canon remaining; the second of *Orange* two years afterwards: and the third of *Vaison* in the same year. There were two in the City d' *Auvergne*, (that is *Clermont*) the first with the consent of King *Theodebert* in 535. and the second of his Son *Theodebald* in 549. Four at *Paris*, viz. the second *Anno 555.* the third *Anno 557.* the fourth *Anno 573.* and the fifth *Anno 615.* The second and third

* Stephen.

were by order of King *Childebert*, and the first of these two, to review the Process against the Bishop *Saffaricus*, who had been condemned and deposed (the Sentence was confirmed); the other to confirm some Canons touching the Discipline. The fourth was held by the consent of *Chilperic I.* to suppress the attempt of *Giles* Metropolitan of *Rheims*, who had ordained one *Promotus* Bishop in the City of *Chasteaudun*, though it depended on the Bishoprick of *Chartres*, and had never been made an Episcopal See. The fifth was summoned by order of *Clotaire II.* for Reformation of Abuses. I do not speak of that in the year 577. where *Pretextat* of *Romen* was condemned, having suffered himself by a credulous and weak condescension to be induced to confess such Crimes which he had not committed: no more than that of *Valence*, Anno 584. which confirmed all the Grants King *Gontran*, his Wife, and his Daughters had bestowed on the Church. There were three at *Lyons*, the first under *Sigismond* before noted, the second in 567. and the third in 583. Two at *Mascon*, the first Anno 581. the second four years afterwards, all these four by the Authority of King *Gontran*. One at *Tours*, Anno 567. in the Reign of *Cherebert*, which ordained many things, and confirmed the Religious Congregation of Virgins instituted by *St. Radegond*. One at *Auxerre*, Anno 578. where none met but the Bishop of the Place, (his name was *Aunaquaire*) with his Abbots and Priests. King *Recarede* called one at *Narbona*, Anno 589. *Clotaire II.* one at *Metz*, Anno 590. and one at *Paris*, which was the fifth, Anno 619. as we have already hinted. In that of *Metz*, *Giles* Bishop of *Rheims* was condemned for the Crime of Treason, deposed and banished to *Strasbourg*.

Of all these Councils there was only that of *Orange* that meddled with Controversies, having fully discussed the points of Grace, according to the Judgment of *St. Augustin*, and of the Holy Chair. The rest spent their time to compose Quarrels and Disputes, or about Discipline, and especially such particulars as we have already mentioned. This History not allowing us to quote more than some necessary Articles.

In the reading of these Councils, one may observe, that there were great multitudes of *Lepers* and of *Jews* in *France*; (perhaps the *Jews* had brought in and spread abroad that Leprosy.) That the Bishop took care to relieve the first, and prohibited all manner of Communication with the other.

The Church had a particular care of the Poor, of Widdows and Orphans, the first being made as it were of the Family, the rest under their Protection: in-
somuch that they espoused their Cause in Courts of Judicature, and the Judges never gave Sentence in any Cause of theirs, but he first acquainted the Bishop thereof.

In her Judicature she followed that Order Established by the *Roman* or Written Law. The Canons concerning Degrees prohibited, were different according to the different Countries. In the beginning, in some Churches they hardly prohibited the Marrying with two Sisters, or two Brothers; But the Council of *Agde*, the third of *Orleanse* and other following Councils, extended it to a Niece, to the Aunt, to the Brothers Widdow, and the Uncles, to the Wives Sister, to Cousins and Cousin-Germans.

There were Sanctuaries in the most famous Churches, which the Bishops made good to the utmost of their power. Their intercession often times obtained Pardon for the greatest Criminals; and whatever failings themselves did fall into, they most commonly came off only with Degradation or Banishment, their Brethren most times persuading the Kings to spare their Lives.

St. Augustin had began to persuade the Faithful to give the Tithe of their Goods for the relief and support of the Poor, grounded upon this Principle, That Christians were obliged to a greater Perfection than the *Jews*, who had allowed it to the Levites. The Prelates of the second Council of *Tours* exhorted the People to pay them to God, according to the example of the Patriarch *Abraham*. The second of *Mascon* ordained it, as being a Right and Duty Established in the Old Testament, and which they affirmed had been of a very long time observed by the Christians. The Temporal Lords to whom they primarily belonged, bestowed much upon the Monasteries, little on the Bishops and Curats; to whom notwithstanding, in case they were of Divine Right, they ought to belong.

There were few Festivals observed as Holy in all Churches, except *Christmas*, *Easter*, and *Whitsuntide*. The nobles of the Dioceses were obliged to keep them in the Episcopal City: the Country Curates the same, as likewise to meet at the Synod which

which was yearly held at a time certain. The King solemnised these Holy-days in what City he pleased; and the Bishops ambitiously courted and strove who should have that honour in his own Church. Since, that Method being altered, and the Charms of the World being stronger to allure the Bishops to Court, than the Duties of Christianity were to draw the Court to the Church: the Kings celebrated those Festivals in their Palaces, and the Bishops forsaking their Flocks went thither in greater Crowds than was desired.

New Cells or Hermitages were not suffered to be made, nor new Congregations of Monks without the Bishops allowance. An Abbot durst not run forth nor absent himself from his Monastery; when he fell into any fault, the Bishop might displace him, and give him a Successor; and if he were rebellious he was not admitted to the Communion. Shame alone could not confine and keep those in their Monasteries who had Vowed and Dedicated themselves to God, but the Church compell'd them to continue by all the Penalties that were in her power.

No Tribute or Tax was raised upon any thing belonging to the Church, neither upon their Foundations, their Goods, nor their Persons; and neither the Judges, nor the Kings Receivers could exercise any Power or Jurisdiction on their Lands. But those Bishops and Abbots who desired to obtain the King's, or the Grandees favour and protection, having begun to make them Euloges or Presents, this Custom grew into a necessary Right and Duty, which was afterwards exacted from them, when they failed to do it voluntarily.

Dagobert

Dagobert I. King XI.

P O P E,

HONORIUS I. *Who S. nine years and
an half during this Reign.*

DAGOBERT I. *Aged Twenty six years, in Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundy.* ATRIBERT, *Aged Thirteen or fourteen years, in part of Aquitaine.*

629.
* Aribert, Caribert, and Cheribert are the same Name.

Prince * Aribert being with King Clotaire when he died, it might be thought that in the absence of his Brother Dagobert who was in Austrasia, he might with his Fathers Treasure have raised Men and Friends enough, to have seized on the Kingdom: but as he was young, and perhaps his Father had bequeathed him no part in the Kingdom, by his last Testament, it was in vain that Brunolph, his Mothers Brother, endeavoured to stir up the Neustrians in his behalf. Dagobert used such diligence, that he made himself secure of the Kingdoms of Neustria and Burgundy; so that Aribert with his Uncle were constrained to go and meet him, and to submit. It was in the beginning of the Seventh year of his Reign in Austrasia.

629. Nevertheless as it were out of pity, and according to the counsel of the French Lords, he gave him Saintonge, Perigord, Agenois, Thoulousain, and all the third Aquitaine. Aribert settled his Royal Throne at Thoulouse.

As soon as he was acknowledged in Neustria, he went to visit Burgundy, which in many years had not beheld a King, but was governed by Mayers, neither had they had any Mayer since the death of Varnaquier.

Being at St. John de Laone, he heard the complaints of his People, rendred Justice to all his Subjects, took a care to compose all their Disputes: but it seems all these fair appearances were but to cover a Villanous Murther, for which purpose perhaps he had undertaken this Journey. For one Morning going into a Bath, he commanded three Lords of the Court to kill Brunolph who had followed him, though he were guilty of nothing, unless being affectionate to the Interest of his Nephew Aribert, they might apprehend he would be again stirring and acting something for him.

It seems the Neustrian and the Austrasian Lords did each of them struggle, who should possess the King. The first carried it from the others, by taking him on the blind side, and flattering him in his Passions. The Queen Gomtrude was an Austrasian of Kin to Cunibert and Pepin, who were present at her Wedding, the Neustrians who knew the amorous inclination of their Prince, persuaded him to repudiate her upon the pretence of Barrenness, to Marry Nantilda one that served him.

By this means Egi Mayer of the Neustrian Palace, got the highest place in the young Kings favour, who presently dismissed Cunibert, but retained Pepin still at Court; not to make use any more of his Counsel, but for fear he might cause the Kingdom of Austrasia to revolt, his Office of Mayer of the Palace and his Vertues giving him too great a power.

Nantilda was soon deprived of the Affection of her Husband by another Woman. Being gone into Austrasia, and delighting to shew himself in his Royal Habit to those Provinces, with great Pomp and a splendid Court, he in her room took a very beautiful Virgin named Ragnetude. Sometime after he Married two more

Women,

Women, Wifegunde and Bertechilde, (for Kings thought they had this Privilege of having several) and took as many Mistresses as the desire and gust of change could wish for, which is infinite.

After he had thrown off his two prudent Governours, who kept him within compass, he let himself loose to all the heats of his Youth, and the violence of his Sovereign Authority. The first cast him into all sorts of Pleasures; The second made him heap up Money, and lay his griping Hand upon his Subjects Treasure, as if all had been his own. It was natural to see a Prince of Twenty six years to be amorous: but it was a prodigy against nature, that at that age he should have such a covetous heart, as nothing could satisfy. Nevertheless being in himself at the bottom very good, the Remonstrances of St. Amand Bishop of Tongres, somewhat allay'd the heat of his Covetousness; He took Nantilda his first Wife again, and lived with her the rest of his days.

Mean time he had a Son by Ragnetude the same year that he Married her. He sent to pray his Brother Aribert to come and hold it at the Font. Both of them met at Orleans for that Ceremony, and the Child was Baptized by the Bishop St. Amand, and named Sigebert.

Aribert was no sooner returned to Thoulouse, but he died; and his Son Chilperic who was yet in his Cradle, survived him but a few days. It was suspected that Dagobert had contributed to the death of that Innocent, to regain Aquitaine by seizure, as he presently did.

DAGOBERT I. Sole King.

It is certain this King had a singular Devotion for St. Denis, and his fellow-Martyrs, and that he Erected a Church in honour of him, to which he joynd a rich Abby. But the subject or cause which we related elsewhere, passes amongst the Criticks but for a Fable; I cannot tell whether it be a truth that he unfurnished several other Churches of their most precious Ornaments to enrich this same.

It hapned this year that some French Merchants who Traded with the Sclavonians were Robbed: King Samon having refused to repair this Wrong, Dagobert would needs right himself by the Sword. The King of the Lombards and the Duke of the Almains, the first of which was Allied, and the other Subject to France, attacked them jointly on the one hand, whilst the Austrasian French assaulted them on the other.

The first got the advantage and slew a great many of them: but the Austrasians who were discontented with Dagobert, because he had preferred his Residence in Neustria before that of Austrasia, behaved themselves very cowardly. For having besieged the Castle of Vagastburgh, wherein the bravest of the Enemies had put themselves, they raised it the third day, and retreated in great disorder.

After this the Sclavonians were emboldned to make Incursions in Turingia, and other Countries belonging to the French. And Debuon or Dervan, Duke of the Sorabes (they were a People of Sclavonia who inhabited Misnia) drew himself off from the Obedience of the French to put himself under Samon.

There had been of a long standing a Colony of Bulgarians who had taken up their Quarters in Panonia, where they were Allied or become Tributaries to the Avars, who possessed the greatest part of that Province with that of Dacia. It is disputed whether the ancient Bulgaria was in Sarmatia Asiatica, along the River Volga, otherwise called Rba, or else in the European on the borders of the Euxine. Now the Bulgarians being entred into a War with the Avars were vanquished and so trodden under foot, that there were left but nine thousand, who were forced to forsake the Country with their Wives and Children. These Wretches having besought Dagobert to give them an abiding in some Corner of his Dominions, he sent orders to the Bavarois to receive them and to quarter them separately in Villages and Burroughs, till the Estates of the Kingdom had ordained how to dispose of them.

The Estates found the best Expedient would be to cut the Throats of them all in one Night, and that was put in execution but too punctually. One of their Chiefs having got some wind of it, made his escape with seven hundred of them into Sclavonia, that Country is yet called the March of Wenden, between the Rivers Save and Drave.

The Visigoths in Spain made and unmade their Kings as they pleased. This year the Government of Suinthila who had Reigned ten years, being uneasy and displeasing to them, they cast their Eyes upon Sisenand, who implored the Assistance

631.

631.

631.

631.

631.

of

of *Dagobert*, promising him in Recompence the great Golden vasa or Vessel, weighing 500 pounds and enriched with Jewels, which *Aetius* had bestowed upon *Torismund* for helping him against *Atila*. *Sifenand* being instated in his Throne by the assistance of the *French*, could not refuse this Vessel to the Ambassadors: but the *Visigoths* Way-laid them and took it away again from them by force. *Dagobert* was offended and threatened; the business was canvassed, and in the conclusion he was contented with two hundred thousand pieces of Silver.

As he was raising great Forces to stop the Incurfions which King *Samon* with his *Slavonians* made into *Turingia*, the *Saxons* came and profer'd to repel them at their own Peril and Charge, if they would forgive them the Tribute of Five hundred Beeves which they owed to *France*. The profer was accepted, and they were relied upon to make good their Promise; but either they wanted strength, or perhaps faith to perform it and secure *Turingia* as was expected.

Thus it continued still exposed to the insolency of those Barbarians. The *Neustrians* were too remote to defend them, the *Austrasians* should have done it; and they had strength more then enough to have accomplished it, but being ill affected, they did not much trouble themselves about it. It was necessary therefore to regain their hearts and affections to give them a King that should reside amongst them.

DAGOBERT in
Neustria and Bur-
gundy.

SIGEBERT his Son
in Austrasia.

633. Wherefore *Dagobert* having Assembled the Prelates and the Lords of this Kingdom at *Metz*, he by their Advice, and with their Consent makes his Son *Sigebert* King of *Austrasia*, furnished him with a Royal Treasure, that is to say rich Moveables, Precious Vasa's or Vessels, and Silver Coyn, and left the Conduct of his Education, of his Court, and his State to *Cunibert* Bishop of *Colen*, and to the Duke *Adalgise*. Then the *Austrasians* counting themselves restored to their Liberty, because they had a King, stood up for their Honour, and valiantly repelled the *Slavonians*.

634. The following year he had a Son born by Queen *Nantilda*, who was named *Clovis*. *Nantilda* considering that if her Husband should come to die without settling the Succession, this Son would have no share, solicited him so earnestly, that he sent for the Lords of *Austrasia*, and made them understand that he meant and intended that *Neustria* and *Burgundy* should belong to the Infant that was newly born: but that all the Cities of *Aquitain*, of *Provence*, and of *Neustria*, which had been joyned to the Kingdom of *Austrasia* should so remain united, excepting the Dutchy of *Dentelen*, which *Theodebert* the Young, had taken from King *Clotaire*.

635. The *Gascans* who had possessed one part of the *Novem-populania*, or third *Aquitain*, had again began their Robberies after the death of *Caribert*. There were sent twelve Dukes with the Militia of *Burgundy*, and several Counts without Dukes to bring them to their Duty. They sallied forth out of their Rocks and their Fastnesses, and set upon the *French* with wonderful alacrity: but after all they found it better to make use of their agility to save themselves then to Fight; They were pursued without stop or stay, and Fire and Sword flew after them even into their strongest Retreats; till there being no other security left them but the Mercy of their Prince, they promised to fall down at his Feet and submit to all his Commands.

I know not where some Authors have found how *Aquitania Secunda* was concerned in their Revolt, and that *Dagobert* having gone thither in Person, razed the City of *Poitiers* and sowed it with Salt in token of its Desolation. If this were true, it must have been because of the too heavy Imposts upon Salt, that the *Poitovins* Rebelled.

635. The lucre of Plunder had likewise incited the *Bretons* to run upon the *French* Territories. *Eloy*, who was since Bishop of *Noyon*, went and demanded Reparation of their King *Judicael* or *Giquel* Son and Successor of *Jugel*. He found it no difficult thing to persuade that Prince, that he were better come and wait on the King then have his Country over-run and plundered by the Forces that were returning Victorious out of *Gascogne*: he brought him to the Palace of *Clichy*, where he humbly craved Pardon of *Dagobert*, promised him for the future to prevent the like Disorders, and submitted both himself and Kingdom to his disposal.

The

The *Gascen* Lords, with their Duke *Aigbina* came to the same place, as they had promised the foregoing year, to surrender themselves up to the mercy of *Dagobert*; and because they dreaded his wrath, they had recourse to the intercession of *St. Denis*, and put themselves into Sanctuary in his Church. The King in honour to that Saint, gave them their Lives and Fortunes, and they in acknowledgment laying their hands up on his Altar, swore an eternal Fidelity to him, to his Sons, and to all his Successors, Kings of *France*.

The whole Kingdom was in peace, both within and without at this time; *Dagobert* did not enjoy this Repose very long: for the Second year he was taken with a Dysentery at *Espinay*, which was one of his Royal Houses upon the *Seine*, a little below *St. Denis*. His Sickness increasing, he made them carry him to that Abby, where he dyed the 17th of *January*, in the year 638. being very near 38 years of age. He Reigned in all but 16 years, as I think, that is, Six in his Fathers life time, and Ten after his death. At his dying he earnestly recommended his Wife *Nantilda*, and his Son *Clovis* to *Ega*, Mayre of the Palace of *Neustria*, and to such Grandees as were then present.

The great Donations he made to the most famous Churches of *France*, deserve the unparallel'd Encomiums of the Clergy, who have allowed him all the qualities of as Virtuous, as Wise, as Valiant, and as much accomplish'd a Prince, either for Peace or War, as any that ever Reigned over the *French*.

The Chronology begins to be very confused and uncertain in this Reign, for some will have it that he dyed *An. 639*. others, that it was in 643. Some reckon the Sixteen years of his Reign from the death of his Father, others, from the year that he made him King of *Austrasia*. I am of the opinion of the latter.

Gold and Silver had been very scarce and rare in *France* in the Reign of *Clovis* and his Children; but since then, the Expeditions they made into *Italy*, the Pensions they drew from the Emperours of the East; and as it is credible, the Commerce they settled with the Nations in the *Levant*, brought great quantities of those precious Mettles, as likewise precious Stones, and rich Vasa's, and Ornaments; insomuch, that the Bravery and Luxury of the Court of *France*, was not inferiour to the Emperours.

Clovis II. King XII.

POPE S,

SEVERIAN Elect in 639.
S. some Months.

JOHN IV. Elect in Decemb.
639. S. One year nine Months.

THEODORE, Elect in No-
vemb. 641. S. Seven years and half.

MARTIN I. Elect in July 649
S. Six years three Months.

EUGENIUS I. Elect in Au-
gust 654, S. One year.

PEPIN and then GRIMOALD
Maire. SIGEBERT in Au-
strasia, aged 8 or 9 years. CLOVIS II. in Neustria, aged 4 years. EGA then ER-
CHINOALD Maire.

638.

WE shall now henceforward behold the Royal Power in the hands of the Mayres of the Palace, and all the affairs of State, governed according to their capricious Fancies and their Interests. Pepin delivered by the death of Dagobert, who had always kept him near himself, upon some Honourable pretence, got again into the administration of his Office of Mayre of Austrasia. Dagobert having committed the Government of that Kingdom to Duke Aldagise; that Lord gave it up to him, either willingly or by compulsion, and he gave notice thereof to Cunibert the Bishop, his old friend, who was Governour to Sigebert. It was perhaps for his sake that he transferr'd the Court, and Royal Seat of Austrasia, from the City of Metz to that of Colen.

638.

At the instance of the Governours of Austrasia, who required that the Fathers Treasures should be divided betwixt the two young Kings; the Grandees both of the one, and the other Kingdoms assembled at Compiègne, to make the estimate, and to share it.

639.

A year after Pepin's return into Austrasia, he fell sick and dyed, having held the Office of Mayre Seventeen years: a Man as great for Honesty as Policy, being one according to the Heart of God and Man: By his Wife Ita, whom some do name Juberge, he had three Children, a Son named Grimoald, and two Daughters, Begghe and Gertrude; The First Married Ansegise* the Son of St. Arnold, and Father of young Pepin; and being a Widow, Devoted her self to God in the Monastery of Nivelle, with her Mother who built it, and her Sister Gertrude.

* Ansegise,
Ansegise, An-
chijus.

Grimoald, with the assistance of Cunibert, got himself into possession of the Office of Mayre of the Palace: but Otho, who was Bail, or Fosterer of the young Prince, and for that reason, very powerful in the Kings House, disputed it with him for three years. In fine, Grimoald, to enjoy it quietly, caused him to be slain by Lentaire, Duke of the Almain. This is the First time that Office descended from Father to Son; hereafter we shall find it Hereditary.

640.

During this Discord, and the minority of Sigebert, Radulfe, or Raoul, Duke of Turingia, sets up for Sovereign; having allied himself with the Slavonians, and made a League with Fare, who would needs revenge the death of Chrodoald his Father, whom King Dagobert had caused to dye for his Crimes. The Austrasian Lords led the Forces of their Kingdom, and the King himself thither, to chastise their Rebellion. At first, Fare having dared to come and meet them, was discomfited, and laid dead

dead upon the spot, with the best part of his Men. But the end was not answerable to the beginning. Radulfe being retreated with his Forces, resolved to undergo all extremities, in a Castle built of Wood, which he had furnished with all sorts of Provisions, upon a Hill, nigh the River Onestrud; and Sigebert having Besieged him, a difference hapned amongst his Commanders, some would immediately assault it, others would give the Soldiers time to refresh, and recruit themselves. The First persisted obstinately, and went up to make their Attaque, the rest foreseeing what the event would be, found fit to remain in their Camp, and keep about the King's Person. Radulfe comes forth to meet those that were climbing up to assail him, beats them back, and tumbled them down the steep Hill head-long with great slaughter, the young King who was on Horseback could do nothing more then weep, to behold them cutting the Throats of his Men in his sight. Those who were about him, grew so much afraid, that they sent to demand permission of Radulfe, that they might retire, and had leave from him as a singular favour.

Ega, Mayre of Neustria being dead this year of a Fever, at the Palace of Clieby; Erchinoald, who was of Kinn to King Dagobert, by his Mothers side, a person who had all the virtues that could be desired for that great Office, was substituted in his place.

It was in the Lords of the Kingdom to elect the Mayre, and in the King, or his Guardian to confirm him. Since the death of Varnagier, who ended his life, An 607. there had been none in Burgundy. Queen Nantilda having held an Assembly of the most Principal at Orleans, which was become the Capital of that Kingdom, recommended Floachat her neer kinsman to them, who was chosen for the place.

This good Queen ended her life soon after, having Governed in Neustria four years and a half, without any trouble.

While she was alive, there arose some jealousy in the Governors of Austrasia, against those of Neustria and Burgundy, because those would fain have joyned these two Kingdoms to their own, and have put all France under the Empire of Sigebert, as it had been under that of Clotaire: Erchinoald and Floachat understanding their design, united themselves more closely together, and promised each other mutual assistance.

Floachat made use of this Union to ruine Villebald or Guillebaud, Duke of the Transjurains, his Enemy. They had reconciled themselves, and sworn, and given mutual Faith to each other on the Tombs of Saints, and divers Holy Relicks: Nevertheless Floachat did not forbear, having caused Guillebaud to come to an Assembly which was held at Autun, to fall upon him in his Lodgings; Guillebaud defended himself very bravely, at length he was over-powered and slain, with a great number of his friends, and his Equipage rifled by Erchinoald's followers. But the Murderer, as by Divine Judgment, was seized with a burning Fever, going down the Saon, of which he dyed.

The Sarrazins, a People of Arabia, who were known even in the days of Pompey the Great; and who had since served the Romans in their Armies, were rethred into their own Countreys, and had frequently made incursions upon the Empire. As they were addicted to Robberies, and had neither Law nor Religion, they easily embraced the Mahometan, which was propagated by the Sword.

That Impostor lived but Ten years after he had declared himself Legislator, and made no great progress, having only small numbers of Soldiers, rather like a Captain of Thieves, or High-way Men, then a Prince. But in a very short time his Successors raised themselves prodigiously. Abubecre, the next after him broke into Syria, Ann. 635. his Successor Omar took Damas, with all that fair Province, Ann. 636. and in a few years afterwards Phoenicia, Palestine, Egypt, and Persia it self; the last King whereof was Isdigerd, infecting all those Countreys with the Superstitions of Mahomet. Their Sovereign Commanders were Heads of their Religion, as well as of the State; and they were called Caliphs; an Arabian word, which signifies Lieutenant, that is to say of God, whom they pretended to represent both in Spirituals and Temporals.

A great Famine which afflicted Neustria, obliged Clovis to take the great Plates of Silver, which cover'd the Tabernacle or Chappel of St. Dennis his Shrine, to buy Provisions for the feeding of the Poor; a pious and just Act, for which, nevertheless the Monks say, that God did severely punish him, having weakened and stupify'd his Spirits. It is true, he had a weak Brain, and all those that defended from him, were tainted with that Defect; but at that time he was not above 14 or 15 years of age at most.

641.

Emp.

Constantin,
Son of Hera-
clius, R. four
Months.

Then Hera-
clius, Son of
his St. p. mo-
ther, R. Six
Months.

642.

642.

642.

Emp.

Constance, Son
of Constantine,
R. 26 years.

644, 645.

645.

650.

The indigency of Authors of those times is so great, and the stile of such as are yet left of them, so confused, that we can hardly tell any thing of certainty, neither as to their actions, nor to the time. Some Chronologists place in Ann. 650. the First day of February, the death of *Sigebert*, King of *Austrasia*, who lived but little above 21 years. His Merciful Humour, his Devotion, and Ten or Twelve Abbeys which he built in his Kingdom, have acquired him a room in the Roll of Saints. His Body was buried in the Abby-Church of *St. Martin*, which he had erected in the Suburbs of *Metz*, from whence it was transferr'd to *Nancy*; when the *French* demolished it, to maintain the Siege against the Emperour *Charles V.* in the year 1552.

He had but one Son, named *Dagobert*, aged at most but two years: *Grimoald* his *Mayre* of the Palace published, that before he had that Child, he had adopted his Son, named *Childebert*. It is not credible that he could despair of having any at the age of 19 years, unless that he had made a vow of Continence, and afterwards had broken that Vow again. But perhaps *Grimoald* proclaimed this, to have some Title to usurp the Kingdom, as he did, when he thought he had disposed things so as he might undertake it.

CLOVIS in
Neustria and Bur-
gundy.

DAGOBERT an Infant
in Austrasia.

651.

In the mean time *Dagobert* the Son of *Sigebert*, bore the name of a King a year and an half or two years, in which time I meet with nothing considerable, or memorable.

653.

Towards the year 653, *Grimoald* imagining, as it is probable, that he had duly taken all his measures, caused him to be shaven by *Didon*, Bishop of *Poitiers*, and banished, and transported him into *Ireland*, under the Guard of some people, whom we may believe, had all the care imaginable to keep him concealed, and confined in some remote Monastery. It was a long time before any news could be heard of him; the Queen *Imnechild* his Mother, sheltered her self under the protection of King *Clovis*, with whom, as afterwards with *Childeric II.* his Son, she had great Interest and Power.

652.

This done, *Grimoald* confidently sets up his Son upon the Throne; there are proofs of some Royal Acts he did: but this attempt lost him all the veneration the *Austrasians* had for the memory of *Pepin*, and gave them such horror for their *Mayre* and his Son, that having taken them in some Ambuscades laid for them, they led *Grimoald* to *Paris* to King *Clovis*, who caused him to be put to death, or as others will have it, confined him to perpetual imprisonment; however there was no more heard of him. It is not said what became of his Son, nor whether the *Austrasians* elected another *Mayre*. Perhaps *Erchinoald* executed that Office in all the three Kingdoms: for since the Decease of *Floacat*, the *Burgundians* had created none.

CLOVIS II. Solus.

653. &c.

In these Minorities there being no Authority great enough to curb the Grandees, they audaciously undertook to do any thing what pleased them best, and most commonly deciding their quarrels by the Sword, they put all the Kingdom into a combustion.

655.

The Authors of those times accuse *Clovis* with giving himself up to the Debauchery, or pleasures of the Mouth, and Women, and make a mighty noise for his having plucked off an Arm from the Body of *St. Denis*, to place it in his Oratory. They say he immediately fell into a fit of Madness, as if he had been smote from Heaven, and attribute to this attempt, which at the worst, was but an indiscreet Zeal, all the mischiefs that afflicted the Kingdom of *France* during the Reigns of his Successors.

655.

The same year this King, aged only 21 or 22 years, but having his Brain much shaken with frequent Convulsions, dries up at the Root, and dies in the spring of his age. He did not Reign Seventeen years, if we leave out that whole year wherein *Dagobert* dyed; as the Authors of these times usually do: but if we account from the very day he succeeded him, he was entering into the Eighteenth; he was interred at *St. Denis*.

His

His *Mayre Erchinoald* had amongst his Domestiques, a young *English* Maid, named *Batilda*, * of a rare Beauty, but whom he had bought out of the hands of Pyrats, who had stolen her away amongst some other Captives, for in those days they brought great numbers from those parts: he bestowed her upon this young Prince for a Wife, about the year 548, or 49. and of his Slave, made her the Wife of his King. It was given out, that she was of the Blood of the *Saxon* Princes, who Reigned in *England*.

* Vulgarly
Baucdour.

548.

By this *Batilda*, *Clovis* had three Sons, *Clotaire*, *Childeric*, and *Thierry*; *Clotaire* was saluted King of *Neustria* and *Burgundy*, under the Government of his Mother, and *Erchinoald*, and *Childeric* made King of *Austrasia*; whither he was Conducted and left, he and his Kingdom, under the management of *Ulfad*, *Mayre* of that Kingdom: *Thierry* had no share, perhaps, because he was but yet in his Cradle.

CLO-

Clotaire III. King XIII.

POPES.

VITALIANUS, *Elected in August*
655. *S. Thirteen years three Months.*

EBROIN } CLOTAIRE III.
Mayre. } *King in Neustria*
 } *and Burgundy, aged*
 } *at most but five years.*

CHILDERIC
King of Australia,
aged Three or Four
years.

655.

THe Government of the *Mayre Erchinoald* ended with his Life, which hap-
ned in a few Months after the death of *Clotir*, the II, or as others say,
a short time before. Some, with probability enough, make him the
prime stock of the House of *Alsatia*; whence is issued that of *Lorraine*
of these days, which for Nobility, yields to none in Christendom, unless that of
France.

The *French* bestowed that Office upon *Ebroin*, a man active, valiant, and who be-
ing greatly in friendship with the most Holy Men of those times, and Founder of
some Churches, was held a good Man; and he lived in that Reputation many
years.

655, &c.

Queen *Batilda* Governed with as much Goodness, Prudence, and Justice, as any
wise King could have done: And indeed for Ten years together there hapned no
Trouble in her Sons Reign. Before her time, the *Gauls*, as well those Infants that
lay in their Cradles as their Fathers, paid a great Tribute by Poll, which restrain-
ed many from Marrying, or obliged them to expose their Children: the good
Queen discharged them from it, and forbid those *Jews* that used to buy such poor
innocent Children, and send them into Foreign Countreys, to deal any longer in so
inhumane a Trade. Nay, she bought several that those Infidels had already purcha-
sed; and likewise such as had been stolen away by Thieves, and sold for that pur-
pose: but she exhorted them to put themselves into Monasteries, which she very
greatly desired might be well Peopled.

She had a very particular care for all that concerned the Church: For some time
past the Princes had taken Money for Spiritual Promotions; and the Bishops sold
by Retail what they bought in the Lump: She forbade that Sacrilegious Traffick.
Besides, she enriched divers Monasteries, with Possessions, and precious Ornaments,
obtained immunities for them, and exemptions from Tribute; built two famous Mo-
nasteries, one for Women at *Chelles*, the other for Men at *Corbie*, on the *Somme*, and
invited many Holy persons to Court: but to tell truth, she gave too much access to
the Bishops, either for the good of the Church, or her own Reputation.

656.
57, &c.

Amongst the rest, there were two in very great credit and esteem, *Leger*, whom
she had made Bishop of *Autun*; and *Sigebrand*, we cannot tell of what place. This
last extremely proud of the Queens Favour, which gave occasion of much jealousy
and ill report amongst the envious, did so highly dislike the great ones, that they
put him to death, without any form of Process or Trial. After this attempt, whe-
ther they apprehended the Resentments of that Princess, or had slandered and be-
spattered her on purpose, to make her incapable to Govern; they besought her
so importunately to retire, that she was obliged to condescend. Even those whom
she had most gratified with her Goodness, were of the party: Some of the Gran-
dees conducted her to her Monastery of *Chelles*, where of a Queen, she became
only

664, or
65.

only a simple Nun, and yet was more illustrious in her Humility, then she had
been in her exalted Greatness. She lived till the year 686.

It is to be believed, that *Ebroin* the *Mayre* had managed all this contrivance, that
he might be left sole Governour; for when the *Reyns* were off, his Pride, his Ava-
rice, his Cruelty and Treachery began to appear bare-faced. He seized the Goods,
he took away the Offices, he hunted away the Greatest that were about the Court,
and forbid any others to come in there without his leave. Above all, he hated
Leger, the Bishop of *Autun*, because he was a Creature of Queen *Batilda's*, and
more able then any other to make head against him, and to bring many more to
joyn with him.

665. &c.

King *Clotaire* having been about three years in the hands of this wicked Minister,
dyed the 14th of his Reign, *An. 668*. He had no Children, but was capable of ha-
ving some, being 17 or 18 yearsold. Some say he was buried at *Chelles*, others at
St. Denis.

668.

Chil-

Childeric II. King XIV.

POPE S.

VITALIANUS, *some Months in this Reign.*

ADEODAT, *Electd in April, 669. S. Seven years eight Months and an half, of which, Four in this Reign.*

EBROIN
Mayre.
THIERRY
King of Neustria
and Burgundy,
aged 16 or 17
years.

and

CHILDERIC.
of Austrasia, aged
18 years.

Wlfoade
Mayre.

Emp. Constant.
Pogo, or the
Bearded.
Son of Con-
stans. R. 17
years.

668.

669.

669.

After such an insolent Deportment, Ebroin could not hope that the Grandees of Neustria and Burgundy, whatever King they should Elect, would confirm his Office of Mayre; and therefore upon his own Head, and without waiting for their Assembling or Consent, which was necessary in this case, he takes Thierry, and sets him upon the Royal Throne, according to custom, that this young Prince might have no obligation but to himself alone.

This attempt gave them together, both apprehension and indignation. Fear might have had the upper hand, and made them acquiesce, if he would at least but have suffer'd them to come and congratulate their new King, and make their Court to him; but having sent them a Command not to stir forth of their Houses, their indignation prevail'd, they communicated their Grievances and Discontents; the Bishop of Autun got and kept them together, and they sent a dispatch to Childeric, to proffer him the Kingdom of Neustria.

Childeric comes greatly accompanied; Ebroin is forsaken of all the World, and found no Sanctuary, but the Horns of the Altar. The French, touched with an imprudent Mercy, content themselves with Shaving, and Confining him to the Monastery de Luxeu, to do Penance. His King Thierry is likewise Shaved and sent to the Monastery of St. Denis, not to play the Monk, but to be prisoner there. He had Reigned almost a year in Neustria.

CHILDERIC alone. WLFOADE Mayre.

670.

For the Fifth time, the whole Monarchy of France was re-united under one single King. Wlfoad was Mayre of Austrasia; and Leger, if he did not bear the Title, did at least bear the Office in Neustria, and in Burgundy.

They had very much changed the Laws, which the best Kings and the wisest Magistrates had made to deal Justice impartially: honest people desired they might be restored, or revived; their Demand was granted, and it was ordained amongst other things, that the Judges, Counts, and Dukes, should observe the antient Customs of the Countrey, and that those Employments should not be perpetual, lest they should become Tyrannical.

But

But some wicked persons having gotten the ascendent over the young King, and plunging him into the Debauches of Wine and Women, soon brought him to a breach of all these Ordinances, and to do many unjust actions, without the knowledge, or against the opinion of Leger. The Prelates enemies imputing all these faults to him, he was obliged, that he might justify himself, to speak somewhat freely to him, even to the threatening him with the wrath of God.

The young Prince was at first touched with his Remonstrances, or seemed to be so; but when he was confirmed in his Vice, he conceived a Mortal hatred against him: and those Courtiers that had pretended to be Leger's best friends whilst he was in greatest Favour, were those that threw most Oyl upon this Fire.

Childeric was gone to celebrate the Festival of Easter at Autun, where one certain Heitor, Patrician of Marseille, being arrived some days before; they persuaded the King, that those two Lords were met only to plot against him: so that upon the Easter-Eve, being troubled, and having his Head full of the fumes of Choler and Wine, he ran into the Baptistry to kill him. The Holy Prelate, and Heitor perceiving his wrath, endeavoured the following night to avoid it by flight, but they were pursued. Heitor was killed on the way, and the Bishop brought back to the King, who with much ado gave him his Life, and confined him to Luxeu. There he found Ebroin, who reconciled himself to him: The Wolf and the Lamb dwelling together under the same roof, for fear of a more terrible power, and because they had nothing there to decide betwixt them.

In those days Flavius-Vamba was King of the Visigoths. Three Lords of Septimania, a Count, a Bishop, and an Abbot, having revolted against him, he sent the Duke Paul with an Army to chastise them. But that General proving unfaithful to his Prince, joyned with them, taking advantage of their Rebellion, and the assistance of the French and Gascons, to get himself to be Electd, and proclaimed King in Narbona. His Ambition had a shameful end: Vamba having retaken all the Cities he had seized upon, besieged him in the Sands of Nîmes; and the unfortunate wretch surrendered to the Kings Mercy, who led him in triumph thorough the Cities of Spain, and caused his Eyes to be put out. But he durst not break with France: on the contrary, he loaded all those French whom he had taken prisoners, with Gyves, though they had sided with that Rebel.

Childeric's Debauches and Excess easily led his ill nature to the highest Cruelties; he sent two Dukes to Luxeu, to drag out the good Bishop Leger, and hurry him to Court, to be sacrificed to his revenge: and about the same time it hapned, that he caused a Lord, named Bodillon, to be tied to a Post and whipped. The Great ones of the Kingdom resented this Outrage, as if themselves had felt the blows, and wickedly conspired to Treat him as a Tyrant, who Treated them like Slaves. The business being agreed upon, they wait for him at his return from Hunting, in the Forest of Lochoitia, which is perhaps that of Lybons: Bodillon, the most furious of all, revenging himself with his own hand, Massacres him, and with him the Queen Bilechild, who was great with Child; and also a Son of theirs, but very young. The Mayre Wlfoad made his escape, it is not known how, from amidst the swords of these Furies, and retired into Austrasia.

Bilechild is by some Authors, said to be Sister of her Husbands Uncle: but which, they say nothing, nor whether he left any Children, unless we will believe a Chart, or Manuscript, wherein that Daniel Chilperic, whom we shall mention hereafter, is called his Son. The time of his Reign is not agreed upon. The most probable opinion is, that it was Fifteen years in Austrasia, and Three in Neustria and Burgundy, which is about Eighteen years in all.

Some years since, as they were repairing the Church of St. Germain des Prez; they found two Stone Tombs, side by side, in the one lay the Body of a Man, and in the other a Womans, with a little Child. The Inscription bearing the Name of Childeric, and some Regal Ornaments which were therein, discovered that they were the Tombs of this King and his Queen.

An Inter-regnum of some Months.

This Tragical Death was followed with an Inter-regnum, and universal Confusion in all three Kingdoms. The Dukes that had haled St. Leger out of Luxeu, asked him pardon, and conducted him to his City of Autun; where the Burghes and the

671.

671.

672.

* Arenes,
A Theater, or
Gravelly
place to
fight, or a
kind of Amphitheater.
673.

673, and
74.

the Lords of *Burgundy* made a League to defend him, in case they should attempt upon his Life, during this *Inter-regnum*.

It is credible, that amidst these Divisions, all the *Anstrafians*, or at least, part of them, by the perswasion of Queen *Imnichilda*, Widow of King *Sigebert II.* and who had had credit in the Court of King *Childeric*, desiring to have a King that they might not fall under the power of the *Neustrians*, recalled her Son *Dagobert*, whom *Grimoald* had shaven, and banished into *Ireland*, and acknowledged him for King of *Austrasia*, where he Reigned many years.

674.

The Lords of *Neustria* and *Burgundy*, that they might not fall into an *Anarchy*, went and drew forth *Thierry* from the Monastery of *St. Denis*, where he had time to let his Royal Locks grow again, and set him on the Throne, giving him for Mayre of the Palace *Leudesia*, or *Liutera*, the Son of that *Erchinoald*, who had that Office under *Clovis II.*

Thierry

Thierry I. King XV.

P O P E S,

ADEODAT, S. three years and an half in this Reign.

DONUS, Elected in No. 676. S. one year three months.

AGATHON, Elected in 678. S. three years eight months and half.

LEO II. Elected in August 683. S. eleven months.

BENEDICTUS II. Elected in

684. S. eighteen months and half. JOHN V. Elected in 685. S. one year.

CONON, Elected in 685. S. one year.

SERGIUS, Elected in Decemb. 687. S. thirteen years eight months and half, whereof three years and an half under this Reign.

LEUDESIA then Ebroy Mayre. THIERRY in Neustria and Burgundy, Aged 22 or 23 years.

and DAGOBERT in Austrasia, Aged about 15 years.

EBROIN having quitted the Monastery of *Luxen*, after he had wandred a while with a small Band of Men, grew so Confident as to throw off his Clerical Habit; which was in those times esteemed a most horrid thing, though a Man had even been compelled to put it on. His design was to seize upon the Government again: to this end he got together all such as were banished, and such as were Enemies to *Leger*, whose opposition he most feared, and made a League with *Wlfoad* Mayre of *Austrasia*, who mortally hated the Holy Bishop.

With this Crew of Rascally Villains and *Anstrafians*, he takes the Field, and in an instant falls into *Neustria* to surprize *Thierry* and *Leudesia* his Mayre. The first was passing his time at *Nogent* in the Country of *Laonnois*, and the other was in a Palace on this side the *Oise*. His Enterprize having failed him, because they got away with all speed, he applies himself to fraud; and having, under colour of an Accommodation, engaged *Leudesia* to come to a Conference, he laid an Ambuscade for him by the way, where he was Assassinated.

All this notwithstanding did not restore him to the Office of Mayre, King *Thierry* hating him the more, it was not likely he would admit him. He bethinks himself therefore, when he was returned to *Austrasia*, as he was advised by two evil Bishops who had been Deposed, *Didon-Desiree* of *Chaalons*, and *Robon* of *Valence*, to spread the Report abroad that *Thierry* was dead, and to impose a false or pretended *Clovis* whom he said was Son to *Clotaire III.* This Statue being set up, he forces the People to take an Oath of Fidelity to him, and ruins all those Countries that refused so to do.

But principally he Assaults *Leger* in *Autun* by *Vaimar* Duke of *Champagne*, who was accompanied by the two wicked Bishops. He believed with much reason that this was the most stout Opposer of his Tyranny, and that having vanquish'd him, he should easily overcome all the others. The City being besieged and in danger to be forced, this good Prelat could not be persuaded to betray that Faith he owed the King, and on the other side would not expose his Flock, for whom a good Shepherd ought to expose his Life. He therefore went voluntarily out of *Autun*, after he had broken all his Silver Plate to give to the Poor, and delivers himself to *Vaimar*. That wicked Man caused his Eyes to be plucked out, and shut him up in a Monastery.

674.

675, and 76.

676.

tery. In Recompence for so good a piece of Service, *Ebroin* instals him in the Bishoprick of *Troyes* by fraud and violence, and *Didon* invaded that of *Autun*; but both the one and the other perished soon after by the same Tyranny, of which they were the Ministers.

Immediately after this, the *Grande*s of *Neustria* and *Burgundy*, as if they had left their hearts by the imprisonment of *Leger*, who indeed was the greatest Genius of that Court, accepted *Ebroin* for Mayre of *Thierry's* Palace; and then he having no more need of his false *Clouis*, took off his Vizard, and returned him to a private Condition.

Being in this high Power, his Tyranny had no bounds, he sacrificed all that had opposed him to his Revenge, and to his Covetousness those that possessed fair Estates, or great Employments: but all under the pretence of some imputed Crime, which deprived them of their Honour, before he robb'd them of their Lives. The most wary saved themselves in time, some in *Aquitain*, others in the utmost skirts of *Austrasia*.

678. That he might have a specious Pretence to extend his Cruelty as far as he pleased, he set himself upon a discovery of all those that had any hand in the Death of *Chil-deric*, for which, it was well known, he rejoiced more than the Actors themselves. He failed not to bring in and involve *Leger* and the Count *Guerin* his Brother; These two Lords being brought before him, he caused the latter to be Stoned to death at a Stake, and the other to have the Soles of his Feet torn out, and his Lips cut off, then put him into the Custody of one of his Sattelites, who kept him near two years in the Monastery of *Fescamp*.

* Owen. The most part of the Bishops flattered him in his Injustice, because they either dreaded him, or had some interest in it. *Didon* himself, otherwise * *Ouin* Bishop of *Rouen*, and one that has a Place in the Kalender of Saints, was his Friend and one of his principal Counsellors. This Man clapt St. *Filibert* Abbot of *Jemies* in Prison, for having made some Remonstrances to the Tyrant; And afterwards perceiving that such Violence was too odious in the Eyes of honest People, he banished him to *Aquitain*, under colour of building a Monastery in the Isle of *Herio*; Indeed he did Erect one there, whence it took the name of *Noir-moustier*.

The Exemplary Vertue and Christian Liberty of a few Prelats made the Tyrants Procefs: he undertook to make theirs, and dishonour them to justify his own Conduct which they had condemned. This could not be without the Sentence of their Brethren. To this purpose he therefore calls an Assembly of some that were most devoted to him in one of the Kings Palaces in the Country. They began (thereby to gain a good opinion of their Justice and Impartiality) with two Bishops who deserv'd it very well. These were *Didon* and *Vaimier*, who had offended the Tyrant, it is not said wherein. Both these were Degraded, and afterwards delivered over to be put to Death. *Didon* perished by the Sword, and *Vaimier* by the Cord.

That done they proceeded against *Amat de Sens*, *Lambert de Tongres*, and *Leger d'Autun*: the two first retired into Monasteries: but as for the other, the Fathers of the Council, or rather the Slaves to that Tyrant, tore his Garment from top to bottom, that was the manner of Degradation; then he was put into the hands of *Crodebert* Count of the Palace, who having with grief carried him into the Forest d' *Iveline*, caused his Head to be cut off.

679. About this time died *Dagobert* King of one part of *Austrasia*. I know there are some Authors that make him live many years longer, and bestow a Son, and many Daughters upon him: but in my mind it is upon very doubtful proof, and if he had any Son, we cannot say that he outlived his Father, unless some Modern Genealogist have need of it to make up his Account.

680. A little before, or a little after him, *Wlfoad* his Mayre ended his days, having enjoy'd that Office near twenty five years. The *Austrasians* having no Prince of the Blood, and refusing to obey *Thierry* out of hatred to *Ebroin*, put the whole Government of the Kingdom into the hands of *Martin* and *Pepin*; They were Cousin-Germans issued from two Sons of St. *Arnolds*, the first from *Clodulph*, the second from *Anchisa* and *Begga* the Daughter to *Pepin de Landen*. To distinguish these, some of our Historians call this *Pepin* the *Gross*, others *Pepin de Herstal*; which is a Village upon the *Meuse* between *Jupil* and *Liege*, where he had been brought up.

THIERRY in Neustria.

MARTIN and PEPIN Princes in Austrasia.

THE two Cousins foreseeing *Ebroin* would come upon them, went out to attack him first, and gave him Battle near the Forest of *Locasao* * at the entrance into *Neustria*. The Tyrant gained the Victory, and they escaped by flight, *Martin* to the City of *Laon*, and *Pepin* a great way in the Kingdom of *Austrasia*.

Ebroin with his Army approaches *Laon*, and finding the place impregnable by force, gives out Propositions of Accommodation. Two Bishops, *Engilbert* of *Paris*, and *Rieul* * of *Rheims* would needs be Instruments of the fraud. They persuaded *Martin* to go and meet him in his Camp; and for security gave him their Oaths upon the Shrines of some Saints, which they carried about them, but out of which they had taken the Relicks. *Martin* having forgotten the Example of *Ludefia*, relies on the Faith of these Prelates; When he was come into the Camp, *Ebroin's* Soldiers surrounded and cut him off with all his Men. Thus all the Government of *Austrasia* remained in *Pepin*, who made advantage of his Enemies Crime, and the defeat of his Cousin.

This great success pushed the insolence of *Ebroin* to the highest degree. But Treating the *French* more tyrannical then ever, a Lord named *Hermenfroy*, whom he had stripp'd of all his Estate, and whom he threatned with Death, delivered *France* from that Monster: He watched him one Morning before break of day at his going from home to the Church, and cleft his Head with a Sword; afterwards he made his escape into *Austrasia*.

In his place the *French* made choice of *Varaton* a wife old Man, who immediately Treated with *Pepin*, and gave him Hostages. He had joyned with him in that Administration, a Son of his (named *Willimer* *) able, crafty, and undertaking: but rough, cholerick, and one that had nothing more in view then the honour of Commanding; This unnatural Child grew weary of being his Fathers Companion, he would be his Master and dispossest him of his Employment.

Presently after he breaks the Treaty with *Pepin*, and having raised a great Army, marched as far as *Namur*, where he catches some of his Enemies with the lure of an Hypocritical Faith, and caused them to be slain. At his return from thence he was seized with a Distemper, whereof he died, not without Divine Punishment, being but entred upon the second year of his Office. The old Man was restored to the Place, and Death dispossest him again a year after.

Berthier who had Married a Daughter of his Wives, succeeded him by Election. This was a little fellow, Ill-shaped, Hair-brain'd, Unjust, Proud, Covetous, and in fine much the same as *Willimer*, only he had neither Wit nor Judgment. The greater part of the *Neustrians* finding themselves despised and controuled by so contemptible a Creature, conceived so much scorn and hatred for him, that they forsook him the very next year to Ally themselves with *Pepin*.

This Lord both Generous and Politick took in hand the Cause of those that had been banished by *Ebroin*, and whom *Thierry* treated still as Criminals, that he might have some colour to detain their Estates. He advised them to send to that King to implore an Amnesty and Pardon for what was past in the most submissive manner: and after their Supplications had been rejected, he brought them back into their own Country with an Army, and spared not to assault *Thierry* and his Mayre; He fought them at *Tertry*, which is between St. *Quentin* and *Peronne*. Heavens having favoured him with a compleat Victory, he seized on the Royal Treasure, then on the City of *Paris* and *Thierry's* own Person who had sheltered himself there. After which *Berthier*, whose evil Counsels had occasioned all these mischiefs, was knocked on the Head by Combination of almost all the *Neustrians*, and the instigation even of his Wives own Mother.

Some, not without reason, do here put an end to the Reign of the *Merovingians*, because in truth and in effect they never had after this but only the vain and empty Title of Kings, their whole Kingdom, and even their Persons being in the Power of *Pepin* and his Children. He was owned Mayre of the Palace through all *France*, and he took the Title of Duke or Commander of the *French*, according to the ancient usage of the *Germans*; that is to say they gave him all Authority in the Armies without dependance upon the King, but under whose name notwithstanding all Acts were passed; and that was the sole honour that remained still in him.

681.
* Not now known.

* *Regulus*.

682.

683.

* *Guillimer*,
Gislimer.

684.

Emp. *Juslinian*
an 11. Son of
Prigonatus,
Reigned nine
years and an
half.

685.

686.

687.

687.

Austrasia environned with fierce and rebellious People, wanted the presence of *Pepin*: He durst not take King *Thierry* with him, lest he should displease the *Neustrians*, but he left a Lord with him called *Nordbert* who disposed of all, and gave him an account.

687. The *French* found no prejudice by this change, the interest of a new Prince who desired to Establish himself, being to gain the Affections of the People: and indeed, he repaired all the Breaches that he possibly could, which had been made in the foregoing Reigns, restored what had been ravished from the Church, the Bishops to their Sees, the Grandees in their Dignities and Lands, resolved upon nothing without the Advice of the Lords and Prelates, defended the Cause of the Oppressed, of Widdows and Orphans, and applied himself to give vigour to the Laws, which are the only Shields for the weak against the mighty ones.

688. The second year of his general Command, he drew the *French* Militia together, and by the Advice of the great ones carried the War into *Frisia*, and compelled the Duke or King *Ratbod* who revolted, to render him Obedience, and to pay him Tribute.

At his return he called a Council, the place is not named, wherein they Treated and Considered of the ways and means that should be taken to repress Disorders and Violence, and for the defence of the Church, of Widdows and Orphans. He knew there were no greater Charms to make them love his Government, then Piety and Justice.

Poor *Thierry* being stripp'd of the real part of his Royalty, which is his just Power, and reduced to be contented with a moderate Revenue in Lands, ended his days, but not his shame, in the year 690. or 91. They allow him Thirty nine or forty years of Age, and his Reign to be Seventeen entire, that is Thirteen before *Pepin's* Victory, and four under the Power of that Mayre.

He had two Sons, *Clovis* and *Childebert*, and two Wives *Clotilda* and *Doda*, unless that name of *Doda* * were an Epithet of *Crotilda*, who perhaps was so called because she was fat and plump. His Tomb and that of this *Doda* are to be seen at *St. Vaast* of *Arras*.

* They yet call such in *French* *Dodie*, as are fat.

Clovis

Clovis III. King XVI.

P O P E,

SERGIUS, Who S. four years in this Reign.

CLOVIS III. In Neustria. } PEPIN, Mayre in Neustria,
Sovereign in Austrasia.

IF there had been two Kings, there must have been two Mayres, but *Pepin* would hold that Office alone: besides he could not suffer any King in *Austrasia*, because he held that as properly his own: for this reason he gave to *Clovis*, which was the eldest of *Thierry's* two Sons, the Title of King in *Neustria* and *Burgundy*, but himself kept the whole Administration.

Perhaps the *French* according to their ancient Right, had conferred upon him the Sovereignty of *Austrasia*: but it is certain, that all those People who were Tributary's to that Kingdom, as the *Turingians*, the *Frisians*, the *Saxons*, the *Almains* shook off the Yoak and made themselves Independents. On the other hand, the *Aquitains*, and likewise the *Gascons* created each a Sovereign Duke of their own, and the *Bretons* enlarged their little Frontiers.

Clovis, according to some, Reigned but two years, others more probably give him four compleat. He died about the end of the year 694. or in the beginning of 695. being Aged Fourteen or fifteen years, and neither had seen nor done any thing that was Memorable in his Reign.

691.

Emperor *Leontius* I. having chased and mutilated *Justin*, Reigned two years and some months.

694.

694, or 95.

Chil-

Childebert II. King XVII.

POPES,

SERGIUS, Who S. five years
and an half during this Reign.

JOHN VI. Elected in Oct. 701.
S. three years two months.

JOHN VII. Elected in March 705.
S. two years seven months.

SISINNIUS, In January 708.
S. twenty days.

CONSTANTINE, In March
708. S. six years, whereof three in
this Reign.

CHILDEBERT II. Called }
the Young, aged Eleven or } PEPIN, Mayre, &c.
twelve years.

695.

IN his room, Pepin set up his Brother Childebert, who because of his Minority, was yet reduced to a lesser scantling of Allowance, then his Brother had been. The great Officers, as the Count of the Palace, the great Referendary, (or Chancellor) the Intendant of the Royal Houses, were all with the Mayre: The Kings had only a small number of Domesticks, which served rather as Spies and Taylors then Officers; And indeed they needed them not, being ever locked up in a House of Pleasure, whence they never went forth, but in a Chariot drawn with Oxen, and shewed not themselves to the People but once a year, in the Assembly of Estates which was held the First day of March.

From 690,
unto 700.

696, and
97.

Emp. Tiber.
Abim. elected
by the Soldi-
ers degrades
Leont. Reign-
ed seven
years.
700, &c.
706, and 7.
Emp. Justin-
ian II. restores
himself, and
puts Tiberius
to Death.
Reigned se-
ven years.

708.

In these days Egica King of the Visigoths had War with the French, towards the borders of the third Aquitain; the success we know not.

Norbert who was the sub-Mayre and Lieutenant to Pepin in Nensria, being deceased, Pepin caused Grimoald his young Son to be elected Mayre of that Kingdom, and gave the Dutchy of Champagne to his eldest Son Drogo, whom he would keep near him.

Ratbod King of the Frisians, notwithstanding he had given his Faith and Hostages, revolts a second time, and is again beaten by Pepin near Dorstat.

There was nothing observable in the eight or nine following years.

Pepin, besides his Wife Plestrude, who was already old, had taken a Concubine, or if you will a lawful Wife; for the French, notwithstanding the sacred Canons and the Prohibitions of the Church, repudiated their Wives when they pleased, and Wedded others. The Kings themselves, according to the ancient Custom of the Germans, had often many at one time. This same was called Alpaide: Pepin had a Son by her named Charles, and since surnamed Martel. Lambert Bishop of Liege, a Zealous Defender of the Christian Truth, having dared to reprove him several times, and called that Conjunction Adultery in public: Dodon the Brother to Alpaide Assassinated him by consent of Pepin. Soon after, the Murderer being eaten with Worms, and enduring horrible Torments a while, cast himself into the Menfe. This infection of Worms was very frequent, and as it were Epidemick at that time, as have been St. Anthony's Fire and some other odd Diseases.

Not long after Pepin lost Drogo or Dreux his eldest Son, who left two Sons, Hugh and Arnold, by his Wife Austrude, who was the Widdow of the Mayre Berthier.

The

Childebert II. King XVII.

The *Almans* and *Souabues* made now but one People; governed by the same Duke, who appertained to the Kings of *Austrasia*, or held of them: But *Godfrey* the now Duke had cast off the Yoke to make himself independent; Being dead *Anno 709*. *Willehaire* succeeded him. *Pepin* in two Expeditions which he made thither, vanquished him, and triumphed over his Pride. He could not wholly subdue it though, so that it was found necessary to send a third Army into that Country: but when they were just ready to march in, he was obliged to recall it because of the Death of *Childebert*.

711.

The last of this Kings days was the 15th of April, *Anno 711*. He was Aged about Twenty eight years, and had enjoyed the Title of King Sixteen or seventeen years. He was buried at the Church of St. Stephens at *Coucy*.

711.

Though he had not the opportunity of doing any Act himself, being as it were Tethered by the Authority of *Pepin*: nevertheless they gave him the name of Just, rather to distinguish him from the other *Childebert*, then because he deserved it.

Some give him two Sons, *Dagobert* and *Childeric*. The first Reigned, the other was bred up to Learning or Clerkship, and surnamed *Daniel*. There are those that will make him to be the Son of *Thierry* the First.

The Piety of *Gontran*, the Mildness and Justice of *Clotaire*, and the Tranquillity of his Reign after the death of *Bruneaud*, turned the genius of the French, already very Devout, to be highly Religious, and inclined them more generally to Reverence holy things, and such as they believed to have a more frequent Communication with Heaven. The Kings and Grandees outvied each other, who should bestow most Gifts upon the Churches: They deposited in those sacred Treasuries even to their very Girdles, their Belts, their Precious Vessels, their Apparel when they were rich and set with precious Stones, or Embroidered, their Household Furniture, and any other Rarities which were more for Ornament then use. It was then who should build most Churches and Hospitals, and who should found the noblest Monasteries.

Church.

The Kings strove to exempt such as they founded, from all Temporal Jurisdiction and Charges, and to ascertain the full and free Possession of all what they bestowed. And therefore because of the assumed power the Bishops had to lay hands on all those Goods, and that they disposed of the Donations and Offerings which were made to any of the Churches within their Diocess, and for that besides they took some certain Duties for Blessing the Chrisme, for the Consecration of Altars, for their Visiting, and sometimes for Ordinations: they obliged them to free them from all such Impositions, and even not to meddle with any Monastery, but to leave the Correction and Government of the Monks to the Abbot, excepting in case he had not power enough to compel Obedience, and withall to confer the Sacred Orders to such Monks as should be presented, without exacting any thing.

The Princes on their part did likewise freely bestow many the like Immunities, which exempted them as well from Contribution for their Lands, and from all Imposts on their Goods, as from New-years-Gifts, Lodging and Expence of Judges, which they claimed from all other People wherever they went to hold their Courts.

Now these Exemptions were agreed to by the Diocesan, but with the consent of his Brethren of the Clergy. That of St. Denis, the oldest now remaining, was conceded by *Landry* of Paris, upon the intreaty of King *Clotaire II.* *Anno 659*. in the Assembly of *Clichy*: it containeth many more things then the Protocole or Deed of *Marculfe*. That of *Corbie* was given by *Bertefoy* of *Amiens*, *Anno 664*. at the request of Queen *Batilda*. It makes mention, that there had been the like heretofore granted to the Monasteries of * *Agaune*, and * *Lerins*, and *Leuxen*.

Pope *Adeodat* in the year 672. confirmed that which had been granted to St. Martins at *Tours*, saying, That divers others in France had obtained the like, without which he would not have given his consent, it being contrary to the Canons. There was the like granted to * *Fontenels* by *Ansbart* of *Rouen*, in a Council which he called for that purpose in that City, 682. In fine, there were few great Abbies that did not obtain the like; and ever the last gained something more, and enlarged themselves as I may say, to the prejudice and cost of the Hierarchy, who lent them her Authority to destroy her self, and them likewise, since the Perfection of a good and holy Monk consists in Obedience and Humility.

* St. Mauries
in Chablais.
* St. Honorat.

* St. Wandrille.

L

I hardly

I hardly find any Age wherein the heat for a Monastick Life reigned so greatly as in this. Such as were prompted with that Spirit, went from one Country to another, wandering in every corner to seek out Forests and Mountains; which were the more and sooner peopled by how much they were the more solitary and melancholly. Ireland, Scotland, and England sent great numbers of these good Monks into France. *Colombanus* the most renowned of all, Irish by Birth, having been very well received by King *Contran*, then by *Childebert*, built the famous Monastery of *Luxeu*, in the Mountain of *Vosge*; His Reputation spreading over the three Nations, drew thither a vast number of People; and the Sentence of the Council of *Mascon* in the year 627. who undertook the defence of this Institute, against the Monk *Agristin* who would oppose him, gave him such a Vogue, that it spread all over France, going an equal pace with *St. Bennets*, and producing most eminent Servants to God, as *Emery*, *Deile*, * *Eustasius*, and *Gal*, Disciples of *Colombanus*. *Eustasius* was Abbot of *Luxeu*, and *Gal* who was likewise an Irishman, went and built a Monastery in the Country of the *Swissers*, about which was afterwards raised the City of *St. Gall*.

* *Deicola*.

St. Vandrille built one in the Diocess of *Rouen*, at that place called *Fontenelle*. *St. Riquier* one in *Vimieu*. *St. Vallery* and *St. Josse* two others in the Diocess of *Amiens* upon the Sea-coast. This *St. Josse* was younger Brother of *Judicael* King of *Bretagne*, and had for Brother *Vinok* and two more who all chose to lead the same Life. *St. Ghislain* one in *Haynault*, *Romarc* one for * Nuns in the *Vosge*, in the place where stood his Castle of *Romborg**, *St. Tron* one in the Country of *Liege*, *St. Bavon* one at *Ghent*, *St. Goar* one on the River *Woker* near the *Rhine*; All these Monasteries to this very day bear the names of these Saints.

* *Remiremont*.* *Trudon*.

The Princes or Grandees gave them Ground whereon to build them, together with the assistance of devout People, and sometimes some of them did build at their own Charge and Expence. *Sigebert* King of *Austrasia* erected twelve; A Lord named *Bobelen* four in the neighbourhood of *Bourges*; *Clovis* II. or rather an Archdeacon of *Paris*, *St. Maur des Fosses*; The Queen *Batilda* two very famous ones, viz. *Corbie* for Men, and *Chelles* for Women; King *Thierry* *St. Vaast* of *Arras*, as an Expiation for having consented to the death of *St. Leger*; *St. Ouen* or *Owen* filled his Diocess with a great number, the most illustrious of them are *Fontenelle*, *Fescamp* and *Gemieges*. This last, as likewise that of *Noir-moustier* in an Island of *Poitou* was the work or production of the care of that *Philebert* whom we have mentioned. *St. Eloy* amongst many others built one at *Solignac* in *Limousin*, and one for Virgins at *Paris*, of which *St. Aura* was the Abbess; At this time it is the Church of *St. Eloy* before the Palace inhabited by the *Barnabites*.

Nor was there ever in France such prodigious multitudes and swarms of Monks who lived a most admirable Life in the Eye of all the World. For besides those I have mentioned, there was likewise *Ame* whom *Colombanus* had brought from the solitude of *Againe*, *Bertin* who made a Monastery at *Sitten*: 'Tis there where at present is the City of *St. Omers*. * *Germier* who has given his name to a small City within twelve Leagues of *Lyons*: *Fourfy* a Scotchman who erected a Monastery at *Lagny*: *Landelin* who began that of *Lobe* upon the *Sambre*: *St. Sor* a Hermit in *Perigord*, and divers others, whose Memories the Church does Celebrate with Veneration.

* *Baldomer*.

We must acknowledge that these Flocks of Penitents were very useful to France, yea, beneficial to the Temporal Advantage; For the frequent and long incursions of the Barbarians having destroy'd and laid it waste and desolate, it was yet in many parts over-run with Thickets and Woods, and in the low Grounds, drowned and Boggy. These good Monks who had not devoted themselves to God to live an idle life, wrought with their hands, to clear and drain, and Plant and build, not so much for themselves who liv'd in great frugality, as to maintain the Poor, so that of Barren, Woody, overflown drowned Desarts, that were frightful to look upon, they made fruitful and delightful places, the Heavens with its sweetest influences favouring those places that were cultivated by such pure and disinterested Hands. I shall not mention how that all what is remaining of the History of those Ages has been preserved by them also, and derived to us.

The weaker Sex had not less strength and resolution to lead this Penitent Life, then the Men. The noblest Virgins sought for * Husbands in the Cloister, and Widows found their greatest Comforts there; Princesses built some expressly for their own Retirement. Queen *Batilda*, or *Baudour* made one at *Chelles* in *Brie*; *Fare*

* Vowed or
Marry'd
themselves to
Chastity and
Devotion.

Fare or *Burgundofare* Sister to the Bishop *St. Faron* another in the same Country, which is called *Fare-moustier*; *Gertrude* a Virgin, and *Begge* her Sister, Widdow of *Ansegise* Son of *St. Arnold*, both Daughters of *Pepin*, retired to that of *Nivelle*, which their Mother *Isa* had founded; *Aldegonda* and her Sister *Vaultrade* erected one at *Maubeuge* on the *Sambre*; And *Saleberge* another in the Town of *Laon*.

In all these Ages (which we shall observe once for all) a great many of the Bishops were taken out of Monasteries, or made their retreat thither after they had served the Church some years. Amongst those holy Pastors who most enlightened the Church by their Life and Doctrine, we find in this, *Romain* of *Rouen*, who is said to have quelled and overcome a prodigious Dragon, in memory whereof his Shrine hath yet the privilege to save every year one Murderer from Execution, *Faron* de *Meaux*, *Magloire* de *Dol*, *Archard* de *Noyon*, two *Didiers*, one of *Vienne* Martyr'd by *Bruneaud*, the other of *Cahors* promoted to that Bishoprick by *Dagobert* I. whose Grand-Treasurer he was; *Arnold* of *Metz*, *Cunibert* de *Cologne*, *Oudrille* * de *Bourges*, *Amand* the Bishop of *Tongres* or *Liege*, *Audoen* surnamed *Dadon*, vulgarly *St. Owen*, Successor to *Romain* before-mentioned, and *Eloy* de *Noyon* after *Archard*. These two were illustrious in the Court of *Clovis* II. the one for his rare Goldsmiths Works; the other in the Office of Chancellor or Referendary, and for his Counsel, both these were Consecrated on the same day in the Reign of *Clovis* II. and this Character gave them the greater Authority with the King. At the same time lived *Landry* of *Paris*, *Paul* de *Verdun*, *Leger* * d' *Autun*, * *Prey* or *Priet* de *Clermont*, who was not much his Friend, no more then *Owen* or *Ouin*; *Omer* de * *Terrouenne*, *Sulpitius* the Pious after *Oudrille*. About the end of this Age or Century, *Robert* first Bishop of *Salzburg* in *Bavaria*, *Remacle* Bishop of *Tongres*, who was a Monk both before and afterwards, and *Wilbrod* who took the name of *Clement*, an English Priest, in whose favour was first Established the Arch-Episcopal See at *Virecht*, Anno 697. Amongst all these I observe four that made most generous Remonstrances to their Princes against their excess, *Amand* to King *Dagobert*, *Didier* to *Bruneaud*, *Leger* to *Childeric*, and *Lambert* to Duke *Pepin*; These three last sealed the Christian Truths with their Blood.

* *Ansegisus*.* *Leodecarius*.* *Præjellus*.* *Andomatius*.

The Kings favour having the greatest influence in all Elections, we must not wonder if those that attained to a Bishoprick by that means, were either People of the Court, or became so; and if by the advantage of Study and Learning they had a little more knowledge and insight then others, the Princes would keep them there to serve in their Councils. But we may observe that the Court Air was no less dangerous to them, then contrary to the Duty of their Residence, since *Arnold* himself retired from thence to do Penance, and that those who passed for the most holy, as *Owen* and *Leger*, had their Interests, their Cabals and their Passions there. What can we believe of others who were less Vertuous, but they committed all sorts of Irregularities, which sometimes led them into the most enormous Crimes, of which they were the Instruments, and many times the Actors and Executioners. For proof of this, we need but call to mind that wicked Bishop, who undertook to suborn Queen *Beretrude*, those two Flatterers of *Ebroin* who forswore themselves upon the empty Cafes or Shrines to bring *Martin* to Butchery, and those two false Councils, whereof the one condemned *Didier* of *Vienne*, the other *St. Leger* d' *Autun*, without ever endeavouring afterwards to interpose by Petitions and Prayers for saving their Lives, which those Kings never refused them.

Because of these Disorders and those the Civil Wars produced, which much troubled France, the Councils were much less frequent then in the foregoing Age. We have already mentioned the Fifth of *Paris* *. There was one assembled at *Mascon* in 627. which approved the Rule of *St. Colomban*, much opposed by the Monk *Agristin* revolted against him. Anno 630. there was one at *Reims* concerning Discipline, one at *Chalons*, Anno 650. and one at *Autun* called by *St. Leger*, Anno 670. for the same purpose. In that of *Chalons*, *Agapius* and *Bobon*, who, as I believe, were Concurrents, were deposed. There was one at *Orleans* in the year 645. which confuted a Greek Monothelite Heretick, and drove him most shamefully out of France. We have the Canons of that of *Paris*, of *Reims*, and of *Chalons*, and some of that of *Autun*, which are most of them no other then a Confirmation of such as had been made by the foregoing Councils.

* See Page the 51.

France had no share in the Controversy of the *Monothelites*, who mightily disturbed the Eastern Church. The shame that *Grecian* met with in the Council of *Orleanse*, who thought to have introduced that Heresie, hindred others, as I suppose, from coming to Preach or cry it up, and the *French* from being infected with it. Which without doubt encouraged Pope *Martin* not to be daunted with the Threatnings of the Emperor *Constance**, nor the endeavours of *Paul* Bishop of *Constantinople*, who had undertaken to obtain the Reception of that condemned Opinion, and had joyned all those to his Party that adhered to the Doctrines of *Severus*, of *Eutyches*, and of *Manes*. And indeed we find that in the year 649. he sent the Articles of the Council of *Rome* to *Clotiv II.* and desired him and also King *Childebert* to depute some of their Bishops to *Rome*; that they might accompany and countenance the Legation he intended to send to the Emperor upon that Subject.

* By others named *Con-*
stantine.

Dago-

Dagobert II. King XVIII.

POPES,

CONSTANTINE, Three
years in this Reign.

GREG. II. Elected March 714.

S. sixteen years nine Months and
an half, of which one year in this
Reign.

DAGOBERT II. Called the Young, *PEPIN*, Mayre in Neustria, and So-
Aged Eleven or twelve years. *Pe* veraign in Aultrasia.

Childebert being out of the World, *Pepin* made choice of *Dagobert* his eldest Son to wear the Bauble, and instaled him in the Royal Throne, by the Counsel and Approbation of the Estates. Where having caused him to preside, after he had received the Gifts or Presents from the *French*, after he had recommended the care of the Rights of the Church, of Widdows and Pupils, renewed the Decree against Rapine, and given Command to the Army to hold themselves in readines at a time appointed to March where Affairs required: he sent him back to one of the Royal Houses to be Bred and Entertained with great Respect in outward appearance, but without any Power or Function.

The first year of his Reign, *Pepin* undertook a fourth Expedition against the *Almans*; who were this time so battered, that they could not stir again for many years.

After many Wars, having not been able wholly to bring under him *Ratbod* Duke of the *Frisons*, he not only came to an Agreement, but likewise allied himself with him, by Marrying his Son *Grimoald* to that Kings Daughter.

The *Sarrazins* who were Masters of *Africa*, did not let slip the fair occasion that presented to invade *Spain*. The Children of King *Vitiza* had been Excluded the Kingdom by *Roderick*, (whose Fathers Eyes *Vitiza* had caused to be put out) and had retired themselves to *Julian*, Governor of the *Visigoths* in the Province of *Tingi*, who was himself likewise much offended for that this new King having Debauched his Daughter would own her but for his Concubine. These three Lords having joyned their Resentments, addressed themselves to *Maza* Lieutenant in *Africa* under *Valis* or *Ulit* Caliph, or chief Sovereign of the *Sarrazins*; He gave them some Forces, over whom *Roderick*, getting the better, he again sent others commanded by *Tarac* (this was he that gave the name to *Gibal-Tar*) to the Mountain *Calphe*, where he built a Fort, whence likewise the *Straights-mouth* hath its denomination. At length there hapned a great Battle betwixt him and *Roderick*, where that King was overcome and slain with all the flower of the *Visigoths*.

Within two years all *Spain* was subjected to the Tyranny of the *Sarrazins*, the remainders of the *Visigoths* fled part of them into the Mountains of *Asturia* and *Galicia*, part into *France*, from whence they by degrees came all to Prince *Pelagus*, Son of *Fasla* and Grandson of King *Chindasuint*, who yet preserved to himself a petty Principality amidst the Mountains of *Asturia*, which in process of time and by assistance of the *French*, increased so much that it consumed the *Sarrazins* in the end.

While *Pepin* was at *Jupile*, he fell into a long and troublesome Distemper. His Son *Grimoald* going to Visit him, passing by *Liege* to make some Prayers for him on St. *Lamberts* Tomb, this was in the Month of *April*, he was Assassinated by a Rascal named *Rangaire*, a *Frison*, for which reason an Author hath pretended, that it was done by the command of *Ratbod* his Father-in-Law.

Emp. *Philippi-*
cus Bardanus,
causes *Fusti-*
nian to die,
Reigned two
years.

711.

712.

Emp. *Anasta-*
sius II Philip-
picus having
been degrad-
ed, and his
Eyes put out,
Reigned one
year six
months.

713, 714,
April.

Pepin

Emp. Theodo-
sua, elected
by the Army;
degrades
Anast. Reign-
ed two years.
714.
714, in De-
cember.

Pepin being Recovered, severely revenged the Death of his Son upon all the Accomplices he could lay hold on. This was the dearest to him of all his Sons, he had likewise a great regard for his Bastard, named *Theodoald*, and obliged the *Neustrian* Lords to elect him for their Mayre.

Some months after he relapsed more grievously then before, in so much as he died of it the 18th of December, having held the Government of all *France* from the Battle of *Terry*, which was in 687: even to his Death, with great success, and with much greater Vertue, of which the most eminent, and which gained him most the favour of Heaven, was his Zeal for the propagation of the Faith, not having spared any thing to plant it in *Germania*, *Secunda*, and beyond the *Rhine*, where all the Inhabitants were at that time Idolaters.

Besides *Drogon* and *Grimoald*, he had two more Sons, *Charles Martel* and *Childebrand*. It is unknown by what Woman he had the last, but a very exact Historian hath proved that this *Robert le Fort*, (the Strong) who was the Paternal Great, great Grandfather of King *Hugh Capet*, was descended from him by the Male Line.

Now be it that *Pepin* left the Mayrie of *Austrasia* to *Arnold*, who was the Son of *Drogon*, as that of *Neustria* to *Theodoald*, or changing his mind a little before he died, had bestowed it upon *Charles* for all the three Kingdoms, or perhaps only the name of Prince of the *French*, which seems to be above that of Mayre; *Plectrude* his Widow seized upon the whole Government, and got *Charles* by a wife into her hands, keeping him Prisoner at *Colen*, where she made her usual abode.

But the *Neustrians* already tired with the Domination of the *Austrasians*, were yet more impatient of being ruled by a Woman. They therefore Armed themselves, and put their King *Dagobert* in the head of their Forces, to prevent her from coming under the name of *Theodoald* a Child and a Bastard, to usurp the Government of their Country.

The Army that brought *Theodoald* being near *Compeigne*, the *Neustrians* went to meet them, and put them to the rout: All the *Austrasians* could do, was to save *Theodoald*. After this Victory they chose *Ragenfroy*, or *Rainfroy* for their Mayre, being one of the most considerable and most valiant Lords amongst them: who to perplex the *Austrasians* the more, made a League with *Ratbod* Duke of the *Frisons*, and led King *Dagobert* to ransack *Austrasia* even to the *Mense*.

It then hapned that the *Austrasians* being in a great consternation, *Charles* happily made his escape out of Prison, and having gotten his Friends together, was received with incredible joy by all his People.

About the end of the same year died *Dagobert* King of *Neustria*, after he had been a property to the Mayres for four or five years. He left one Son named *Thierry*, who was yet in his Cradle, and who had afterwards the surname of *Chelles*, because he was brought up there.

Immediately upon this *Rainfroy* that he might have a name under which he might still hold the Government, took *Daniel* out of the Monastery, caused him to be instaled in the Throne by the Grandees according to custom, and named him *Chilperic*. It is not certainly known whose Son he was, some believe him to have been *Childeberts*, others *Thierry's*, and others again the Son of that *Childeric* who was Assassinated by *Bodillon*, Anno 673. If these last are in the right, he was at least Forty four years old when he began to Reign, and indeed he must have been of some years, since he had been a Clerk, and had staid time enough to let his Hair grow long again.

Chilperic II. King XIX.

P O P E,

GREGORY II. Who S. six years
during this Reign.

CHILPERIC II. King in Neustria, part of Austrasia.
with Rainfroy his Mayre.

CHARLES, Mayre or Prince in one THEODOALD, Under the Regency
of Plectrude in the other part.

BY vertue of a League contracted the foregoing year, *Rainfroy* and *Ratbod* did both assault *Charles* on each side, *Ratbod* being entred into the Country as far as *Colen*, met him in his way, it was in the month of *March*. The Battle was very bloody on either hand; but disadvantageous to the last; and this was almost the only misfortune or defeat he met with in his whole Life.

After this Victory the *Frisons* and the *Neustrians* joyned their Forces, sacked all the open Country and besieged *Colen*. *Plectrude* who was in the Town with her Nephews, found means to make them withdraw again by giving them Money. In the mean time *Charles* having rallied his Men together, laid an Ambuscade for *Rainfroy* at his return, where he beat and plundered a Party of his Army. This was in the *Ardennes* at the place named *Amblave* from the River which passes there near the Abby of *Staulon*.

The following year he in his turn made an irruption into *Neustria*. *Rainfroy* with his *Childeric* came against him, and gave him Battle at the Village of *Vincisc*, in *Cambresis*, upon a Sunday the 20th of *March*. The success being a long while doubtful, ended in favour of the last; he put *Rainfroy* to the rout, and pursued him very near to *Paris*.

At his return *Austrasia* owned him for their Head, *Colen* opened him her Gates, and *Plectrude* was constrained to give him up his Father *Pepins* Treasure, together with his Grand-children *Theodoald*, *Hugh*, and *Arnold*, whom he kept under a strong Guard.

Though he had all these Advantages, he yet wanted the name of a King: he therefore gave that Title to one *Clotaire* who was of the Blood Royal. Some make him the Son of *Thierry* III. not long since deceased, perhaps he might be the Son of *Clouis* II. Son of *Dagobert*.

RAINFROY, Mayre.

CLOTAIRE, in Austrasia.

CHILPERIC, in Neustria.

CHARLES MARTEL, Mayre.

Rainfroy finding little Assistance from the *Frisons*, had recourse to the *Aquitains*, who during these Troubles had taken to themselves the liberty of electing a Duke; his name was *Odon* or *Endes*. This Duke and *Rainfroy* having joyned their Forces nigh *Paris*, took their March to find out the Enemy in *Austrasia*. Being come near *Soissons*, they were much amazed to hear that he was come to meet them himself, and was very near at hand; And indeed, he charged them so furiously, that he routed them, and gave them Chase even to *Paris*. *Endes* retired himself into *Aquitain*, and carried

carried *Chilperic* and his Treasure with him. *Charles* pursuing him over-ran *Orlean-
nois* and *Tourrain* at his pleasure. This Victory put the whole Kingdoms of *Neustria*
and *Burgundy* into his hands.

719. His *Clotaire* did not long bear the Title of King, he died the same or the following
year. His Tomb is at *Coucy* in *Vermandois*.

After his death *Martel* governed some months without any King: but knowing
the People were too much accustomed to that name to be without it, he sent to *Eudes*
to profer him a Peace, and to send back *Chilperic*: *Eudes* accepted the Conditions,
and sent him to him with many Presents. *Charles* causes him to be owned for King
thorough all the three Kingdoms, that so he only might be Mayre. Pope *Gregory II.*
calls him Duke and Mayre of the Palace of *France*; which shews that he held himself
as an Officer of the Kingdoms, and not of the King.

CHILPERIC alone. MARTEL sole Mayre.

OF all the People who being Tributary's to the *French* had revolted, the *Saxons*
were the most Potent: They had not only thrown off the Yoak, but had like-
wise imposed it upon the *Bructeri*, the *Atuari*, and the *Toringians*. *Martel* carried
his Forces thither three or four times to quell them: but that honour was reserved
for *Charles* the Great. It is worthy our taking notice, that they were divided into
several distinct People, and that they had almost as many Dukes as there were several
Countries belonging to them.

721. The *Saracens* pretended that *Septimania*, or *Narbonensis Prima*, having been part
of the Kingdom of the *Visigoths*, ought to be an Augmentation to their Conquests.
Zaman Governor of *Spain* under the grand Emir, *Isic* or *Gizit*, took *Narbonna* and
put in a Garison: but having besieged *Thoulouze*, Duke *Eudes* began to bestir him-
self, defeated his Army, and drove him bravely thence. *Ambissa* Succellor to *Zaman*
conquered *Carcaffonna*, *Nismes*, and all the rest of *Provence* as far as the *Rhosne*.

721. *Chilperic* did not live two years after his Re-establishment, and Reigned in all but
five or six, dying in the City of *Noyon* either in this year 721. or in the year before.
He was buried in the same place.

Thierry

Thierry II. King XX.

POPE S,

GREGORY II. Who S. near
Ten years; during this Reign.

GREGORY III. Elect 731.
in Apr. S. Ten years Three Months;
of which about Seven in this Reign.

THIERRY II. named de Chelles, CHARLES, Duke and Maire
aged about Six years. of France.

Immediately after, *Charles*, who would ever have an Image wherewith to amuse
the People, caused *Thierry*, or *Theoderic* the II. Son of King *Dagobert* the II.
to be Installed by an Assembly of the *Grandeess*.

Rainfroy was abandoned by *Eudes*, but had not yet laid down the Title of
722. *Mayre* of *Neustria*, and for this cause *Charles* besieged him in *Angiers*. He secured
himself for this bout by the strength of the place; but the year after he was forced
and slain; or at least degraded of his *Mayership*, and reduced to a private condition.

During these Four or Five years, *Charles* had divers Wars with the *Saxons*, the
733. *Almans*, and the *Bavarois*. In the year 725. he reduced *Hubert*, Duke of *Bavaria*,
725. and all that Countrey, and carried away with him *Bilistrude*, and her Neece *Bilichilde*.
Some are of opinion, that this *Bilistrude* is the same before-mentioned *Pleistrude*, that
had retired her self to this place, to procure him fresh troubles. She must needs then
have been very aged; but it appears rather that she was Sister to *Odillon* Duke of
Bavaria, and Widow of some Lord of that Countrey, as yet very beautiful, since
Martel would take the trouble of bringing her; unless it were some affection he had
for the Neece, whom indeed he was Married unto some while after.

After divers Wars against the People beyond the *Rhine*, of which we have no par-
730. ticulars, hapned that against *Aquitain*, Duke *Eudes* had broken the Treaty made
with *Charles*, and made a League with the *Sarracins* *Munnuxa*, (giving him for pledge
of this Union, his Daughter *Lampagne*, one of the most beautiful Princesses of those
times. This *Munnuxa* was Governour of the *Spanish* Countreys on this side the *He-
brus*, but was revolted from *Isam*, who was Caliph. *Charles*, who was ever on Horse-
back, having had intelligence that *Eudes* moved, falls immediately into *Aquitain*,
and having sacked it all as far as the *Garonne*, severely chastised him for his breach.

But he was not quit for all this, for at the same time as *Charles* went out, *Abdi-
731. racman*, or *Abderame*, Lieutenant-General of the Caliph *Isam* in *Spain*, being entred
in another way, after he had vanquished, and taken *Munnuxa* prisoner in *Cerdagne*,
with his new Spouse, traversed *Aquitania Tertia*, perhaps not without fighting the
Gascons who held it, and forced and sacked the City of *Bordeaux*. In this manner it
was that *Eudes* drew the *Saracens* into *France*; which hath given occasion to some
to write that they were called in.

Now he durst not wait for them beyond the Rivers, but was retreated on this side
the *Dordogne*: and there being reconciled with *Martel*, he assembled his Forces, stay-
ing for him to come and joyn him with his *French* Men. *Abderame* would not allow
him the time, but pressing still forwards, passed the River to attaque him in his Camp.
732. The Duke stood his ground, and fought him as bravely as could be; but in the end
was overcome with inestimable loss of People. However some small portions of
this great wrack were left him, with which he made his Retreat, and came and
joyned *Martel's* Army, which had passed the *Loire* and were Encamped, some say
near *Tours*, upon the River of *Cher*; others a little on this side of *Poitiers*.

M

Abderame

732.

Abderame following his blow, after he had sacked the City of *Poitiers*, marched directly to *Tours*, to plunder the Sepulchre of *St. Martin*; in his way he meets with *Martel*, who puts him to a full stop. The two Armies having looked with threatening countenance upon each other seven days, beginning first with several skirmishes, at length came to a general Battle, which was given upon a Saturday in the month of *October*. The *Saracens* being light and nimble, charged with much briskness; but being ill Armed, broke themselves against the great Battallions of the *French*, who were sheltered under their Bucklers. There were great numbers slain, but not 375000, as hath been said, for in their whole Army there were but 80 or 100000 Men. *Abderame* himself the General perished there. The night parted the fray, and favoured the Infidels, who not daring to abide another day, Engagement, Retreated by long Marches into *Septimania*: the *French* perceived, very late, that their Camp was forsaken; but fearing some stratagem, and withal, being busy in getting together, and sharing the Plunder, which was very rich, they did not endeavour to pursue them.

733.

This great Victory secured Christendom, which would have become a prey to the *Barbarians*, if they had gained *France*, which was its only Bulwark: but it seems *Charles* did not make good use of this great advantage, no more then of all those others that Heaven bestowed upon him: when he gained his ends, he set himself upon persecuting every thing that cast but the least shadow upon his Grandeur; even the very Prelats, whom he banished, and imprisoned, taking away, not only the Treasures and Revenues of the Churches, to pay his Captains; but likewise bestowing on them Abby's and Bishopricks for their reward; so that there were many without Pastors, and Monasteries were filled more with Soldiers then with Monks. The Churches of *Lyon*, of *Vienne*, of *Auxerre*, were destitute of their Bishops, and dispoiled of their Goods, which he had given to his Martial Officers, as if they had been a Prize taken from the Enemy.

Upon his return from *Aquitain*, he banished *Eucher*, bishop of *Orleans*, with some of his Kindred, first to *Colein*, then into the Countrey of *Herbain*, because he defended the Rights and Possessions of the Church with too much courage. Five years before he had also banished *Rigobert*, Bishop of *Reims*, who had refused him his Gates when he marched against *Rainfroy*.

733.

The Kingdom of *Burgundy* did not as yet own his Commands; perhaps *Arnold*, the Son of *Grimoald*, whom some believe was their Duke, thought to hold the Sovereignty. When he had conquered the *Saracens* he marches directly to them, and brings all the Countrey into subjection.

734.

With the like expedition he vanquished the *Frisons*, killed their Duke *Popon*, who succeeded *Ratbod* in a great Battle, subjugated afterwards the *Ostergow*, and the *Westergow*, these are two Countreys in *West Frisia*, pulled down all their Temples, their Sacred Groves, and their Idols, and covered all the Land with slaughter and destruction, and the rubbish of their Ruines.

735.

The year following a new War was kindled betwixt him and the Duke of *Aquitain*; this Duke having been compelled to make a very disadvantageous Treaty with *Charles*, to procure assistance against the *Saracens*, as soon as the danger was over, scorned to keep his word; Therefore *Martel* marches a third time into his Countrey, and having followed him at the very heels with his drawn Sword from place to place, without being able to catch him, returned home laden with spoil.

The same year Death ended the misfortunes of that Duke, but not those of *Aquitain*. He had two Sons, *Hunoud* and *Hatton*; some add *Remistang*, who to others appears rather to be his Wives Brother. He bestowed upon *Hatton* the County of *Poitiers*, for his Portion; *Hunoud* had all the rest of the First and Second *Aquitain*,* of which he took possession, as if it had been an Hereditary and Independant Estate. *Charles*, who would have no other partaker, soon returned again with his Army, and marching quite thorough to the *Garonne*, seized upon *Blaye*, and some other places; so that *Hunoud* was constrained to submit to his Will, and receive the Duchy from him as he had before from his Father, giving his Oath both to him and to his Son *Pepin*.

* The *Gascons* held the Third.

737.

His Celerity and his Valour did let nothing escape; the same year he beat the *Aquitain* Forces, and went and settled the Governours that had disturbed the City of *Lyon*, and a part of *Burgundy*, and proceeding forward, made sure of *Provence*, and put Governours into *Arles* and *Marfeilles*. From thence he turned upon the *Saxons*, beyond the *Rhine*, and brought them so low, that they did not afterwards make any attempt for divers years.

As

As *Martel* was an Usurper, every Governour thought he had reason enough to disobey him, and acted like Sovereigns. *Maurontus*, Governour of *Marfeilles*, that he might make himself Independent, craved the assistance of the *Saracens*, and delivered the City of *Avignon* up to them, whence they spread themselves over *Dauphine*, *Lyonnois*, and if credible, even as far as *Sens*, with a horrible defolation of all those Countreys.

The *Barbarians* did not hold *Avignon* long, *Charles* sent thither his Brother *Childebrand*, who having made them quit the Field, besieged them in that City. Soon after he came thither himself with the gross of his Army, gave an Assault by *Scalado*, and forced them; part of the City was burnt; and all the Infidels that were within it put to the Sword.

This done, he crosses over *Septimania*, and goes to besiege *Narbonne*, resolved to have it what ever it cost, thereby to shut up that passage into *Gall*.

Athim, Governour of the City, and perhaps of all that Countrey for the *Saracens*, was gotten into the Town: Those in *Spain*, informed of the danger the place was in, made great Levies of Soldiers, and put them aboard some Vessels to relieve it. There is a Lake between *Narbonne* and *Ville-Salse*, at whose Mouth the little River of *Bere* discharges it self into the Sea; it is called the Lake *Oliviere*: there it was their Boats came into Land those Forces they had brought; *Amoroz*, Governor of *Terragonne* was their General. *Martel* leaving his Brother with part of the Army to maintain the Siege, went thither to them, and gave them Battle nigh *Sigrae*. It was very obstinate; but in the conclusion, *Amoroz* was overthrown upon huge heaps of his slain Men, and most of the rest that fled into their Boats, Drowned, or put to the Sword.

Athim's courage increased by this ill success, and he defended himself so bravely, that *Charles* left him there, and turning his Forces towards more easy Conquests, made himself master of *Besiers*, *Agde*, *Maguelonna*, and of *Nismes*, all which he dismantled.

About the year 738. hapned the death of *Thierry* of *Chelles*, about the 23 year of his age, and the 17th of his imaginary Reign. Now *Charles Martel*, having perhaps the design of taking up the Title of King, as he had the Authority, put no other in his stead, nor his Sons neither, till a year after his death, so that there hapned an *Interregnum* of Five years.

Interregnum.

Charles Martel, Maire. and Duc of the French.

Popes,
Greg. III.

A Second time *Maurontus* calls the *Saracens* into *Provence*; *Jusep*, Governour of *Narbonne*, Besieged and Took the Town of *Arles*, and from thence over-ran, and ransacked all *Provence*. *Charles* summons *Luitprand*, King of the *Lombards*, to joyn with him against this Enemy. *Luitprand*, who did not desire to have them so near *Italy*, and who besides was a friend to *Martel*, presently marches to joyn him; the Infidels dare not stay for them, but retreat to *Narbonne* without striking a blow. *Maurontus* likewise forsakes *Marfeilles*, and retires amongst the Rocks; so that *Provence* remained peaceably in the hands of the *French*.

The power of the *Saracens* which threatened to overwhelm all Christendom, being as it were upon its ebb, the Spanish Princes recovered themselves by little and little again, especially with the assistance of the *French*; and yet nevertheless, they were above Seven hundred years in regaining what they lost in three years time. This year *Charles Martel* sent them a considerable assistance, which helped them more then a little towards settling their affairs.

In *Spain* they called the *Saracens* Moors, because indeed they were come from *Mauritania*, which they had conquer'd, and because most of their Forces were composed of Men from that Countrey.

M 2

The

The dispute about the worship of Images caused a pernicious and bloody Schisme in the Church. The Emperour *Leon* upon the reproaches the *Saracens* and *Mahometans* had made him, that it was Idolatry to adore Stone and Wood, would needs pull them out of the Churches, the Popes at the same time contending to keep them there. *Gregory II.* stood up stoutly in this Cause; the Dispute went so far, that *An. 726.* not looking upon *Leon* as his Sovereign, he wrote him Letters that were very haughty and full of new Maxims, stop'd the Moneys he was raising in *Italy*, and turned the People from that Obedience they owed to him. *Gregory III.* his Successor went yet farther, and Excommunicated him. On the other hand, the Emperour turned every Stone to revenge it: but all his endeavours proved fruitless, and a shame to himself in the end.

740.
Emp. *Constantine Coprin*
Son of *Leon*
IV. R. 34

Whilst affairs were in such a condition, that the Pope could hope for no assistance of the Emperour in his occasions, it hapned that he offended *Luitprand*, King of the *Lombards*, by giving Retreat to *Trafimond*, Duke of *Spoleta*; and making League with *Godefric*, who had invaded the Dutchy of *Benevent*: That King pressing upon him with his Army, and having seized some Towns within the Dutchy of *Rome*, he had recourse to the protection of *Martel*, and wrote two or three very moving Letters to him, in the Titles whereof he called him his most excellent Son, and gave him the Title of *Sub-King*, or *Vice-Roy*.

740.
741.

Charles was a little hard to be moved, the Letters having operated no great matter; he sent him a most remarkable Embassy, which carried as a Present, the Keys of the Sepulchre of *St. Peter*, and the Bonds wherewith that Apostle had been tied; and after that came another, which bestowed and conferred upon him the Sovereignty of *Rome*, and the Title of *Patrician*.

He was not now any more in a condition for great enterprizes, a troublesome and lingering distemper which undermined him by little and little, forwarned him to think of his Death, and the settlement of his Family: He had three Children Legitimate, *Carloman*, *Pepin*, called the *Breif*, and *Griffon*; the two first by *Chrotude*, and the other by *Sonichilde*; and besides these, three Bastards, *Remy* or *Remede*, *Hierosme*, and *Bernard*. *Remy* was Bishop of *Rouen*, *Hierosme* and *Bernard* Married. The First had a Son named *Fulrad*, Abbot of *St. Quimins*, which he built. The Second had three Sons and two Daughters, the two eldest Sons were *Adelard* and *Vala*, both Counts at Court, then successively, Abbots of *Corbie*, and the Third named *Bernier* was likewise a Monk. The two Daughters *Gondrade* and *Theodrade*, vowed themselves to God in a Religious Life: the first in her Virgin State, the other in her Widdow-hood.

Now Prince *Charles* dividing the Estate between his three Legitimate Children, as if he had been the lawful Sovereign, gave to *Carloman*, who was the eldest, *Austrasia*, *Souabe*, and *Turingia*; (*Bavaria* had its Dukes, *Frisia* and *Saxony* were Revolted) to *Pepin*, *Neustria*, *Burgundy*, *Septimania*, and *Provence*; and to *Griffon*, a Portion betwixt his two Brothers, made up of some parcels of the three Kingdoms. The Son of the Duke *Eudes* held *Aquitania Prima & Secunda*, and the Duke of the *Gascous* the other.

741.
* Now *Crecy*
a small Village.

Shortly after, on the 26th of *October*, he ended his Life in the Castle of *Carissy* * upon the *Oyse*, within three Leagues of *Noyon*. He had ruled about three years in *Austrasia*, and 28 in this Kingdom and in *Neustria*. The Martial Courage and Spirit which inclined him to have always his Sword in hand to finite his Enemies, acquired him the name of *Martel* in History, and an immortal Fame: But the Ecclesiasticks, whom he had rudely handled, sullied his Memory, and would not forgive him in the other World. For they affirmed, according to a Revelation of *St. Eucher*, Bishop of *Orleans*, that he burned both Body and Soul in Eternal Flames, and that his Tomb having been opened, there was nothing to be found in it, but a huge Serpent and a stinking Blackness, the marks of the ill condition of his State, or Salvation.

CARLOMAN
in *Austrasia*,

and

PEPIN
in *Neustria &*
Burgundy.

Dukes and Princes of the French.

How little soever the share was which *Griffon* had, his two Brothers could not endure it; they Besieged him in the City of *Laon*, shut him up in *Chasteauneuf* in *Ardenna*

Ardenna, and having seized on his Mother *Sonichilde*, allotted him the Abby of *Chelles* for his Subsistence and his Prison. At the same time *Theodebald* Son of *Grimoald*, whom *Martel* had left in Peace after he had strip'd him, was taken out of the World, perhaps because he had some intrigues with *Sonichilde*.

All those People, whom *Martel* had brought to their Duty by the power of the Sword, imagined, that after his death it would be easie for them to cast off the yoke: Particularly *Thibaud*, Son of *Godefroy*, Duke of the *Almans*, and *Hunoud* Duke of *Aquitain*. This last being the most dangerous, the two Brothers joyned their Force against him. They handled him so roughly, having driven him beyond *Poitiers*, and forced the Castle of *Loches*, that he desired a Peace, the conditions are not specified. Before the two Brothers left *Aquitain*, they shared the Kingdom betwixt them, or rather what they had taken from *Hunoud*, which they did at the place called *The Old Poitiers*, between the *Clain* and the *Vienne*, near *Chastelleyard*.

742.

Besides these two Expeditions, the year was remarkable for the Birth of *Charles* called the Great, or *Charlemain*, the Son of *Pepin*, and *Berte* his Wife, who was born into the World in the Palace of *Ingelheim* upon the *Rhine*, this year 742.

742.

The same year *Carloman* passed the *Rhine*, marched into the *Almans* Countrey, as far as the River *Lee*, which separates them from the *Bavarians*, and brought them so low, that their Duke *Thibaud*, Son of *Godefroy*, gave him up Hostages for pledge of his Faith, and the tribute he was to have from him.

742.

It seems to have been in this year, or at least the next, that the two Brothers be-thought themselves of filling the Royal Throne, in appearance, which had been vacant five years, and putting *Childeric* in it, who was surnamed the *Witless*, or * *Senseless*, as being either really such, or so represented to the People. Some make him to be the Brother of *Thierry de Chelles*, others of *Clotaire III.*; and if so, he must have been at least 17 or 18 years of age; but many think him the Son of *Thierry*, and then he could be but 10 or 12 at most.

743.

* *L'Incense*
or *L'Hebete*.
Dull, Slow
Blockish.

Childeric

Childeric III. called the WITLESS. King XXI. Aged Eighteen years.

POPE.

Zachary Elect in Dec. 741. S. Ten years Three Months,
whereof above Nine Months in this Reign.

CARLOMAN
in Austrasia.

and

PEPIN
in Neustria.

Dukes and Princes of the French.

743.

Those Princes that had Revolted in the time of Martel, obeying his Children but unwillingly, made a powerful League to break and throw off the Bonds of their subjection. Odillon Duke of Bavaria was the Head, instigated, no doubt, by his Wife Chiltrude, Daughter of Martel, and Sonichilde, who two years before, having stolen away from her Brothers, went into that Countrey and was Married to him. The Saxons and Almans assisted him with Men; and at the same time, while the two Brothers were on their way thither. Hunoud, Duke of Aquitain falls upon Neustria, and descends as far as Chartres, which he forced, and buried almost under its own Ruines.

Odillon was encamped with his Army on the brink of the River Leog, which he had Palisadoed with strong Timbers. The two Brothers having staid Fifteen days right over against him, without attempting to pass; one fair night, a kind of impatient Spirit prompting the French, they forced their way over, with the loss of many of their Men, who were drowned, and brought a terror to his whole Camp: All his Men betook themselves to flight, and left their Baggage, and the two Brothers their full and free liberty to range over the whole Countrey of Bavaria for two Months together.

744.

From thence Carloman marched against the Saxons, gained the Castle of Hochsburg, upon Composition; and Theoderic Duke of that Countrey, who solemnly gave his Faith to him; and yet he nevertheless broke it again presently, and obliged Carloman to return thither the very next year, to the very great damage of his Countrey.

But it was not till after the two Brothers having ravaged Aquitain, had constrained Hunoud to crave their pardon the third time, and redeem his fault with the price of many great Presents made to them.

745.

He had the courage of a Woman, quarrellsome and weak, and consequently suspicious and cruel. His Brother Hunton being come to see him upon the security of his Word, he put him to death, and a short while afterwards, either upon some Motions of Repentance, or lightness and giddiness of Brain, he made himself a Monk in a Monastery, in the Isle of Rhe, having left his Duchy to his Son Gaisfre, about the age of 18 or 20 years.

Prince

Prince Carloman, after he had struck his last blow against the Almans, whose pride he had abated by the blood of a great many of the most mutinous, which was in the year 746: resolved likewise to quit the World, either by a powerful and efficacious inspiration of God, or the terror of those most dismal Stories they spread of his Fathers Damnation.

746.

The Fifth year of his Principality, having given up his Estate, and his Son Dragoon, or Drun into the hands of Pepin; he went to pay his Devotions at St. Peters in Rome; from thence he went to take the Habit of St. Benual at Mount Sorade, or Mount St. Sil, and some while after, because he was too much importuned by Visitors, he retired to Mount Cassin.

Pepin allowed no share of his Dominion to his Nephew Drun, nor his Brothers other Children: but the same year, and perhaps at his request, he set their youngest Brother Griffon at liberty. Treated him Honourably in his Court, and gave him some Counties for his allowance.

747.

The ambition of this young Prince, not being tamed by a Prison, could not be so by kindness, he made his escape, and went and stirred up the Saxons in his quarrel. Pepin followed him close, the Sorabe Slavonians, who were divided from the Turingians by the River of Sals; the Alrodites and other Slavonians, who were spread all along the Frontiers of France, brought him 10000 Fighting Men. Inasmuch as the Saxons Nordsgaues, overwhelmed with his numbers, submitted to his pleasure, and received Baptisme. Griffon with the other Saxons, was Encamped and intrenched on the other side of the River Ouacre; fear seized upon them, they deserted their Post in the night time, and their Countrey remained exposed to the mercy of the French: so that not finding himself any longer in safety there, he leaves them to make their Peace, and retired to Bavaria; where he seized on that Duchy, usurping it from the young Tasillon, aged but 6 or 7 years, who was the Son of his Sister Chiltrude and Odillon.

748.

This Countrey no more then that of Saxony, could not protect him from the pursuit of Pepin, who joining Gold and his Favours, with his Sword and Threats, soon unhinged his Party. The Bavarois made their agreement; Landfroy Duke of the Almans, and Suidgard Earl of Hirsberg did the same; and he finding himself alone, was compelled to follow their Dance, and come to his Brother. He receiv'd him most kindly, and assigned him the City of Mans, and Twelve Counties in Neustria: but the very self same year he made a third escape, and cast himself into the Arms of Gaisfre Duke of Aquitain.

749.

Pepin having gained the better over all his enemies, had no more left him to do, but to sit down in the Throne, a thing his Father durst not undertake. He saw all the power in his own hands, with the Treasures of the Kingdom, and the Affections of the French, and there was no other Prince of the Merovingian Race remaining, but one young stupid and witless Man. He therefore assembled a Parliament, which being wholly Devoted to him, were very willing to confer the Title of King on him; but he was glad that he might be disengaged from his Oath of Fidelity, to consult with the Pope, who had great authority over the Galican Church, and whose Answers passed for Oracles, though not for Laws.

750.

He who sat then in the Holy Chair was Zachary, a most intimate friend of Pepins, who wanted his assistance against the Lombards, and who could well apprehend, that what was desired of him, was a most favourable prejudgment for the Popes against the Emperours. Besides, it seemed reasonable and just that France, after so many Idols and Shadows, should now have a King in reality; and therefore he could not but answer favourably to the point that Pepin propounded, and consulted him about; and his Reply was certainly of great weight. It is in this sense, according to my opinion, that we must understand some Authors of those times, who tells us, that Boniface set him upon the Throne by the Command of Zachary. Otherwile we should say the French did not truly understand their own Right, and that this Pope attributed to himself what did not belong to him.

750.

Upon this Answer, the French having called another Parliament at Soissons, degraded Childeric, and elected Pepin. There is some likelihood that this was done in the general Assembly, which was held in the month of March. The Bishops were there in great numbers, Boniface, Arch-Bishop of Meurs being in the head of them, who declared to them the validity of the Popes Answer; and indeed this King and his Successors, as if they had some obligation to the Clergy for their Royalty, gave them a great share in the Government.

751.

By

* St. Bertin
at St. Omer's
in Artois.

By the same Decree *Childeric* was shaved and made a Monk at *Sitten**. There are some affirm, that from thence he was removed to the Monastery of *St. Himeran* at *Ratisbonne*, and his Wife being veiled to that of *Comhiliac*. But others believe he was not Married, though he were of an age ripe enough for it.

Thus endeth the First Race of the Kings of France; who if we reckon from the year 418. to the year 751, had Reigned 333 years, and had 21 Kings, only accounting those of *Paris*: but Thirty six, if we take in all those that had the Title, as well in *Austrasia*, where there was but one that resided at *Metz*, as in *Neustria*, while sometimes three of them at the same time had their Seats at *Orleans*, at *Soissons*, and at *Paris*. The first Four of these Kings were Idolaters, and all the rest Christians. But their Baptisme did not quite purge away their Barbarity, they were Savage and Bloody till *Clotaire II.* Those that followed were more Benigne, Merciful, and Religious, excepting *Childeric II.* But all being either shallow-Brain'd, or Minors, they fell necessarily under the Government of others,

End of the First Race.

THE

The Second Race

OF

KINGST

Which have Reigned in *FRANCE*,

And are Named

CARLIANS,

OR

Carlovinians.



HIS Second Race is commonly called the * *Carlian*, * Or *Carlovinian* Race. We know not whether it took line, that denomination from *Charles Martel*, or *Charles the Great*. After it had been raised to a great height by the Vertue of its Five first Princes, to wit, the two *Pepins*, *Charles Martel*, *Charlemain*, and *Lewis the Godly*, and had extended their Empire much beyond the Bounds of the First; It began to decline under the Children of that *Lewis*, and in the end was reduced to so narrow a compass, all the Lords having made themselves Masters in their Governments, that their last Kings had nothing left which was properly their own, but the Cities of *Laon*, and that of *Reims*.

It is observed, That they had much resemblance with the First Race, in that they had a very fair beginning, and an unhappy end; That *Charles of Lorraine* their last Male, was deprived of the Crown, as *Childeric* had been; and that they had several stupid and fenceless Princes amongst them: But this held one Advantage above the other, That they Reign to this day in all *Europe*, by the Males in the House of *France*, and by the Women in that of the other greatest Princes. Insomuch, that the *Carlovinian* Blood is held for the most Noble in all the Earth; whereas there is not any remaining of that of *Meroveus*.

N

Pepin

PEPIN named the Breif,

OR,

The Little, King XXII.

Aged xxxvi, or xxxviii Years.

P O P E S,

ZACHARY, One Year during
this Reign.PAUL I. Elect in May 717. S. Ten
Years, one Month.STEPHANUS II. in 752. S.
2. Years, 3. days.CONSTANTINE and PHI-
LIP, False Popes, in 767.STEPHANUS III. The same
Year, S. 5. Years, 20 Days.STEPHANUS IV. In August
768. S. 3. Tears, 5 Months, where-
of 2 months in this Reign.

751.

After the Estates of Soissons had Elected Pepin, and, as it is believed had lifted him on the Pavois and upon the Royal Throne, he would needs add the Ceremonies of the Church, to consecrate his Royalty, and render it more august: Boniface Archbishop of Ments Crowned him in the Cathedral of Soissons, and anointed him with holy Oyl, according to the Custome of the Kings of Israel, that thereby the Word of God, Touch not mine Anointed, might become a Buckler to him and his Successors.

The Anointing and Crowning began from this time to be practised at the Inauguration of the Kings of France, and hath been continued to this day.

Being of a very low stature, the Lords had not all that respect for him which they should. Having perceived it, he would needs let them see by experience that he had more Courage and Vertue than those great bulks who very often have nothing but an outward appearance of bravery. Those Kings took much delight in Combats of Wild Beasts, and not only pleased themselves with the divertisement of such Spectacles in those Publique Entertainments they gave the People, but many times in private in their own Palaces. One day being at the Abbey of Ferrieres, a furious Lion having grappled with a Bull, whom he held fast by the Neck, he said to some Lords that were about him, That they must needs make him let go his hold. Not one had the Courage to undertake it, the very proposition affrighted them. After he had observed them all, and plainly perceived their astonishment, he leaped down from the Scaffold, his Back-Sword in his hand, went directly to the Lion, and at one stroak managed with as much skill as strength, divided his head from his body, his Sword entring even a good way into the Neck of the Bull. After this wonderful blow turning himself towards his Lords, Do you not believe, said he with a kind of Heroick Pride, that I am worthy to Command you?

752.

His first Warlike Expedition, after his Coronation, was in Saxony, where he constrained

constrained the Saxons to pay every Year Three hundred Horses for a Tribute, and to bring them to him into the Field of Mars or General Assembly of the French.

On his return from that Country, he heard of the Death of Griffon his Younger Brother. That unquiet Spirit being come out of Aquitain whither he had retired to Duke Gaisfre, was assassinated in the Valley of Morienne going into Italy, either by some People of Pepins, says our Author, or by some of Gaisfres, who conceived some Jealousie for having been too familiar with his Wife.

To Childebrand Grandson of Luitprand King of the Lombards, degraded by his Subjects, Rachis Duke of Friul succeeded by Election: who professing himself a Monk in the same Covent with Caroloman Brother of Pepin, Astolphus his Brother had taken his place. He finding the Emperour Constantine Copronimus full of Trouble, had seized on the Exarchat of Ravenna and Pentapolis, which till then had been held by the Exarchs or Vicars of the Emperour. Besides, he had got into his power even under the very Walls of Rome, several Towns, belonging to several private Lords who had made themselves as it were Sovereigns in the time of the distress and disorders of the Grecian Empire; and finding all things submitted to him, he had likewise a great desire to make himself Master of Rome, pretending and maintaining, That the Exarchat he had conquer'd, gave him all the Right and Title the Emperours had enjoy'd in Italy, and therefore Rome and the Popes being in subjection to the Empire, were now under his.

By vertue of this pretence he marched with his Army towards Rome, and sent to Summon the Romans to acknowledg him, and to pay him a Crown in Gold for every head. Pope Stephanus much amazed at this enterprize, beseeches him to leave the Lands belonging to the Church in Peace, hath recourse to the intercession of the Emperour Constantine, and afterwards comes himself to Pavia to see the Lombard. But finding his Intreaties, nor the Emperour's Request had no influence upon him, he implored the Assistance of Pepin and his Protection, as Gregory III. had done that of Martel. So that, after he had prepared and disposed him by some Ambassadors sent before-hand, he went from Lombardy into France, to the great astonishment and vexation of Astolphus, who however durst not detain him.

The King being unable to go so far as Morienne, as he had made him hope, sent to intreat him to come to Pontigon a Royal Castle near Langres; Charles his Eldest Son went above fifty Leagues to meet him. The Pope arrived at Pontigon the sixth day of January: the King with his Wife and Children, received him about a mile from the place, and treated him with all manner of respect and honour; But not to that degree as to walk on foot by his Horses side, and hold the bridle, as Anastasius hath written, who in some places hath spoken of ancient times, rather according to the Practice and Customs of the days he lived in, then according to the naked truth.

After several Conferences both publique and private, Pepin promised him all manner of assistance, as soon as he had put his own affairs into some order, and wished him in the mean time to go and repose himself in the Abbey of St. Denis in France. Stephanus hath written, That being fallen desperately ill, and causing himself to be carried into the Church under the * Bells to begg his recovery of God, he beheld St. Denis in a Vision, together with the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, who miraculously restored him. Which could not but be very pleasing to the French, who had a singular Veneration for that Saint, and to Pepin himself, whose Father, either out of devotion, or to do like other Kings, had acknowledged he was greatly beholding to the intercession of those Holy Martyrs.

A little while after his being recovered from his Sicknefs, which was in the Month of July, he Crowned and Anointed Pepin and his two Sons with his own hands, exhorting the French to keep their Faith, and from that time Excommunicating them, if they ever chose a King of any other Race. Some say that this Ceremony was performed in the Church of St. Denis, before the Altar of St. Peter and St. Paul, which the Pope did on that day dedicate, in remembrance of the recovery of his health. Others believe it was in the Abbey-Church of Ferrieres. Wherever it were, the Ceremony being ended, Stephanus declared him * Advocate

A a 2

Astolphus

753.

753.

753.

* Belfrey.

754.

* Advocatus.

Astolphus well foreseeing that the Pope would bring the *French* upon him, had by Threats obliged the Abbot of *Mount-Cassin* to send the Monk *Carloman* into *France* to bring *Pepin* his Brother, upon pretence of demanding the Corps of *St. Bennet*, which had been stolne, and convey'd to the Abbey of *Fleury* upon the *Loire*, which from thence was named *St. Bennets*: but it was to oppose the endeavours of the Pope, and countermine his Designs in those Undertakings. In effect the Monk pleaded the Cause of *Astolphus* so stoutly in the Parliament of *Crecy*, that it was agreed some Ambassadors should be dispatched to *Astolphus* to endeavour an accommodation.

The *Lombard* received and treated them as coming from a Great and Potent State. He was willing to lay aside his pretences to the Sovereignty of the City of *Rome* and its dependences; but would reserve the Exarchat he had conquered, by the Sword. The Pope on the contrary maintained that it belonged to him as being the spoiles of an heretick; and he solicited *Pepin* so effectually, that that King promised to assist him in the conquering of it.

754. Mean time *Carloman* for having espoused the Interest of the *Lombard* too far, brought himself to an ill pass: for the King and the Pope consulting and contriving together, shut him up in a Monastery at *Vienne*, where he dyed the same Year, and his Sons were shaved for fear they should one day claim the Estate their Father had once possessed.

755. The great Preparations for War, and a second Embassy being not sufficient to remove *Astolphus* from his firm resolution of detaining the Exarchat and the *Pentapole*, *Pepin* caused his Army to march that way. His Van-Guard having seized the Cluses or the Passages of the *Alps*, and beaten off those *Lombards* that thought to defend them, *Astolphus* retires into *Pavia*, where presently afterwards he was shut up by *Pepin*.

The havock, the ruine, and firings the *French* made use of round about that City, could not draw him into the Field. The Pope in the mean while grew weary and melancholy at the desolation of *Italy*, and he also feared lest *Pepin* should make himself absolute Master, if he took that Place by force. He therefore condescends to an Accommodation at the earnest intreaty of the *Lombard*; and it was easily obtained, for he then promised him to give up the Exarchat, and the Justices of *Saint Peter*; which in my apprehension were certain Lands within the Bishoprick of *Rome*.

756. So soon as the *French-men* backs were turned, the *Lombard* instead of performing those hard Conditions, resolves to revenge himself upon the Pope, and the following Year went and laid Siege to *Rome*, where he made such spoil as declared his cruel resentment. This infraction obliged *Pepin* to repass the Mountains. Upon the noise of his March, he decamps from before *Rome*, which he had much straitened, and retreats the second time to *Pavia*. *Pepin* besieges him and presses on so close, that having no other means to save his Life and Crown, he is compell'd to take himself for Judge and Arbitrator of the differences between him and the Pope. It was not possible but *Pepin* must judge in favour of the last. And indeed he would grant no Peace to *Astolphus*, but upon condition he should make good his former Years agreement, and moreover give up *Comachio*. This was treated and negotiated in the presence of the Emperour's Ambassadors, who being come to that Siege to demand those Countries for their Master, the *Lombards* had taken, suffered the displeasure and shame of a refusal.

The Exarchat comprehended *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Forly*, *Cesenna*, *Bobia*, *Ferrara* and *Adria*.

The *Pentapole* held *Rimini*, *Pesaro*, *Conca*, *Fano*, *Senigalia*, *Ancona*, and some other lesser places.

756. A Chaplain of King *Pepin's* received all these Towns, brought away Hostages, and laid the Keys upon the Altar of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* at *Rome*, with the draught of the Treaty, to signify that *Pepin* made a donative thereof to those Holy Apostles. Some do imagine he did it in the Name of the Emperour *Constantine Copronicus*,

Copronicus, who indeed would not consent to it; and they believe that it is upon the equivocation of this name, that the Popes have founded their fabulous donation of *Constantine* the Great.

Astolphus dyed the Year following by a Fall from his Horse, *Didier* his Constable had a Party strong enough to Elect him King. But those for the Monk *Rachis* Brother to King *Luitprand*, who had left his Cloister, puzzled him very much. He betakes himself to Pope *Stephanus*, promising him to make good the restitution *Astolphus* had agreed to. *Pepin's* Ambassadors were of Opinion that he should assist him in it; so that he constrained *Rachis* to return and betake himself again to his Monastery. *Stephanus* dyes some Months after, *Paul I.* succeeded him, *Didier* and he lived well enough with each other.

The Emperour *Constantine* had not yet lost all hopes of recovering the Exarchate by means of the *French*; and he endeavoured to regain it by the force of Presents and fair Words. Amongst other things he sent a pair of Organs to the King who was then at *Compiene*. These were the first that had been seen in *France*.

Tassillon Duke of *Bavaria*, Son of Duke *Utilon* or *Odillon*, came to the same place to take his Oath of Fidelity to King *Pepin*, rendring Homage to him, his hands * within the Kings, and promising him such Service as a Vassal oweth to his Lord; which he confirmed by Swearing on the Bodies of *St. Denis*, *Saint German* of *Paris*, and *Saint Martin* at *Tours*. * Se commen- dans per manus.

This Year they changed the time of the General Assembly which was held in *March*, and was now put off till *May*. And so it was no longer called the *Field of Mars*, but the *Field of May*.

Pepin thought to take some rest this Year, when Intelligence was brought him, that the *Saxons* were revolted. Though they were embodied in an Army, and had made Retrenchments upon all the Passages into their Country, he gained them all at the first attempt, and forced them to give him their Oaths and to pay Tribute.

The Kings of this Second Race Celebrated the Festivals of Christmas and Easter with great Solemnity, cloathed in their Royal Ornaments, the Crown upon their heads, and keeping open Court: and for this reason the Authors of those times never fail to put down every Year the place where they solemnized those holy Feasts.

The City of *Narbonna* was yet held by the *Saracens*. This Year *Pepin* having besieged it, the Citizens who were *Visigoths* and Christians, flew the Infidel *Garrison*, and delivered the place up to him, upon condition that he should suffer them to live according to their own Laws; that is to say, the *Roman* Law, which had ever been observed by the People of *Septimania*, and is yet to this day.

There remained of all the Countries that had been subject to the Kingdom of *France*, none but *Aquitain*, that was not brought to their duty. Their Duke *Gaifre* did not acknowledg *Pepin*; and moreover he, or the Lords of his Country, retained what belonged to those Churches the *French* had in *Aquitain*. This was a plausible pretence for *Pepin* to quarrel, by demanding restitution of the Poors Patrimony. He expected that *Gaifre* would refuse to do right; thereupon he gets his Militia together and marches into *Aquitain*, to the place they call *Theodad*, where was an Ancient Palace of their Kings. *Gaifre* who was not prepared for so sudden an Expedition, was so much astonished, that he promised him full satisfaction, and gave him up some Hostages.

It was to be feared that the *Saracens* in *Spain* would bring assistance to this Duke, and that he might be persuaded to deliver some places into their hands for Security and Retreat, which would have given them footing in *France*: *Pepin* provides against this, by pretending to desire the Alliance of their Caliph; to whom he sent a splendid Embassy. The Caliph looked on this proposition as very honorable coming from so great a Prince, agreed to all what was desired, and sent back; the Ambassadors laden with rich Presents, whose Voyage thither and home again took up three Years time.

Instead of performing his promise, *Gaifre* sent out his Forces, who ravaged all about *Chaalons* upon the *Soane*. *Pepin* extraordinarily offended at this Infidelity, resolves to make a perpetual War upon him, till he were quite ruin'd. This Year he

757.

758.

759.

760.

761.

And the following.

he conquered *Bourbon*, *Chantelle*, *Clermont*, and divers Places in *Auvergne*, and from thence descends into *Limofin* and took *Limoges*, having defeated and slain in a great Battle *Chilping Count d'Auvergne*, and *Amingue Count de Poitiers*, who would have hindered him. His Eldest Son *Charles* began his first Apprentiship of Warr in this Expedition.

762. The following Year after he had held the General Assembly at *Carisy*, or *Crecy* upon the *Oyse*, he entred for the third time into *Aquitain*, and by force took the City of *Bourges* and the Castle of *Tours*.

763. At his Fourth Expedition, which was after the Sitting of the Parliament of *Neuers*, he pierced as far as *Cahors*. But the Duke *Tassillon* his Nephew, whom he carried along with him, having made his Escape and got into *Bavaria*, he feared that Young Prince might have some League with the *Saxons* and with *Didier* King of *Lombardy*, whose Daughter he had married.

764. Therefore returning again into *France*, he let slip one Year without taking the Field: during which time nothing was done, but sending and receiving Messengers from *Bavaria* and *Lombardy*, concerning Treaties with *Didier* and *Tassillon*.

765. When he had made sure of them by some agreement, he undertakes afresh his design of Warr upon *Aquitain*. *Gaifre* had dismantled most of his Towns, as not having Numbers sufficient to maintain them: *Pepin* Repairs them, and places good Garrisons, then made himself Master of *Angoulesme*, *Saintes*, and *Agen*.

766. The Year after he fortifies *Argenton* in *Berry*, and according to some Chronickers, took the Town of *Limoges*, which by this reckoning must have been taken twice.

767. Anno 767. After the General Assembly of *Orleans* was over, he enters into *Septimania*, and gained the Cities of *Nismes*, *Maguelonne*, *Beziers*, *Thoulouse*, *Albi*, and the Country of *Givaudan*. We cannot find by what Title these Cities could belong to *Gaifre*; and if it be said, They were in the hands of the *Visigoths*, what reason had *Pepin* to take them from those People.

He must of necessity have made all this long March in the Winter time, since he kept his Easter Festival at *Vienne*, held the Field-meeting of *May* at *Bourges*, and in the Month of *August* descended from thence as far as the Borders of the *Garonne*, clearing all the Country of such of *Gaifres* Garrison Soldiers as skulked amongst the Rocks and in the Caves of *Auvergne* and *Perigord*.

768. After the Celebration of the *Christmas* Festival at *Bourges*, he crossed *Aquitain* as far as *Saintes*. In his way he took *Remifang*, Brother, or Uncle by the Mothers side, to *Gaifre*, whom he caused to be hanged for having broken his faith to him Three Years before; and while he was at *Saintes*, they presented to him the Mother, a Sister and a Niece of the same Dukes.

This Unfortunate Man fled still before him, sometimes into one Town, then into another. In fine, the King after he had kept his Easter at *Selles* in *Berry*, divided his Forces in two Bodies, that he might be hemm'd in. So that *Gaifre* being put to a full stop near *Periguenx*, was constrained to stake his last Fortune in a Battle: but he lost it and his Life soon after, being slain either by the *French*, or even by his own men, who were willing to put an end to their Troubles, and the desolation of their Country.

Thus all *Aquitain* was entirely subdued, saving only they permitted the *Gasccons* to have a Duke. *Pepin* had but life enough just to finish this Conquest: for being come back to *Saintes*, he fell sick of an *Hydropisia*. As they were conveying him to *Paris*, he paid his Devotions and made his Offerings on the Tomb of *St. Martin de Tours*; and being brought to perform the same duty at *St. Denis* in *France*, he resigned up his Soul the 24th of *September*, in the Year 768. Aged 52. or 54. Years, of which he had reigned Seventeen and a half, if we reckon from the day of his Election, supposing that was made in the Field of *Mars*, Anno 751.

768. He married but one Wife who survived him, which was *Bertha*, whom the Historians have surnamed *Great Foot*, Daughter of *Caribert* Count of *Laon*, by whom he had four Sons, *Carloman*, *Charles*, *Pepin* and *Gilles*; and three Daughters, *Rotaide*, *Adelaide*, and *Giselle*. Of his Sons, the Youngest was thrust very young into

into the Religious Monastery of *Mount Soracte*; *Pepin* dyed when three years old; The Kingdom was left to the other two, who were Crowned in the Month of *October* following, *Carloman* at *Soissons*, and *Charles* at *Noyon*. As for the Daughters, the two Eldest *Rotaide* and *Adelaide*, dyed young, *Giselle* married to a Cloister and was an Abbess. Some Genealogists bestow five or six Sons more upon him, and as many Daughters, of which, say they, *Berte* was married to *Milon* Count of *Angiers*, and Father of the invulnerable *Orlando*, and *Chiltrude* to *René* Count of *Genoa*, who was the Father of *Oger the Dane*.

The two Brothers being in dispute about their partition, the Lords interposed to bring them to an agreement, and obliged them till all should be determined, by way of provision to take, *Charles* all *Neustria*, and *Carloman* *Austrasia*.

In the Reign of *Pepin*, God began to make *Christendom* feel the strokes of the severest scourge that was ever laid upon them. I mean the insulting Turks, which to this day threatens to overwhelm us. They were not unknown in *Pliny's* time, who reckons them amongst those who inhabited along the *Palus Meotides*. There may have been some likewise amongst the *Messagetes* and elsewhere, as we have observed of some other Barbarians. In the time of the Emperour *Justin*, they were even then so potent, that they over-awed the *Avari* and other Neighbouring people. The Emperour *Heraclius* made use of them against *Cosroes*, and they made a mighty diversion being entred into *Persia*, a great part whereof paid them Tribute divers Years afterwards. But in the Year 763. they fell upon *Armenia*, and so spread themselves very far into *Asia*, where they subdued even the Kingdom of *Persia*, An. 1048. Nevertheless they had no Sovereign, nor Chief General, but only many Colonels, till the first *Croisado* of the Christians in 1196. at which time they made choice of one to be the better united for their own defence and preservation.

CHARLES

CHARLES I.

CALLED

The Great.

OR,

CHARLEMAINE,

King XXIII.

Aged xxix, or xxx Years.

POPES,

STEPHANUS III. S. Three
Years, and Three Months.

ADRIAN I. Elected in Feb. 772.
S. neer 24. Years.

LEO III. Elected in Decem. 795.
S. Twenty Years, Five Months,
of which Eighteen under this
Reign.

Charles in Neustria and Bur-
gundy, Aged 29. or 30.
Years.

Carloman in Austria, Aged
22 Years.

769.

During the Discord between the Two Brothers, which lasted some Months, Old Hunoud the Father of Gaifre who had put himself into a Monastery, throwes down his holy Frock to take up the Title of Duke of Aquitaine, and endeavoured to make that Province Revolt by the assistance of his Friends, and a League he made with Loup Duke of Gasconny. Charles, to whose share this Province fell, intreated his Brother to help him in quenching this Flame of Rebellion. Carloman joyns Forces with him: but in the mid-way, either of himself or by the suggestions of some busy-bodies, he conceives a Jealousie against his Eldest Brother, and leaves him there. Charles however continues on his March.

770.

Upon the noise of his approach Hunoud flies, and goes to hide himself in the farthest parts of Gasconny, where he thought to find an Asylum. But there is none against too great a Power. The Duke of Gasconny fearing the Threatnings of Charles, proved no more a Faithful Ally, then he had been a Faithful Vassal, but comes to meet Charles, submits intirely to him, and delivers up that Unfortunate Man to his disposal; who notwithstanding a short while after having made his Escape, got into Sanctuary at Didier's King of the Lombards. Thus ended the Dutchy of Aquitaine, which about Eleven years afterwards was Erected to a Kingdom by Charlemaine for Lewis the youngest of his Sons.

In this Expedition he built Franciac, which is to say, the Castle of the French upon the River Dordogne. It is now called Fronsac.

Pepin

Pepin in his Life-time had married his two Sons; it is not mentioned to whom, perhaps they were only betrothed; but if they were compleatly married, we must say they afterwards were divorced: for their Mother obliged them to take other Wives. Carloman espoused Berthe or Pertrade, whom the old Annals make to be the Daughter of Didier King of the Lombards. (Charles) likewise was married to Hildegard another of that King's Daughters, notwithstanding the great opposition the Pope made, even so far as to represent to him, how the Lombards stunk, and were infected with the Leprosie.

Carloman his Brother was of an odd humorous spirit, which gave him a great deal of trouble. But death happily delivered him in the Month of November of this Year 770. having cut the thrid of his Life in the Palace of Montfugcon nigh Langres, at the beginning of the Third year of his Reign, and the 28th of his Age. His Brother caused his Corps to be conveyed to the Abbey of St. Remy of Reims, which he had greatly endowed. He had one Wife named Berthe, and two Sons.

While Charles held a General Assembly at Carbondac, most part of the Lords and Austrasian Prelats came thither to acknowledg him for their King. They might do so; and it must be granted, that if he had not had that right, he had been an Usurper. The Widow of Carloman apprehending they might proceed further, took her Children and went her way to Tassillon Duke of Bavaria.

Some Spanish Chroniclers, to whom I know not what faith we are to give, have written, that besides Gaifre and Hatton, Eudes Duke of Aquitaine had a Son named Aznar, who considering the misfortune of his Brother, passed the Hebre, and having in Battle slain four petty Kings, or Saracen Generals, became the First Earl of Arragon. It was at that time but a small Territory between two Rivers of that name, whereof the City of Jacque was the Capital.

(Charlemaine alone in all the Kingdom.)

One cannot hear the Name of this Prince, without conceiving some great Idea. He was of a tall and becoming stature, seven foot in height, well shap'd in all his Limbs, unless his Neck, which was somewhat too thick and short, and his Belly strutting out a little too much. His gate was grave and firm, his voice of the shrillest. His Eyes were large and sparkling, his Nose high and long, his Countenance Gay and Serene, his Complexion fresh and lively, nothing of effeminate in his gesture and carriage, his humour sweet, facile and jovial, his conversation easy and familiar. He was humane, courteous and liberal, active, vigilant, laborious, and very sober, although fasting were prejudicial to him; an enemy to Flatterers and vanity, who hated huffing and new modes that were strange, cloathing himself very modestly, unless it were on some publique Ceremonies, where the Majesty of the Kingdom ought to appear in their Sovereign. At his Meals he made some read to him the History of the Kings his Predecessors, or some Works of St. Augustine's; took two or three hours repose after Dinner; interrupted his sleep in the Night, rising three or four times; heard all Complaints, did Justice at all Seasons even at his time of dressing himself.

The Spring and Summer time he spent in War, part of Autumn in Hunting, the Winter in Councils and the Management of his Government. Some certain hours both of the day and night in the Study of Learning, as Grammar, Astronomy and Theology. And in truth he was one of the most Learned and most Eloquent of that Age; the Works he left behind him to posterity are undeniable proofs of it. With all this clement, merciful, charitable, who maintained the Poor even in Syria, Egypt, and in Africa, who employ'd his Treasure in rewarding Soldiers and Schollars, in building publique Structures, Churches and Palaces, repairing of Bridges, Cause-ways, and great Roads, making Rivers Navigable, filling Sea-Ports with good Vessels, civilizing Barbarous Nations, and carrying the Honour of the French Nation with much Credit and Lustre into the remotest Kingdoms. And who above all other things had the greatest care to regulate his People with good and wholesome Laws, and bent all his Actions and Endeavours to the Welfare of his Subjects, and the advancement of the Christian Religion.

Amongst the rest he had four very Potent Enemies to deal with, the Saxons, the

the *Huns*, the *Lombards*, and the *Saracens*. The *Saxons* a most Warlike and as yet Idolatrous Nation, compounded of several People, and such as had been invincible, had they acted by a mutual agreement and consent, gave him work and exercise enough for above Thirty Years; during which time he made divers Expeditions against them always with advantage. He never denied them Peace, and they broke again as soon as he was out of their sight: But his Piety constant as their Malice, was never wearied in forgiving them; not so much out of a desire to allure them to his obedience, as to bring them under the Yoak of *Christ Jesus*; The highest part of his Care having no other end but the propagation of Religion.

He entered into *Saxony* therefore this Year, and would try to terrify those Rebels by Fire and Sword: but they were not afraid to bid him Battle somewhat near *Osnabrug*. Their Confidence was punished by a huge Slaughter of their men; those that remained made their escape beyond the *Veser*. He pursuing his Victory, took in the Castle of *Eresburgh*, demolished the Famous Temple of the false God *Irmensul*; and broke his Idol; It is supposed to have been the God *Mars*, whence *Mers-purg* took its name. He afterwards pass'd the *Veser*, compelled the *Saxons* to give him some Hostages, and having rebuilt *Fresburgh*, put a French Garrison into it.

From the
Year 767,
to 771.

King *Didier* not able, or willing, to give over the Design his Predecessors had formed to abate the Power of the Popes, to make himself thereby Master of all Italy, sowed a Schisme in the Church of *Rome* whereby to discompose and weaken them. Pope *Paul* being dead Anno 767. *Toton* Duke of *Nepes* at his instigation enters into *Rome*, and forced the Clergy to Elect his Brother *Constantine* who was not in Orders. The following Year another Cabal, Enemies to this Violence of *Constantine's*, sets a Priest in the holy Chair, named *Philip*; But *Crestofle Primicera* (this was the highest Dignity in the City, next to the *Presbiter*) constrained both the one and the other to renounce the Popeship, and caused *Stephanus* to be duly elected, a Priest of *St. Cecil's*, who was the fourth of that name.

Didier bethinks him of another method, in the Year 770. he goes to *Rome* upon pretence of Devotion, and by force of Presents, gained *Paul Afiarte*, Duke or Sovereign Judge in *Rome*, to cause this *Crestofle* to be put to death, and to banish, or imprison for colourable reasons all such *Roman* Citizens as he knew to be most able and disposed to thwart his attempts. *Afiarte* did according to his desire: but *Adrian*, who was chosen after *Stephen*, stopt those unjust proceedings, and not only eluded all the vain essays of the *Lombard*; but was likewise the cause of his utter destruction.

After all other Experiments, *Didier* employs Force, seizes on several Cities of the *Exarchat*, ravaged the Neighbourhood of *Rome*; and the Year after, to tumult the Pope, advances towards him, upon pretence of Visiting the Sepulchre of the holy Apostles; carrying along with him the Sons of the late King *Carloman*, to oblige him to Crown them. The Holy Father flatly refuses him, and failed not to make use of this Motive to exasperate *Charlemaine* the more against the *Lombards*.

773.

Betwixt these two Kings there were already some other causes of Enmity. For in the Year 771. *Charles* had repudiated *Hildegard* the Sister of *Didier*, saying she was infirm; A pretence that did not please a great many good people, particularly *Adelard* the King's Cousin, who for this reason retired from the Court into a Monastery. And *Didier* on his side had given a reception to *Carloman's* Widow, and promised her his assistance and support to restore her Sons to the Inheritance or Kingdom of their Father. These offences having inclined *Charles's* Mind to hearken to the Pope's Intreaties, he was the more easily induced to pass over the Mountains, but with so great and numerous Forces, that it was evident it was not meant so much to assist him, as to conquer *Lombardy*.

Having therefore Rendezvous'd his Army at *Geneva*, he divided it in two Bodies, his Uncle *Bernard* with one took his way by the Mount *Jou*, and himself led the other by Mount *Cenis*. *Didier* had fortified the Passages; and in case they should be worsted, himself was advanced with all his Forces near *Turin*, and in the Valley of *Aost*; to observe and oppose the French even to the hazard of a Battle: but some of their Army having stollen by him very silently, and charging them in the Rear, he was so much afraid of being hemm'd in, that he cast himself into *Pavia*, and *Adalgise* his Son, whom he had made Partner of his Crown, into *Verona*.

773.

Tho

Those of *Spoletta* and *Rjetta* had already forsaken him to joyn with the Pope. When his Retreat was known, all the *Marca Anconitana*, and many other Cities followed their Example. *Charles* with a part of his Army encamped before *Pavia*, and sent the remainder before *Verona*. And to demonstrate he did not intend to go thence till he had them in his power, he ordered his new Wife *Hildegard*, Daughter of *Childebrand* Duke of *Suevia*, to come to his Camp, and passed the Winter there even till *Christmas*, at which time he goes to *Verona* to press that Siege forwards. *Adalgise* apprehending to fall into his hands, abandoned that City, and fled to the Emperour of *Greece*. The *Veronese* soon after yielded, and gave up *Carloman's* Children and Widow; they were carried into *France*, what afterwards became of them, is not mentioned that I know of.

774.

Nothing remained but *Pavia*. The Siege spinning out in length, *Charles* had a desire to go and pay his Devotions at *Rome*, at the good time of *Easter*. The Pope made him a magnificent Entrance; such as was accustomed to be made for the *Exarchs*. He in return confirms all the Grants made by his Father, and besides, say some, added that of Sovereign Justice and absolute Power in all those Countries. So that, to speak properly, the Popes before this time, held what they had from the French Kings, from whom it must be owned they derive the best portion of their temporal Grandeur.

In length of time *Pavia* became so straitened, not by any Attacks, but by Famine, and the people so ill disposed, *Humond* the Fire-brand of this War, having been knock'd on the head by the Women, that *Didier* surrenders himself with his Wife and Children to *Charles*. He was conveyed into *France*, Cloister'd and Shaved, and died soon after. Thus was the Kingdom of *Lombardy* in *Italy* extinguished, after it had lasted some 204 Years.

Before his return into *France*, *Charles* made a second Voyage to *Rome*, where the Pope with 150 Bishops whom he had summoned to honour his Reception, and likewise the *Roman* People, conferred upon him the Title of *Patrician*, which was the Degree the nearest to the Empire. It belonged to the Emperours only to bestow it: but they being now no longer acknowledged in *Italy*, the Pope and *Romans* attributed that Power to themselves: and which is more, agreed, That *Charles* should have the power of the Investiture of Bishopricks, and even to Nominate the Popes, to prevent those Cabals, and the Disorders that hapned upon Elections. The *Italian* Authors assure us that he remitted this right to the *Romans*: but however he at least reserved to himself that of Confirming them, which the Emperours had enjoyed without the least contradiction, for above Three Ages. After this there was a very great and strict Friendship betwixt *Charles* and *Adrian*.

Upon his Return *Charles* was Crowned King of *Lombardy*, as the Kings of that Nation were used to be; at the Burrough of *Modece* near *Milan*, by the Archbishop of that Great City, who Anointed him, and put the Iron Crown upon his head. It is so called, because indeed it was made of a Circle or hoop of Iron, but cover'd over with a Plate of Gold. It is said, That the generous *Tendelaine*, Daughter of *Garibald* Duke of *Bavaria*, she who about the Year 593. converted the *Lombards* from *Arianism* had it made for the Coronation of her Husband *Agilulf*.

774.

The Order he established in *Italy* was thus. To the Pope he left the *Exarchat*, the *Pentapolis*, (they were since called *Romandiola*) the Dutchies of *Perusia*, of *Rome*, of *Toscana Ulteriora*, and *Campagna*. He gave the Dutchy of *Benevent* to *Aragisi* Son in law to *Didier*, that of *Spoletta* to *Hildebrand*, and that of *Friuli* to *Rotgaud*, upon conditions only of Homage and Service, and to revert again to him for want of Heirs Males.

He gave the Earldomes and Captainries of those Countries upon the same conditions. The rest he reserved for himself, viz. *Liguria*, *Emilia*, *Venetia*, and part of the *Alpes*, and setled Counts there to govern them, and do Justice. He imposed a certain Tribute on the Cities, and would have the *Salique-Law* be in force there; so that they had three sorts of Laws, the *Lombard*, the *Salique*, and the *Roman*; and the Subjects were permitted to live, and observe, and make any Contracts according to such of these Laws as they best liked. Since that, this Conquest hath been called the Kingdom of *Italy*, and it extended to the River *Ansidus*, or *Ofantus*, *Puglia* and *Calabria* together with *Sicilia*, belonging then to the *Grecian* Emperours.

During his absence the *Saxons* had unchained themselves, and put all in the

774. Countrey of *Hefie* to Fire and Sword. About the latter end of the Year he sent four Squadrons of men thither, who Attacked them in four several parts, and brought a great deal of booty thence.

775. The following Spring, he went amongst them himself with greater forces, took the Castle of *Siegeburgh*, rebuilt that of *Eresburgh* which they had demolished, drove them upon the *Veser*, and having beaten them soundly, forced them to quit the Post of *Brunsbere*, where they had fortified themselves.

He after this divided his Army in two Bodies, and chased them to the River *Onacre*, and there he received the oaths and hostages of Prince *Halsen* or *Helsis*, and of the *Ostfals* or *Ostrelands*, which is to say *Easterlings*; then upon his return at the place named *Buki*, those of *Vitiking*, and the most considerable of the Dutchy of *Angria*.

In the mean time the other part of his Army had like to have been surprized by other *Saxons* near the River *Onacre*, of whom he took so severe a revenge by Fire and Sword, that these likewise cried him mercy, and gave him up hostages.

During all this, *Adalgise* Son of *Didier*, whom the Emperor had honoured with the Title of *Patrician*, got an Army at Sea to recover his Kingdom of *Lombardy*, and debauched *Rotgaud* Duke of *Friul*, who was very unwilling to obey a stranger. *Charles* hastens thither with all diligence, defeated *Rotgaud* in a great Battel, caused his head to be cut off, and having chastised those that supported this Rebellion, gave that Dutchy to a French Lord by name *Henry*, together with *Stiria* and *Carinthia*, placing Counts and Garrisons in the Cities.

Empp. Leon. II.
Son of Copro-
nymus, in Sept.
775. R. 5
Years.

In his absence the *Saxons* fly to their Arms, surprized and razed the Castle of *Eresburgh*: but thinking to do the same to that of *Siegeburgh*, they were repulsed by the *French*, who pursued them with slaughter to the banks of the *Lipp*. With this misfortune they had intelligence likewise that *Charlemain* was in their Countrey, looking out for them; they came with all humility to prostrate themselves before him, together with their Wives and Children, desiring his Pardon and Baptism. Their submission and conversion though dissembled disarmed his wrath.

776.

777. In the Month of *March* following they all came from their several quarters to the general Assembly of *Paderborn*, excepting the Valiant *Vitiking* Duke of *Angria*, who had retired himself into the Countrey of *Danemark*, which the Authors of those times call *Normandy*. Thither likewise came the Saracen *Ibnalarabi* Governour of *Sarragossa*, with some other principal persons of the same Nation, who implored the protection of *Charles*. He easily granted it, and would lead his Army thither himself, rather to defend and encrease the Kingdom of *Jesus Christ*, than for his own honour or augmentation of Empire.

There had been Nine or Ten Lieutenant Generalissimo's in *Spain* belonging to the *Caliph*, who resided at *Damas*; whence he ruled all that vast Empire extending from the *Indies* to the *Pyreneans*. There were two very potent Families amongst the *Saracens*, that of *Humeia* and that of *Alevaci*. The first had held the Sovereignty for 150 years, and there had been Fourteen successive Caliphs of them: the other pretended to be descended from *Fatima* the Daughter of *Mahomet*; and for that reason had their claim. Now it hapned that *Abulgucase*, who was of the *Alavaci*, revolted, and having vanquished and slain *Meroiane* the last of these Fourteen Caliphs, and undertaken the task to destroy the whole Race; *Abderame* flying from that Persecution, had saved himself in *Spain*, and freed that part from the dominion of the *Caliph*, by making it a distinct and independent Kingdom. But in this revolution other Governours had also fallen off from his obedience; and amongst these was *Ibnalarabi*, with the rest that came along with him, who wanted the assistance of the *French* to maintain them in their Usurpation.

778.

The great Forces raised by *Charles*, being divided in two Bodies, marched two different ways. The first with whom he went in person, passed thorough *Bearn* into *Navarre*, and laid Siege to *Pampelune*. This was the longest and the most memorable that ever the *French* had undertaken. At last the place surrendered upon composition.

From thence he marched towards *Sarragossa*, where the other part of the Army who had taken their way thorough the Countreys of *Rousillon* and *Cerdagne* joyned him. *Ibnalarabi*, and the other *Saracen* Chiefs came to meet him, and tendered him hostages and other assurances of their fidelity.

We must know that till this time the Christians on all those Frontiers, as well

as

as those of *Spain* had been subdued by the *Saracens*, to whom they paid a Tribute. *Charlemain* delivered them from that Slavery, and made them joyn in a League with these petty *Moorish* Princes who had put themselves under his Protection. It is said that he also sent some Forces to *Alphonso* the *Chaste*, to help him to throw off the Yoke of Vassallage and Tribute to which he had been hitherto compelled: Which these Divisions of the *Moors* made the more easie to be effected. Thus do the *Spaniards* owe their first Enfranchisement to the Assistance of the *French*.

The *Gascons* about the *Pyreneans*, who carried on the Trade of Theft, rewarded him but very ill for all his generous help; As he returned into *France*, passing by *Pampelune* which he dismantled, these *Banditi* lying in Ambuscade in the narrow Passages about *Roncevaux*, took all the Baggage which was in his Rear, and slew many of his brave Lords; amongst the rest, that Famous *Rowland* his Nephew, his Sisters Son, who was Marquis of the *British* Seas; that is to say, Governour of the *French* Coasts along that shoare. The Lords of those Countreys fearing his just Anger, delivered up many of those Robbers to him, that they might suffer such punishment as he would have inflicted on them.

Irene Empress,
Wife of Leon
with constant
her Son,
in Sept.
780.

The *Spanish* Authors triumph of this Defeat, and cry they have Vanquished *Charles* the Great and his Twelve Peers. But certain it is that *Navarre*, *Aragon*, and all that is between the *Pyreneans* and the *Hebre*, was at that time brought under the dominion of this King; and that he placed Counts at *Girone*, *Ampuries*, *Urgel*, *Barcelonna*, *Ribagorra*, and other places. This Extent of Land was called the *Marches* * of *Spain*.

780.

When he returned he placed *French* Counts in all the Cities of *Aquitain* and of *Septimania*, to keep those People the better in obedience. Some others will have this Establishment to have been in 781. at the time when he bestowed the Kingdom of *Aquitain* upon Prince *Lewis*.

* Limes Hispanici,
Marca Hispanica.

778.

In his absence *Vitiking* had re-inflamed the Fury of the *Saxons*, who made most terrible havock as far as *Ments* and *Colen*. As soon as he was come back, he sent away Three Squadrons of his Army, who soon beat them off; and the following year went thither in Person. They had the confidence to wait for him near the River of *Lipp*, and to give him Battle: but he overcame them, and afterwards reduced *Westphalia*, *Eastphalia* and *Angria*; and the next year went outwards as far as to that place where the River *Hore* meets and joyns with the *Elbe*, and received many of their People, amongst others those that are called *Nordleudes* and *Bar-dogaves*. Then having given the necessary orders to secure these new Conquests, and bridle the *Sclavonians* who were on the other side of the *Elbe*, he returned into *Neustria*.

778.

779.

780.

Now fearing lest *Italy*, wont to have a King, and who besides were molested with the *Huns* by Land, and the *Saracens* at Sea, should receive *Adalgise*, or give the Crown to some other; He makes a third Journey to *Rome* under colour of Devotion. He celebrated the Feast of *Christmas* at *Pavia*, and that of *Easter* at *Rome*. The Pope baptized his second Son *Pepin*, and was his God-father, and afterwards Crowned him King of *Italy*, and *Lewis* his younger Son King of *Aquitain*: This last was scarce three years old. His Kingdom contained the Dutchy of *Aquitain*, that of *Gascogne*, and the Marca of *Spain*. The King gave not any to *Charles* his eldest Son, because he would keep him near himself to manage the Affairs of *France* and of *Germany*.

781.

Charlemaine
King of France.

Pepin --- And --- Lewis
King of Italy. King of Aquitaine.

HE sent *Lewis* to *Orleance* under the Tutelage of a Bail, or Governor, named *Arnold*, and left *Pepin* in *Italy*, where he kept his Royal Seat at *Milan*, but yet was frequently at *Ravenna*. Though he had been already Crowned at *Rome*, yet he would be again Crowned at *Modete*.

781.

Tassillon Duke of *Bavaria* had suffered his Faith to be shaken by *Luisperge* his Wife, Daughter of King *Didier*. Whilst *Charles* was at *Rome*, the Pope had agreed with

781.

with him to send a couple of Bishops to that Duke, to put him in mind of his Oaths. The Pope failed not, and *Tassillon* having taken Hostages for his Security, comes to *Wormes*, and gave Twelve on his behalf.

782. For some Years *Charles* held his General Assembly in *Saxony*: This was held at the Spring-head of the *Lippe*, where he gave Audience to the Ambassadors of *Sifroy* King of *Denmark*, and those from *Cagan* and *Ingurre*, Princes of the *Huns*. The Assembly being ended, he repassed the *Rhine*, and then *Vitiking*, who upon his former approaches had saved himself in *Denmark* returned to his own Country, and caused part of the *Saxons* to rise up again.

The *Sorabi*, a People that inhabited the Country between the *Elbe* and the *Saal*, were of the Confederacy. Three of the Kings chief Commanders who were ordered to observe and oppose them, leaves them, and goes against the *Saxons*; and falling rashly and disorderly upon them, without staying for Count *Thierry*, who was of Kin to *Charlemain*, because they thought all the honour of the Victory and Success would be attributed to him; they were surrounded, and most of them cut off and destroy'd. The shame for this rebuke and loss enraged the King so highly, that for this time he would not forgive the *Saxons*, unless the Country would deliver up Four thousand of the greatest Mutineers to him, all whose heads he caused to be struck off upon the Banks of the River *Alare*.

783. This Severe bleeding did not yet qualify them so much as to hinder them from rising in Arms again the next Year, not one part of them, but all as one. Their Courage was so undaunted, that they gave him Battle, and their Forces so numerous, that having lost it, they had yet enow left to fight him the second time, wherein they were as unsuccessful as at the first.)

Before he took the Field, *Charles* had the unhappiness to lose a very good Wife Queen *Hildegard*, who died on the last of *April*, on the *Ascension* Eve.

The very same Year he married another who was named *Fastrude*, Daughter of a *French* Count called *Raol*.

784. All the following Year the King with a Flying Army, and *Charles* his Eldest Son with another, did only scowre and make Incursions upon the *Saxons*, sometimes upon one side of the Country, sometimes on another: and it was resolved in Council, That he should never give over till he had wholly subdued them.

785. Though he had much broken them, yet they failed not the Year after to take the Field again, with the assistance of the *Frisons* their Allies: but they were as ill handled as before. In fine, their two Bravest Leaders *Albion* and *Vitiking* being disheartened by so much ill success, gave ear to the Friendly persuasions which the King, being touched with a real esteem for their great Courage, had made use of to bring to their duty. Having taken their Sureties, they appeared before the Estates at *Paderborne*, and thence followed him into *France*, where they were Baptised in his Palace of *Atigny*. He gave the Duchy of *Angria* to *Vitiking*, who from that day forward led so good and Christian a life, that some have placed him amongst the Saints. From him many do derive the descent of the Race of the *Capetine* Kings.

785. At this Assembly of *Paderborn*, *Lewis* King of *Aquitaine*, came to his Father with all his Forces. He often sent for him and his Brother *Pepin*, either when he wanted them, or to call them to an accompt, thereby to keep them in subjection.

786. After *Easter* in the Year 786. the Army went and fell upon *Bretagne*, whose Princes thought themselves independent, and had their little Kingdom apart. These likewise were compell'd, after they had lost divers strong Places, to submit to the Grandeur of *Charles*, and to send several Lords to him to take their Oaths of Fidelity; But not believing themselves bound to do so, they kept them no longer, then till they found an opportunity to violate their Faith without danger.

786. In the mean time *Adalgise*, Son of the unfortunate *Didier*, was at Sea with an Army, soliciting his Brother in Law *Tassillon* to fall into *Italy* at the same time as he should land, for the same purpose having made sure of *Aregisa* Duke of *Benevent* who married his Sister; *Charles* to prevent the execution of their Designs, passes the Mountains the fourth time, and having taken *Benevent* and *Capova* from *Aregisa*, who would be called King, forces him to give sufficient Pledges, and renounce that vain Title.

786. He had seen the Pope at his passing by *Rome*, upon his return he saw him again. In this Voyage to please himself, he brought into *France* the *Gregorian* Singing, and the Liturgy or Mass that was used at *Rome*, and would needs abolish the Mu-

sick

lick and Service of the *Gallican* Church. This change begot many difficulties, and stirred up Persecutions against the Ancient *Galls*, who persisted in keeping their own Customs: This good Prince was so wedded to this Singing, that he made it a considerable business, and a main point of Religion; whereas several of the Ancient Fathers held it as a very indifferent thing.

787. Whilst he was last at *Rome*, *Tassillon's* Ambassadors came thither to intreat the Pope to reconcile *Charles* perfectly to him. The holy Father and the King willingly hearkned to it. But when the King press'd them to name the time wherein their Master would perform what he promised; they replied, that they had nothing in Commission but to carry back his answer: So that the King perceiving he did not walk uprightly, resolved when he got again into *France*, to make him speak clearly. Having therefore held the Estates at *Wormes*, he drew three Armies into the Field, his Son *Pepin's* in *Italy*, one of the Eastern *French*, and a third which himself Commanded.

787. When *Tassillon* saw them all upon his Frontiers, the first in the Valley of *Trente*, the second on the Borders of the *Danube*, and the other under the Walls of the City of *Angsburch*, not knowing which way to turn, he came with all humility to begg his pardon, and delivered up Thirteen Hostages, whereof his Eldest Son, *Theudon* was one.

Yet the hatred he had for the *French*, and the correspondence he held with *Adalgise* his Brother in Law, still prompted him secretly to sollicite the *Bavarian* to take up Arms, and to joyn in League with the *Huns* his Neighbours who held *Pannonia*; which is *Hungary* and *Austria*. Part of these were led by his persuasions, but the rest apprehending the Calamities of War, gave the King notice hereof. For which cause this Duke being a second time summoned to the Assembly of Estates which met at *Ingelheim*, and there accused by his own Subjects, and convicted of Treason, was by his Peers condemned to lose his Life. Howbeit the King, in favour of him as being neer of Kin, commuted that punishment; so that both he and his Son *Theudon* were only Shaved and sent to the Cloister of *Loresheim*, and then to *Jumiege*. And at this time The Duchy of *Bavaria* was Extinguished, and divided into several hereditary Counties.

788. Out of these ruins sprung a more powerful Enemy. The *Huns* angry for the loss of their Allie, and that the *French* were become their Neighbours, began a most bloody War with them, which lasted for Eight Years together. This Year let them however know what the Event was like to be, for they lost three Battles against them, one in *Friul*, and two in *Bavaria*.

At the same time *Adalgise* having obtained some Forces of *Constantine* the Emperor of *Greece*, who was netled for that *Charles* had denied him his Daughter *Rotrude* in Marriage, descended into *Italy* by *Calabria*, imagining the rest of the *Lombards* would take up Arms in his Quarrel. But he was mistaken in his reckoning. *Grimoald* Son of his Sister, and *Aragise* Duke of *Benevent*, whom *Charles* had gratified with the Duchy after the death of his Father, *Hildebrand* Duke of *Spoleta*, *Vinigisa* who was so after him, and some other of King *Pepin's* Captains, fought him at his going forth of *Calabria*, and obtained an entire Victory. That unfortunate man falling into their hands alive, was cruelly put to death, as generally most Princes are that endeavour to regain their own, when they suffer themselves to be taken.

789. Of the *German* People, there was hardly any but those that Inhabited along the *Baltick* Coasts, who did not acknowledge *Charlemain*, or held themselves Enemies to the *French* and their Allies. Those nearest to his Frontiers were the *Wilses*, seated on the further side of the *Elbe*, in the Southern part of the Country. He built a Fort upon that River, which he strengthened with two Castles, and having made an inroad even to their Principal City, which they called *Dragawit*, brought such astonishment amongst them, that they all submitted without striking one blow; Their chief Head, named *Viltzan*, coming forth together with the most eminent of them to take the Oath of Fidelity, and offer him pledges for Security.

790. He spent the Year 790. in his Palace of *Wormes*, without undertaking any Military expedition. He addicted himself to works of Piety, sent great Almes to the Christians in *Syria*, *Egypt* and *Africa*, who groaned under the *Saracen* yolk, and besought the amity of those Infidel Princes, thereby to oblige them to treat the Christians more mercifully.

This

790. This very Year was begun, as some do hold, that indissoluble Alliance between France and Scotland. Charles having sent four Thousand Men in assistance of King Achinus, who made him a present (say the Scottish Authors) of *Claudian Clement*, and *Alcunus* an Anglo-Saxon, two learned Men for that Age. It is added that they came to Paris, and erected some publick Schools, Beginning of that Famous University, the Mother of all those that are in Europe.

Emperour
Constantine
King banish-
his Mother.

791. France having at this time no other Affairs, Charles thought it was time to take his Revenge of the Huns: but so as it proved a blessing to them, by their being subdued to embrace the Christian Faith. They had, say some Authors, seven Ringues, or Vast Enclosures, lock'd within one another, and wonderfully Palli-faded and strengthened with Rampires, into which they made their retreat with their Spoil, which they had practised above two hundred Years. Charles having passed the River *Emms*, which divides *Bavaria* from their Country, went forwards with his Forces who marched along the two sides of the *Danube*, attended with a Fleet which sailed on the same River; and at the same time another Body of Eastern French-men entred upon them from *Bohemia*. Upon his arrival they all fled, and left two of their Ringues to him, and afterwards he made his way and ravaged as far as the River *Rab*. Had it not been for a great mortality which almost destroy'd all his Horses, he would have push'd his Conquest further.

We must observe, That the Country of those Avari, which lay on the East of *Bavaria*, was by the French, because of their Situation Eastward in respect of them, called *Oosterich*, whence comes the name of *Austria*.

792. An eminent danger wherein he found himself the following Year, prevented his return thither as he had projected. The French *Austrasian* Lords, offended at the lofty behaviour of the Queen *Fastrada*, conspired to be freed from her to ridd themselves of their King her Husband, and to set up one of his Bastards, named *Pepin*, in his stead, who had a handsome face, but crooked, and as malicious as it was possible. The plott was discover'd by a poor Priest, who being accidentally in the corner of a Church, where they met for this purpose, over-heard them discoursing of the design. Charles by Sentence of the Estates, caused several to be beheaded, some their Eyes to be put out, others hanged, and his Bastard to be shaved and thrust into the Abby of *Prom*, which is in the Bishoprick of *Triers*.

793. This Year *Liderick de Harlebec* Great Forester of *Flanders*, was made Earl of it, but not hereditary; though from him are descended the Earls of that Country.

793. The same Year a Tumult was raised in the Dutchy of *Benevent*, contrived perhaps by *Grinoald* and the rest of the *Lombards*, which proved so dangerous, that *Lewis* King of *Aquitaine* went into *Italy* with his Forces to assist his Brother *Pepin*.

793. Whilst Charles was at *Ratisbon*, and had laid a Bridge over the *Danube*, to go and subdue the *Avari*; A Design was propounded to him which would have proved of great benefit in that War, and for ever after to all Europe. Which was to make a Communication between the River *Rhine* and the *Danube*, and by consequence between the Ocean and the Black-Sea, by cutting a Channel from the River *Almus*, which discharges it self into the *Danube*, to the River *Redits*, which falls by *Bamberg* into the *Meine*, which does afterwards run into the *Rhine* near *Ments*. To which end he caus'd a world of men to work: but the continual Rains that hapned, filling up his Trenches, and over-flowing and washing away his Banks, ruined that brave and useful Undertaking.

Besides, he was diverted by two accounts of ill tydings; one, the revolt of the Saxons, who having kept themselves quiet seven or eight years, now threw off again both the Yoke of Obedience and of Religion; The other, that the Forces Commanded by his Counts in the *Marea* of *Spain*, were defeated by the *Saracens*.

794. *Felix* Bishop of *Urgel* had in his answers to *Elipand* Bishop of *Toledo*, published a most dangerous heresy: That *Jesus Christ* as Man, was but the Adopted Son of God the Father; And although about two Years before the King having sent for him, obliged him to recant, and to go to *Rome* to abjure his Errour: nevertheless he began

began anew to dogmatize. Wherefore he caus'd a Council of French Bishops to assemble at *Francfort*, as also several Bishops of *Germany* and *Lombardy*, who all condemned that Error in presence of the Pope's Legat: They also rejected the Second Council of *Nice*, which had ordained the adoration of Images, and pronounced that it did not deserve the title of *Oecumenique*.

Whilst the King was at *Francfort*, died Queen *Fastrada* his third Wife.

From thence he went and fell with all his Forces upon the Saxons Country, his Army being divided in two, whereof he Commanded one part himself, and his Eldest Son the other, struck so great a Terror thorough all those Provinces, that instead of running to their Arms, they came running to him to begg for Mercy; and this good Prince sparing the blood of those obstinate People, contented himself with the taking away of one third of all such as were capable of bearing Arms, and transporting them to the Sea-Coast of *Flanders*.

Upon his Return he passed away his Winter in the Country of *Juliers*, where having discovered some hot Baths, he built a fair Palace and a Church to the honour of the Virgin *Mary*. For which reason that place was called *Aix la Chapelle*. These Baths had in former times been accommodated and adorned with handsome Structures by some great Lord, or Roman Governor, whose Name was *Granus*, (it is not well known in what time) from whence in Latin it takes the name *Aquis Granum*.

But I should have told you, that before this Year was expired, the Saxons had once more play'd the enraged Devils, cutting in pieces an Army of the *Abodrites* in the Passage to the *Elbe*, as they were marching by the King's Command upon an Expedition against the *Avari*. *Vilzan* who Commanded them was slain; which put the King into so great Wrath, that he gave up all *Saxony* to the mercy of the Sword; and at this time there were slain at the least Thirty thousand of those People bearing Arms.

Pope *Adrian* his intimate Friend being dead, *Leo* was Elected by the Senators and the Principal of the Clergy at *Rome*. He sent him an Ambassadour to give him notice of his Election, and to carry the Keys of *St. Peter's* Church, with the City Banner and other honourable Presents to him, desiring him to send one of his Princes thither to receive the Oaths of Fidelity of the Romans, a certain proof, that the King in quality of *Patrician*, held the Lordship of the City of *Rome*.

The Two most potent Princes of the *Avari-Huns* were so strangely bent to destroy one another, that both of them perished in that Civil War. *Henry* Duke of *Friuli*, taking his opportunity when that Nation was weakened by so much loss of Blood, enters the Country and makes himself Master of their principal Ringue, where he found Vast Treasures which those Robbers had heaped up, out of the plunder of all their Neighbouring Provinces for at least two Ages. He sent all to *Charlemaine*, and *Theodon* one of their Princes came to him almost at the same time, and was Baptised; but being sent again to Rule in those Countries along the River *Raab*, he did not keep his Faith long. And so he was slain by the French and *Bavarians*.

The other *Avari* thinking to restore themselves, Elected a * *Kan*, (that is to say, a Commander, for so they called all their Princes) but he was likewise Slain in a Battle by King *Pepin*; all the Country conquer'd from the River *Raab* to the *Dravus*, and from thence to the *Danube*, and all those Barbarians put to the edge of the Sword, or driven over the River *Tissa*.

There was a continual War between the French and the *Moors*, beyond the *Pyreneans*. The City of *Barcelonna*, which was sometimes the ones, sometimes the others, fell into the hands of *Zad* a *Saracen* Prince, who fearing he should not be able to keep it, came and paid Homage to King *Lewis*: but upon the first occasion broke his Faith with him.

Charlemaine spent this Year and almost the two following in compleating the Conquest of the Saxons, who broke all Agreements as soon as they had made them, and sometimes signalized their Treachery by some base and mean Cruelties; As they did Anno 798. having killed the King's Commissaries or Judges, who did not leave that Crime unpunished. He built some Cities within their Country, amongst others *Heristal* upon the *Weser*.

The Astronomers of those times, observe that the Planet *Mars* was not visible in the Heavens, from the Month of July in the Year 797, untill the same Month of the Year 798.

Some Roman Officers Kindred of the deceased Pope Adrian, and Enemies of Pope Leo, having made a great Faction, fell one day upon him, whilst he was at a Solemn Procession, and endeavoured to tear out his Eyes, and cut out his Tongue, afterwards dragging him to a loathsome Prison. But he escaped being so mangled as they supposed him to be, and he found friends that contrived his escape to the French Ambassadors, who were lodged at Saint Peters: they conducted him to Spoleta, and thence sent him to the King, well guarded, who at that time was in Saxony. The King having heard his sad complaints, sent him back again to Rome with the same honour as he had received him, promising he would soon be on the place to do him justice.

* Majorque.
Minorque.

The Islands called *Baleares*, * gave themselves up to France, that they might be protected against the Saracen Pyrats.

799. The Saracen Aza, who had made himself Sovereign of Huesca, that he might have the protection of the French, sent the Keys of his City with Presents to Charles the Great, proffering to deliver it up to him when ever he desired it. But when they would have taken him at his word, he failed them, and they did very well in keeping the Forts in their own hands which were erected opposite to Huesca and Sarragossa. Count Aureolus Commanded them.

799. The Avari after several vain attempts to recover their Liberty, were entirely subdued, all their Nobility cut off in the several Battles that had been fought, and the remainder of their Wealth carried away by the French, who became very rich, and began to adorn themselves with Ornaments of Gold even to the very common Soldiers.

799. Guy Count of the Marches of Bretagne wholly submitted that Country, and brought the Shields and Arms together with the Names of all the Lords and Commons that were become Subjects to the King. So that all that Country was for a time under the Dominion of France.

800. The Danes, Normands and Saracens began their Piracy and robbed the Coasts of France, these in the Mediterranean, the others in the Ocean. Charlemaine visited them all, gave Orders to build Vessels, and to raise Forts in several places; and amongst others, to repair the Tower d'Ordre * at Bonlogne, an ancient Building which had been erected by the Romans.

* A Tower
called the Old
Man of Bon-
logne.

The Piracy of those Infidels was not only an effect of their inclination to get Wealth and Plunder, but likewise of their false Zeal against the Christian Religion. Idolatry being hunted and pursued from one Country to another, and drove beyond the Rhine, had taken refuge in Saxony with her false Priests, together with all those that struggled in their defence: And then being hotly attacked by the French, had thrown themselves beyond the Elbe and in Denmark, as their last Bulwark. From whence those Exiles and their Offspring, burning with the cruel desire of avenging their Gods and their loss of Liberty, made perpetual Excursions, and principally exercised their bloody malice upon such Priests and Monks as they could light upon, as being those that had destroy'd their Superstitious Temples and false Gods.

Luitgard fourth Wife of Charlemaine dies at Saint Martins de Tours, whither she was gone to pay her Devotions.

From Meins, where he had called a Parliament, he went into Italy, as well to take cognisance of those Outrages committed against the Pope, as upon some vehement suspicions that they were contriving with Grimoald Duke of Benevent, not well affected, and the Inhabitants of Friuli, who had slain their Duke Henry, to revolt from the French.

800. Passing by Friuli, he punished the Authors of that Murder. Being at Rome, he admitted Pope Leo to justify and purge himself by Oath, no body then appearing to accuse him. He afterwards ordered Process to be made against those that had attempted him so basely, who were all condemned to death: but the Pope imitating the Mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, interceded and obtained that both their Lives and Limbs should be spared. For in those times it was so common a punishment to Mutilate, that even some Abbots used it towards their Monks.

The Pope in retribution of so many favours which this King, his Father and Grand-father, had conferr'd upon the Holy Chair, and to gain that protection which the Grecian Emperours were incapable to give, obliged the Romans to demand him for their Emperour, and Crowned him upon Christmas Day in Saint Peter's, the People crying aloud three times, A long and happy Life and Victory to Charles the August, Great, and Peaceable Emperour of the Romans, Crowned by God.

This

This was in the Year 800, beginning the Year on the First day of January; but 800.
801, if we account Christmas Day the first of the New Year, as the French Au-
thors of those Times are wont to do. (After the Ceremony the Pope adored the Emperour
New Emperour; that is to say, Kneeling down before him, and acknowledged him Constantine in
for his Sovereign, and caused his Portraiture to be exposed in publique, that so the East.
all the Romans might pay him the same respect.) If we give credit to some of the And
Annalists of those Times, he did not seek for this honour, and the Pope surprized Charlemaine
him when he besought him to accept of this Title. And indeed, it was so far from in the West.
bringing him any advantage, that it made him now hold that only by the Election
of the Romans, which he before held by the power of his Sword.

By this means the West had an Emperour again: but one that had no connexion now
with that in the East, as formerly it had.

As the New Emperour was returning into France, being at Spoleta, there was a 801.
furious Earth-quake, accompanied with horrible Noise which shook the Country
thereabouts. Neither was France and Germany free from it. But Italy felt it most:
a great number of Cities being thrown down and destroy'd: and this Prodigy was
followed with Furious Tempests, and afterwards with divers Contagious Mala-
dies. This Year Charles made no Military Expedition: but his Son Lewis
made himself famous by the taking of Barcelona.

When the petty Saracen Princes upon the Frontiers of Spain feared they should 801.
be oppressed by the King of Cordoia, who was Generalissimo of Spain, they made
an Alliance with the French, but the danger once past, they fell again to their
wonted Treachery. Zad Prince of Barcelona studying some Treason against the
French, was nevertheless so imprudent, thinking the better to conceal his Design,
as to come to King Lewis at Narbonna, who caused him to be seized. The Sara-
cens Elected one Hamar of his Kindred in his room, resolved to defend themselves
to the uttermost.

Whilst this hapned the Gascons revolted, because Lewis had set up at Efsensac a
Count they were not pleased with. After he had severely chastiz'd them, he un-
dertakes the Siege of Barcelona. The King of Cordoia takes the Field to Relieve
it: but being informed there was a Body of an Army to hinder his passage, he
bends his Forces against the Asturians. The besieged after a Twelve-months re-
sistance, surrendred themselves up to Lewis, who came himself to hasten forwards
the Attaques, he settled a Count in it, named Bera, who is said to be the Stock of
the Earls of Barcelona.

(All the Princes of the Earth either feared or loved Charlemaine.) Alphonso King
of Galicia and the Asturias, writing or sending Ambassadors to him, would be
called no other but his Man *, his Vassal. The Scottish Kings * always stiled * Proprius.
him their Lord, and termed themselves his Subjects, and his Servants. The Chiefs * Of Scotland,
of the Saracens of Spain and Africa, revered him and besought his Alliance. and Ireland.
The Haughty Aaron King of Persia, who despised all other Princes in the World,
desired no Friendship but his; He this Year sent him Jewels, and Silks and Spices,
and one of the largest Elephants. Withal, understanding that he had a great de-
votion for the Holy Land, and the City of Jerusalem, he gave him the Propriety
of them, reserving to himself only the Title of his Lieutenant in that Country,
And two Years after interposed so earnestly in his behalf with Nicephorus, that
he engaged that Emperour to conclude a Treaty of Peace with him very ad-
vantagious to France.

During this great Torrent of good Fortune, it had been easy for Charlemaine 802.
to conquer all the remainder of Italy and their Islands; the Grecians having only
a very wicked Woman in their Imperial Throne, it was Irene the Widow of Leo,
who had caused the Eyes of her own Son Constantine to be put out. But to stop
his progress she had the policy to amuse him with the hopes of marrying her, which
would have put the Empire of the East into his hands.

This Negotiation was well advanced, and Charles's Ambassadors were at Con-
stantinople to conclude it, when she was driven thence by Nicephorus who made him-
self Emperour. Nicephorus hav-
ing chased
away Irene
and
who were come to Treat with her, to make an agreement with Charles about Charlemaine.

802. Sharing the Empire. He agreed therefore that he should bear the Title of *Emperour* as well as himself, and that all *Italy* should be his to the Rivers of *Ofantius* *, and the *Vilturnia*, with *Bavaria*, *Hungary*, *Austria*, *Dalmatia*, and *Sclavonia*, the *Gauls*, and *Spaines*. For as to *Germany*, it had never been in subjection to the *Romans*: But *Great Britain* or *England* had been a Member, and by consequence ought to hold of *Charlemaine*.

802. *Grimoald* Duke of *Benevent* had revolted under the favour and with the support and of the *Greeks*. The *French* gain'd from him the City of *Nocera*: but soon after he retook it with *Vinigisa* Count of *Spoleta* who lay sick in the place. But when the agreement was made betwixt the two Empires, he sent him back again very civilly, and made his peace with the *French*.

804. The *Saxons* now revolted for the last time, especially those beyond the *Elbe*, incited by *Godfrey*, who was King of *Denmark*, and very potent at Sea. *Charles* being come thither with all his Forces, and having pitched his Camp near the River *Elbe*, that King advanced as far as *Sliesforp* upon the Borders of his Kingdom and the Country of *Saxony*, to confer with the Emperour: but some kind of Jealousie made him on the sudden turn back again: and so the *Saxon Holfatians* finding themselves abandoned, redeemed themselves from utter destruction by turning all *Christians*.

But he transported one part of them into *Flanders*, and another into the *Helvetian* Country, whence it is said the *Swisse* are descended, a People who are very free in their own Country, and yet serve in all others. He bestowed the Lands they inhabited beyond the *Ebre* upon the *Abrodite Sclavonians*; and he established a Council in *Saxony* in manner of an Inquisition, who had power to punish Mutineers, especially such as returned again to their Idolatry. This sort of Inquisition lasted in *Westphalia* to the 15th Age. Thus ended the long and obstinate Rebellion of the *Saxons*, who partly by consent, partly by force, submitted to the Yoak of *Jesus Christ*, and the Dominion of *France*.

804. In the Month of *October* of the same Year, Pope *Leo's* Ambassadors came to him at *Aix la Chapelle*, to let him know their Master desired to see and entertain him with some of the Miraculous Blood of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, which was affirmed to have been found at *Mantouia*. The King sent his Eldest Son *Charles* as far as Saint *Maurice* in *Chablais* to meet him, and himself went and received him at *Rheims*, whence he had him to his Palace of *Crecy* * upon the *Oise* to pass his *Christmas*, and from thence to *Aix la Chapelle*, to consecrate the Church. The Holy Father having been there eight dayes, went back again to *Rome* thorough *Bavaria*.

* *Cavissacum*.

He had undertaken this Journey to complain how that *Maurice* Duke of the *Venetians*, and his Son *John* whom he had joyned with him, persecuted the Patriarch *Fortunatus* whom he had approved of, and honoured with the Pall; and also how they favoured the *Grecian* Emperours. The City of *Venice* was not yet built, and the Seventy two Islands that compose it, together with the Country and Towns upon the Shoars of the Gulph, were governed by Tribunes who counter-balanced the power of the Duke. Now those Tribunes (*Beat* and *Obelier* whom our *French* Authors of those Times call *Willeric*) had caused themselves to be Elected Dukes by one part of the People, and had driven away *Maurice* and *John*, who had recourse to the Assistance of the *Greeks*.

806. These therefore and *John* Duke of *Zara*, with some other Lords of *Dalmatia*, came to the Palace at *Thionville* to desire assistance of the Emperour, in case the *Greeks* should assault them.

Whilst he remained there, he shared his Estates between his three Sons, in such manner that either of them hapning to dye without Children, his Portion should be re-divided betwixt the other two; but if a Son were born, and that the People would Elect him to succeed his Father, the Uncles were to consent thereunto.

This partition was made, all his Sons being present, subscribed by the *French* Lords, and carried to the Pope, that he might likewise Sign it, not to make it the more Valuable, but to render it the more Authentique.

806. This Year the *Navarois* were reduced to the Obedience of the *French*, from whom they had withdrawn themselves (upon what motives is unknown) to put themselves under the dominion of the *Saracens*.

The

The Emperour's eldest Son employ'd himself without intermission in subduing the remaining Idolatrous people in *Germany*. The preceding Year he had gained a very great Victory over the *Beheman Sclavonians*, or * *Behains*, they are now called *Bohemians*, and slew their Duke named *Lechon*. This Year he had the like advantage over the *Sclavonian Sorabes*, who inhabited on the other side of the River *Elbe*. * Within 200 years *Bohemia* was called *Bohaigne*.

At the same time, his two other Brothers laboured each in his division to encrease their Limits upon the Infidels. *Pepin* made War against the *Saracens* at Sea, *Ademar* Count of *Genoa* lost a Battle and his Life: but *Bouchard* Count de *PEstable* obtained another very signal one. *Lewis* with his *Aquitains* made his Incursions to the further Shoar of the *Elbe*.

Nicetas Patrician of the *East*, sent into the *Adriatique* Sea by the Emperour *Nicephorus*, to recover *Dalmatia*, restored that Country to the obedience of his Master, and re-settled *Maurice* and *John* Dukes of *Venice*, who had been expell'd, and they soon expelled all those that had taken part with *France*. *Pepin* had resolved to attaque *Nicetas*; yet he made a Truce with him for some Months, perhaps because he had enough to do with the *Saracens* who infested the *Tuscan* Seas.

807.

(This Year 807. was seen in the Heavens two extraordinary Phenomena, besides three Eclipses, two of the Moon, and the third of the Sun. For on the last day of January the Planet Jupiter seemed to enter into the Moon who was in her 17th day, and the 14th of March Mercury appeared in the disk of the Sun, a little above the Center, like a little black speck, which lasted so eight dayes.)

The Pyracies of the *Normands*, and their Descents and Landing on the Coasts of *Neustria*, and even in the *Mediterranean*, became more frequent and troublesome. *Charlemaine* one day being in *Provence*, and seeing some of them appear, was so touched with the Misery *France* was like to suffer by these Pyrats, that he could not refrain from Tears.)

807.

The Ambassadors from the King of *Persia* brought him Rare Presents, Tents all of Silk, and a Striking Clock with wonderful *Automata*. They were accompanied by some Monks whom the Patriarch of *Jerusalem* (for *Syria* was then under the obedience of the *Persians*) had given them to be their Guides.

807.

In the *East* all acknowledged or honoured *Charlemaine*. There was none but *Godfrey* that countermined his Grandeur; and *Charles* desired to get into his Country, not to take possession of the Ice and barren Rocks of that Northern Region: but to bring those poor ignorant Wretches to the Knowledge of true Faith.

The *Dans* prevented him, and had the confidence to attaque his Country. At first he made a great bustle, drove before him *Tracifcon* Duke of the *Abrodites*, who was under the dominion of the *French*, took by Treachery, and hanged another of their Dukes, and made two thirds of those people become his Tributaries. Nevertheless having lost his best Men, and his Brothers Son upon the storming of a Castle, being informed that *Charles* eldest Son to the Emperour had passed over the *Elbe*, he retreated, and spoiled or ruined his Haven at *Reric*, whither much Goods and Merchandise had wont to be brought, for fear the *French* should fortify themselves there.

808.

He designed likewise to shut up and cover his Country of *Danemark*, by drawing a line and making a great rampart just opposite to the *Saxons* Territory, from that Gulph of the Sea on the Eastern part to that on the West; and all along the Banks of the River *Egidore* or *Egid*, and in this part of his Earthen Wall or Work, he had but one Gate well flanked, for the passage of Carts and Soldiers.

Amongst divers exploits which were done in the Marches of *Spain*, *Lewis* King of *Aquitain* took by force of Engins and assaults the City of *Tortosa* in *Catalonia*. But Count *Aureolus* who had the Government of those Frontiers dying the year after, *Amoroz* a *Saracen* Prince of *Sarragosa* seized upon several Fortresses of the *French*, protesting notwithstanding he was ready to restore these places and his own person to the Emperours disposal. Whereupon a Treaty was begun, during which *Abular* King of *Cordouia*, to whom these Negotiations were no way pleasing, sends his Son *Abderaman*, who craftily seized upon *Sarragosa*, and constrained *Amoroz* to retire himself to *Huesca*.

The Truce being expired between the *French* and the *Greeks*, *Pepin* enters into the

808.

the Gulph of *Venice*, and gave Battel to *Paul*, who was *Patrician* and one of the *Greeks* Generals. Each side pretended they had gained the Victory.

809. The following year *Nictas* having presented him Battel near *Comachio* was rudely repulsed.

At the same time *Charlemain* desiring to repress the *Danes* incursions, sent orders and materials to build a great Fort on the River *Sturia*, at the place called *Aselsch*.

The *Gascans* were again revolted, *Lewis* being gone to *Dags* with a powerful Army ruined all the Countries of the most Factions and Stubborn, and gave quarter only to those that besought his Pardon. From thence finding he was so far on his way, he pushes on to *Pampeluna*, where he made some stay to assure himself of the fidelity of the Inhabitants of that Country, which was very uncertain. Before he Filed off his men throw the passages of those Mountains, he would needs be precautioned against the Robberies of those *Gascen* Mountaineers, some of them being already in Ambuscade, by seizing on their Women and Children, and hanging one of their Spies, who came on purpose to observe them, and give his Companions notice of their motion.

810. Being returned into *Aquitain*, he mightily laboured to reform that Kingdom, and especially the Ecclesiastical Order, which was so much deformed, the Prelates and Priests being all turned Sword-men, that there were no footsteps of any Discipline remaining. He not only restored it by his exemplary devout life, and by his good Rules and Orders, but also by the great care he took to repair or build Monasteries which were as the Seminaries of good Church-men. The Author who wrote his life, reckons no less than Five and Twenty, or Thirty.

810. *Pepin* not able any longer to endure the double dealing of *Maurice* and *John* Dukes of the *Venetians* who favoured the *Greeks*, and desiring to restore *Obelier* and *Beat* who were expelled, goes out of *Chiaffi*, which is the Port of *Ravenna*, with his Fleet, and enters the Lake of *Venice*. In the beginning he took all the little Towns which were upon the Shore, then turned towards the Island of *Malamauca* the Dukes Seat, which he found quite forsaken, *Maurice* and *John* his Son having withdrawn themselves into that of *Rialto* and *Oliuolo*.

The *Venetian* Authors relate that commanding his men to Attaque those Islands with floats of Boards or Timber, and the Army of the Dukes defending them, it hapned that wanting knowledge of the Channels and Depths, his Fleet received a notable repulse; That a great number of the *French* were slain, and stifled in the Mud; and that he himself who staid in the Island *Malamauca* with the least part of his Forces, Retreated to *Ravenna* carrying *Obelier* and *Valentine*, who had very unluckily engaged him in this enterprize, along with him.

In this Island of *Rialto* was soon after built a Palace for the Duke, and in that of *Oliuolo* another for the Bishop, and in time they joynd all those little Islands, near one another, by Bridges, so that all these together have made the City of *Venice* so renowned, for its wonderful situation, and more for the wisdom of its conduct.

In the mean time *Godfrey* with a Fleet of Two Hundred Sail, lands in *Frisia*, pillaged the Country, and exacted Tribute. He bragg'd also that he would give the Emperor Battel, who was encamped near the place where the Rivers *Alare* and *Veser* joyn together: but instead of coming forwards he retreats back into his own Country, where he was killed by a certain Son of his, in revenge for having repudiated his Mother. *Heming* his Brothers Son, who succeeded him, Treated a Peace with the *French*.

810. *France* had not their revenge for the affront received in the Gulph of *Venice*, because *Pepin*, a Son worthy of his Father, dyed at the age of 33 Years, the 29th of his Reign in *Italy*. He left only one Bastard-Son named *Bernard*, who succeeded him in that Kingdom, a young Prince not above Twelve or Thirteen Years old at most.

810. About the end of the following Year *Charles* the Eldest Son of the Emperor dyed likewise, who left no Children. But the preceding Spring his Father concluded a Peace with the *Dane*, and sent Three Armies, one against the *Sclavonick*, *Hedimons* beyond the *Elbe*; the second into *Pannonia* to make head against the *Sclavonians*, for they molested the *Huns* very much who were Subjects to the *French*: and the third against the *Bretons*, who renouncing that obedience they had sworn to him, had chosen themselves a King named *Cornulph Muchon*. The two first returned home laden with Spoil, and the last with the honour of having vanquished the *Bretons* and their new King.

Charlemain being already broken with Age and Labour, the loss of his two Sons made him more inclinable to have a Peace with the *Saracens* in *Spain*, with the *Greeks*, and with the *Danes*. Which was the more easie to be compass'd, for that *Mahumed* King of the *Saracens* in *Spain* being in War with *Abdella* his Brother, was the year following forced to let him have a share in the Kingdom in *Greece*, the Emperor *Nicephorus* was slain in a Battel against the *Bulgarians*, and *Heming* King of *Denmark* being dead there was a Civil-War about the Succellion between *Sigifroy* and *Amulon* or *Hamildon*, this Nephew to *Hericold*, and the other to *Godfrey*. They fought a bloody Battel, where both of them were slain together with Ten or Eleven Thousand men: but *Amulon's* Party remaining Victorious, Secured the Kingdom to *Hericold* and *Rainfroy* his Brothers.

Amidst the Multitude of Affairs which *Charlemain* had in all the three several parts of the World, he did not forget what concerned Religion. Upon the intreaty of *Biorn* King of *Sweeden*, he sent some Priests thither to instruct those People in the knowledge of the Gospel, *Ebon* a Man of a holy life established a Bishoprick there in the City of *Lincopin*.

Finding himself grow weaker day by day, he caused his Son *Lewis* to come to the Parliament of *Aix*, where he had called together the Bishops, Abbots, Dukes and Counts; he asked them all one by one, whether they would be pleased that he should give him the Title of Emperor. To which all having replied, yes, he declared him his Partner in the Empire, commanded him to go and take the Crown which was upon the Altar, and put it himself upon his own head.

In the same Parliament he likewise declared *Bernard* the Son of his Son *Pepin*, King of *Italy*, whither he had already sent him under the Conduct of *Vula*, or *Galon* Son of *Bernard* his paternal Uncle.

The death of this mighty Prince was preceded with all sorts of prodigies both in the Heavens and upon the Earth, enough to astonish even those that have but little faith in such presages and give least Credit to them. Whilst he was studiously employed in the Reading and the Correcting some Copies, or Manuscripts, of the holy Bible in his Palace at *Aix*, a Fever seized him and carried him out of this World the 28th of January, the Two and Seventieth year of his Age, at the beginning of the 14th of his Empire, and the 48th of his Reign. His Will and Testament which is yet to be seen, is one of the greatest Tokens of his Piety; For he left but one Fourth part of his Treasure and Goods to be divided amongst all his Children, and gave the rest to the Poor, and to the *Metropolitan* Churches of his Kingdoms. He was buried in the Church of *Aix la Chapelle* which he had erected.

He caused all the Laws and Customs of the several Nations under his Empire to be digested in writing; contrived several Capitulary's or Ordinances, he Collected all the ancient Poetry that contained the brave Acts of the *French*, to serve as Memoirs for a History thereof, which he did intend to Compose. He understood Theology so well, that he wrote himself against the Heresy of *Felix Urgel*, and about the controvery of Images. He made Speeches in their great Assembly's, and took as much care to make his Eloquence triumphant as his Arms. In the clearest Nights he pleased himself in the Observations of the Spheres and Planets; whereof there are many curious things in his *Annals*, which it is believed were made by himself. To illustrate his Language, which was the *Dutch*, he brought it under Rules and made the Grammer; and assigned names for all the Months in that Tongue, as likewise for every Wind, such as for the most part are retained to this very day.

In fine, hitherto no King of *France* hath had a life and Reign so long and so illustrious, nor a Kingdom of so large extent as he. His Fame would be without blemish, as it is beyond parallel, had he not been too much given up to Women, and too indulgent towards his Mistresses and his Daughters in their carriage.

He had at least Three lawful Wives, *Hermengard* Daughter of *Didier* King of the *Lombards* whom he repudiated the second year, *Hildegard* Daughter of *Childebrand* Duke of *Suabia*, and *Fastrade* Daughter of one Count *Rodolph*. The last brought him no Children: but *Hildegard* had Nine, Four Sons, and Five Daughters. The Sons were *Charles*, *Pepin*, *Lewis*, and *Lotaire*; these two last were Twynns. *Lotaire* dyed young, *Charles* and *Pepin* fell in the strength of their Age. *Louis* reaped alone the whole Succellion of his Father. The Daughters were named, *Retrude* who was promised to the young Emperor *Constantine*, Son of *Leo* the III. and *Irene*, she dyed when Marriageable: *Berte* who espoused Count *Angilbert*.

812.

812.

813.

Emp. Leo the Armenian Michael being turned Monk, An. 813. R. 7 years and an half.

814.

* Capitulary's is a name that extends to all sorts of constitutions, as well ecclesiastical as civil, or political, &c.

Angilbert afterwards Abbot of St. Riquier, Gisele who became a Nun, and Hildergard and Adelelaid who dyed in infancy.

Neither the number or names of his Mistresses are set down, who were not few: but amongst his Bastards there is mentioned Pepin the Crook-back, Hugo Duke of Burgundy, called the Great Abbot, Dreux Bishop of Metz; and amongst Seven or Eight Daughters, Tétrade Abbess of Argentuil, Euphrasia Abbess of Saint Laurence of Bourges, and Hildetrude who became scandalous in her Fathers House, by her actions.

The Church
in the 8th Cen-
tury.

The Gallican Church had never yet been in so great disorder as towards the latter end of the Seventh Age or Century, and to the middle of the Eighth, and indeed they were above Sixty Years without any Council. Nevertheless they had happily enough preserved their Temporal Estates under Pepin the young, who was a liberal and religious Prince; but Charles Martel his Son had not the same countenance, nor shewed the same respect as he had done. Many Prelates of Neustria and Burgundy, having favoured Rainfroys Party, gave him an occasion to squeeze them; and the Wars he had against the Saracens, furnished him with a pretence of taking away the riches of the Altars to defend them.

In some Countries he gave the Abbays and Bishopricks to Lay-men, who instead of keeping Clergy-men, maintained Soldiers: In others he took away their Lands and Tithes, and distributed them amongst his Warriours. The Priests and Monks that mixed with them laid down their Psalters to take up the Sword, some out of pure licentiousness, others to get a livelihood; For the same reason the Bishops and Abbots turned Soldiers and were made Captains. The whole Clergy was in extreme disorder, the most of them had Concubines, there were some Deacons known to have at least Four or Five in keeping. The least debauched married Wives and proceeded even to second Marriages. The Nuns neither kept their Cloisters, nor their Vows. In fine, there was no rule, no obedience of Inferiours towards their Superiours, little Divine Service, no Study, and great ignorance in things of Religion, and the Holy Canons.

This disorder gave opportunity to Boniface a Man very Illustrious in those days, as well for his exemplary Life, as his Activity and Zeal to strengthen himself with the Authority of the Pope, that he might apply some Remedy. He was an Englishman by birth, who by a particular inspiration, and emulation of divers holy men of the same Robe had gone from his Monastery, to sow the Seed of the Gospel amongst the barbarous Nations in Germany, especially the Frisia, the Turingi and the Catti, and had devoted his Service to the Pope so strictly and intirely, as to change his English name which was Winfred or Winifred, to that of Boniface: he had been first made Bishop by Gregory the II, then Archbishop by Gregory the III, and by him not only honoured with the Pall, but also with the Title of his Vicar. In this quality he divided Bavaria, where there was but one Bishoprick, into Four Diocesses. This was in the Year 739. The following Year he established Three in Germany, one at Wirtzburg, another at Buraburgb, and the third at Herpsford. These two last held not this honour long. But the Pope, together with the Title of Vicar had given him power to call Councils and to make Bishops in those Countries which he had Converted to the Faith, with Letters of Recommendation to those People, and to Charles Martel, praying him to take him into his protection, which he did; as likewise an Order to the Bishops of Bavaria and Germany to assemble together when he should call them, as being his Vicar.

Now Prince Carloman having declared he would restore the Ecclesiastical Discipline, Boniface embraced that work with much willingness; and as he was active and indefatigable, he advanced apace, but not indeed without somewhat diminishing the Liberty and the Dignity of the Gallican Church to the advantage of the Popes.

At his instance Carloman held a Council in Germany (the place is not mentioned) where he assisted with the Grandees of his Kingdom, and the Year after another at the Royal Palace of Leptines or Estines, just against Bincks in Hanault, which confirmed the Acts of the former. Pepin likewise Convocated one at Soissons An. 754. and subscribed it with three of the Great Men of his Country's, perhaps there might be one belonging to Neustria, one to Burgundy, and one to Aquitain. In all these Councils Boniface presided in quality of Legate from the Holy Chair. And in the first the Clergy Signed a Profession in writing, which obliged them not only to keep the Catholique Faith, but likewise to remain in Unity,

subject

subject and obedient to the Roman Church, and Saint Peters Vicar: which being carried to Rome and laid upon the Tomb of that Prince of the Apostles, was received with huge joy by Pope Zachary, and not without reason. Thus there, as upon all other occasions, he contrived things so, that all made still more and more for the Popes Severaignty, and tended chiefly to that end.

As to the Discipline, it was resolved that the Bishops should be re-admitted to their Sees, the Churches to the enjoyment of their Goods, and the Clergy to their Rules: but the two first particulars were not brought to pass till the time of Charlemain. The Canons which they made were principally to prohibit the Clergy from bearing Arms, or going in the habit and garb of Soldiers; and yet the Bishops could not be excused from going to their Wars and Armies, till Charlemain exempted them by a particular Capitulary: to take away their Wives and Concubines, to hinder and prevent Incests and Adulteries, the punishment whereof was left to the Bishops, and also to abolish and root up the remainders of Pagan Superstition. The Religious of both Sexes, were enjoined to walk by the Rule of Saint Benet which Wilfred Bishop of York had set up and caused to be observed in England. Till that time the Rules of Saint Colomban and Saint Cesarius of Arles, amongst many others, had born the greatest Vogue in France.

At the Council of Soissons were two men Condemned, who were Consecrated, but without any See, Adelbert a Gaul, and Clement of the Scotch Nation. The first was an Hypocrite and Frantick, rather than an Heretique, he made the ignorant people follow him, as having a particular Spirit of God, built Oratory's, and set up Crosses near Fountains, in Woods, and the midst of open Fields. The other Preached divers Errours, maintaining that Jesus Christ descending into Hell, Redeemed Pagans as well as the Faithful, that they ought according to the Jewish Custom, to marry their Brothers Widdow, and that which appeared more horrible, he would needs keep his Wife, and wear his Mitre at the same time.

At Leptines, Carloman caused it to be ordained, with the Consent of the Clergy either voluntary or extorted, that to carry on the War which he had on every side of him, he might take part of the Lands belonging to the Church, and bestow it during pleasure, or while that necessity lasted on his followers, who for every Mansion or House, should pay only a Crown in Gold, or twelve Deniers in Silver, and the Ninths or Tenths towards the reparation of the buildings, and that such as held these Precaries, or Leases during pleasure, hapning to dye, the Prince should give it to any other upon the like conditions.

In the Year 779. Charlemain made an Edict; wherein he ordains that such as held those Lands should pay the Nones and the Tithes to the Church. But moderates the Tax or Quit-Rent to a Sol for Fifty Manfes, and half a Sol for Thirty. Besides the Council of Francfort, and Lewis the Debonnaire in his Edict of 828. Charges the Possessours with the Reparation of Churches. This was the beginning of the Alienation of those Lands, by publick Act and Authorized by Law. There are some that maintain that those Kings did not only invest the Laity with these Church Lands, but the Tithes, and all the Rights and Revenues of the Altar, as the first fruits, oblations, distributions for * Masses and other Prayers, * Missa can-
tania. and even with the right of putting in Priests, whence say they is derived the gifts and presentations claimed and exercised by many Lords in divers Churches: Hence they are called Patrons; a name found in the Council of Rheims held Anno 878.

It had been ordained in the Council of Soissons, that thenceforward a Council should be held there every year to stifle and suppress disorders, and heresies at their first birth. Likewise Pepin called one at the Royal Palace of Verberie Anno 752. where he would assist in person, one at Metz the year following, one at Vernon upon the Seine two years after, one at Compiegn about the same distance of time, and one at Gentilly right against Paris Anno 767. We have the Canons of the first four: but nothing of that at Gentilly, unless the two questions they propounded: to wit, Whether the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son, which the Greeks denied, and whether we ought to adore Images.

We may almost put in the Rank of Councils the Conventus or Assemblies which the Kings often held, as that of Duria in 760. that of Neures, of Wormes, Atigny, Orleans, and Saint Denis, which were held successively from the year 763. to 768. In all which the Lords being joyned with the Bishops, they ordained such things as concerned the Polity and Government of the Church, as well as

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what

what concerned the Temporal and Government of the Kingdom. Of the decisions of Councils, and the Ordinances made in those Assemblies, partly Politique and partly Ecclesiastical, were Composed those Laws which are called Capitulary, the best and most holy that any Nation hath had since the Roman Law.

Never Prince had more affection for the Honour and the Discipline of the Church than Charlemain; There hardly passed any year in all his life but there were either some of these Assemblies or Councils for that purpose. I will not quote the years of the Councils held at Wormes, (which were Five) at Valenciennes, Geneva, Duren and other places, because we have only the names. But that of Frankford is very considerable. It might be called the Western Council: for the Bishops of the greatest part of Italy, with those of Germany and those of Gall, were there. It was called and appointed by Charlemain, who it seems presided in it, at least he reasoned and argued very learnedly against the Errors of Elipand, of Toledo, and Felix d'Urgel, who taught that Jesus Christ was the adopted Son of God the Father according to the Flesh. Those whimsies were Condemned, and that Great King refuted them, in a long Letter which he wrote to the Bishops in Spain, very amply and very learnedly.

They also discussed the questions about Images. The Council of Nice had ordained that they should be retained in the Churches and adored. In France they would have them allowed to be set up in Churches as things proper to instruct the people, but not to be adored. Wherefore the Fathers in this Western Council Assembled, disclaiming to acknowledge that for Oecumenick, rejected that Adoration in all respects and manners, and condemned it by common consent; and Charlemain wrote a Book to oppose it, to which Pope Adrian made a reply.

There remains nothing of that of Aix la Chapelle held in 809. but that the question concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost was again debated, and no doubt but they agreed, That the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son; For the French believed that so firmly, that it was the cause of having it added as an express Clause in the Symbol * of Faith or Creed. The last year of his life, he Convocated Six, at Arles, at Ments, at Reims, at Tours and at Chaalons on the Soan, of all which the Canons are still to be found. Thus the Church of France could not miss the being reformed, and Pope Adrian would needs contribute towards it by giving several Reglements to Charlemain, drawn from the Councils of the Greek and Latine Churches, and the Papal degrees, which he sent to him in the Year 789, by Ingilram Bishop of Metz.

The Ecclesiastiques had their particular Judges for their Lands, where the Kings Judges had no inspection neither for things Civil nor Criminal, and as for their persons, they were judged by none but of their own Body. Now it was almost impossible to Convict them, for mean and reproachful people were not admitted to accuse them; and there were to be Seventy and Two Witnesses to Convict a Bishop, Forty for a Priest, Thirty Seven for a Deacon, and Seven for others of inferiour degree, all without exceptions, and if they were of the Laity, only such as had Wife and Children. This last condition was required in all sorts of Testimonies, at least in matters Criminal.

Charlemain excessively encreased the power of the Bishops, by renewing in all his Dominions the Law of Constantine the Great, quoted in the Sixteenth Book of the Theodosian Code, which allows of one of the parties pleading before a Secular Judge, to bring the Cause before the Bishops, and leave it to their Arbitration without Appeal, though the other party doth not consent thereunto. Which would have still continued perhaps, had they not corrupted the effects of so holy a Law by infinite deccits, and by appeals to the Metropolitan, and from thence to the Court of Rome, against the express terms of it.

It was in the Eight Century that the Metropolitans commonly took up the Title of Arch-Bishops; for there are none mentioned in the foregoing. Those that subscribed the Council of Chaalons, and to the immunity of the Abby of Saint Denis had not this Title as yet.

Towards the end of the same Age, or about the beginning of the Ninth, began the Devotion and Pilgrimages to Saint Jacques, * or James, the Great in Gallieia. This Apostle suffered Martyrdom at Jerusalem, however his body was immediately carried into Spain, and being hid in the times of the Pagan Persecution, was not found out again till about that time by the Bishop of Iria, near Compostella, where King Alphonfus built him a Church, at the recommendation

* Qui ex Patre
filioque pro-
cedit.

* St. Jago.

Santa Maria
Jinis terr.

of Charlemain, Pope Leo transferr'd thither the Episcopal See of Iria, and Two Hundred years afterwards Pope Calistus II. the Metropolis of Merida.

We find by the Ecclesiastical Capitulary's of Charlemain, that there were besides some * Chorevesques, and although they were only the Successors of the Seventy Disciples, they pretended nevertheless to do all the Functions of Bishops, who were Successors to the Apostles. There were indeavours for Five or Six Hundred Years together used to bring them to the just bounds they ought to have kept (it were difficult to describe it) and in the end, it was found much more easie to abolish, then to regulate them.

The ignorance amongst the Bishops was amazing, since they were enjoined even to learn to understand the Lords-Prayer, and Charlemain after so great a reformation had much ado to bring them only to make some little kind of exhortations to the People.

To dissipate these Clouds of Darknes, it was ordained there should be Schools in the Bishopricks and the Abbeyes: but they only taught the Psalter, Musick, to Compose, and Grammer. I find one Capitulary that enjoyns them to send their Children to study Physick, it does not mention at what place.

Under so ignorant a Prelacy the People could not but be blockish, unpolished and very illiterate, all their Religion was turned into Superstition; and there were a great many Soothsayers, Enchanters, * Tempestaries, and other such infamous Sorcerers, who were very wicked, because they thought themselves such, or would have others believe so.

We must not wonder if amidst such gross Ignorance, even the very Women would needs Usurp a Power in the Church. There were some Abbesses so vain, (without doubt because many of them were of great Families) as to give their blessing to people with the sign of the Cross, and Vail some Virgins with the Sacerdotal Authority.

Likewise the better to reform the Clergy, it was ordained that they should live by Rules and in common. The Superiours of those Communities were called Abbots, and they Chanons, which is to say, Regulars.

In those very times there were found to be certain Amphibies, if I may so say; Who put on the habit of the Religious, and yet would neither be Monks nor Priests. It was said they should be compelled to one of the two Professions, it being fit they should make their choice to be either one or other.

The Covetousness of the Clergy was not less apparent then their ignorance; all the Councils from the Fifth Century, and all the Capitulary's are full of Rules and Orders to Tye them up from Selling of Holy Things. They took Money for Ordinations, for Visits, for the Crisne, for Baptising, for Preaching, for Confirmation, and for every thing.

People of servile condition were not admitted to Orders: (which we should have noted before.) If such had been admitted their Masters had power to disband and turn them out of that sacred Militia, and bring them back to the Slavery and Chains of their former mean condition. Even the Free-men could not be admitted to enter into Orders, or into a Monastery without Letters from the King, because many were otherwise apt to creep in, either out of base Cowardise as afraid to serve in the Wars, or for want of understanding, being seduced thereto by such as had a mind to get their Wealth and Estates from them.

Because the Arch-Deacons managed the Almes and Offerings, the Laity would needs get that preferment; and this abuse had been introduced in the former Ages. Whatever Orders Pepin could make, they still held the most part of the Abbeyes and Bishopricks, and enjoyed the Revenue, allowing but a small portion thereof to the Bishops and Abbots. Charlemain did almost quite root out this abuse, and restored the liberty of Elections, at least his Capitularies bear it: however History makes mention that he often named and recommended people to Benefices.

Tithes were become obligatory, so that such were excommunicated who did refuse to pay them after three admonitions: and it was even exacted upon the increase of Cattle. Pious Donatives were not restrained, unless by one Law, which prohibited the Church from receiving any which disinherited Children and the next of Kin.

Charlemain had a very great care of the poor. Of every thing that was bestowed upon the Church, there was Two Thirds allotted for them, the other third only being for the Clergy, unless in some places where they were richest they shared them

them equally, afterwards they made the Division in Four parts, one for the Bishop, one for the Clerks, one for the Poor, and one for Repairs.

The practice of publick Penance and Absolutions, was almost the same as in the Former Ages, I mean the third and fourth, as well as that of Baptisme, which was performed by dipping or plunging, not by throwing on or sprinkling of the Bishop, or the Priest, and this was only done at *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*, unless upon urgent occasions.)

The prayers for the dead were very frequent. Singing made up a great part of their Study and Employment, not only amongst the Clergy, but the Nobility also that were very devout. The *French* had brought this Passion towards Musick from *Rome*. Bells grew also mighty common, but they did not make any very great ones. The Churches as well as most of their other Buildings, were almost all of Wood. It was ordained that the Altars should be made of Stone.

* Judge of a
Bishops Temporal Jurisdiction.

The Bishops and Abbesses had their * Vidames, the Abbots their Advoyers or Advocates; some Cities likewise had the same. They were as their Proctors or Administrators, in whose names all things were transacted, and who Treated and Pleaded every where for them. Every Bishop, Abbot and Count, had his Notary. Excommunications were so frequent as they even became an abuse. The person Excommunicated was Treated with great rigour, no body would keep any Commerce or Conversation with them.

The *Gallican* Church had not extended the degrees prohibited in Marriage but to the Fourth, in which Case it self they did not separate them, being satisfied with imposing a Penance on both the Parties: but the Popes extended it to the Seventh; and *Gregory* the II desired it might reach as far as any thing of parentage or kindred could be made out between the parties. But if so, it being notorious to Christians that all Mankind are of Kin in *Adam*, to whom should they marry? They likewise established the degrees of Spiritual Affinity between the Godfather and Godmother, and between the Godson and his Godmother, as well in Baptism as at Confirmation.

Saints.

Notwithstanding the Corruptions we have noted, the Church was not without her great Lights and Ornaments, I mean a good number of Holy Men, and some that were not Ignorant. Amongst the Bishops *Sylvain de Toulouze*, *Wlfrain de Sens*, who renounced the Miter to go and Preach the Faith in *Frisie*, where he Converted *Ratbod* the II, Son of that King of the same name, who was so obstinate a defender of Idolatry. *Rigobert de Reims* who was driven from his Seat by *Martel*. *Gregory of Utrecht* who was the Apostle of the *Thuringians*, and the Countries adjacent to *Dorestat*. *Corbinien* Native of *Chastres* under *Montlehery* near *Paris*, who was the first Bishop of *Frisingen* in *Bavaria*; as *Suidbert* the first of *Verden*, *Immeran* of *Ratisbon* who was a *Poitevin* by birth: *Encher d'Orleans*, who was banished by *Martel*, and lived a good while after him, as appears by the revelation he had how it fared with *Martel* after his death, as hath been observed in the life of *Martel*, if that were true. *Gombert* held the Bishoprick of *Sens*, and then retired to the solitude of the *Vosge*, *Lobier* * that of *Sees*, and after him *Godegrand*, doubly remarkable, both for his own Vertue, and for his Sisters Saint *Opportune*, who took upon her the Vows of Virginity, and lifted many more into her Muster-Roll, of whom she had the Conduct. But above all *Boniface* of *Ments* was eminent, whom we have mentioned; he suffered Martyrdom *An. 754*. amongst the *Frisons*; He was Founder of the Great Abbey of *Fulda*, in the Forrest of *Buken*, the most Noble of all that are in *Germany*.

* Lotarius.

In the monasterial retirements, we observe two *Fulrads* or *Volrads*, the one Abbot of Saint *Denis*, however a little too much taken up with Court Affairs and Negotiations for one that is dedicated entirely to God, the other Cousin to King *Charlemain*, and Abbot of Saint *Quentin*. *Adelard* of the same degree of parentage to the same King, who withdrew from Court for the reasons we have before noted, and was Abbot of *Corbie*, and from thence recalled into the Kings Council. *Angilbert* who exchanged the favour of *Charlemain*, one of whose natural Daughters he had married, for the austerity of the Monastery, and was Abbot of *Cenabum*. * *St. Riquier*, le * *Pirmin*, who is said to have quitted the Bishoprick of *Meaux*, and who having

ving retired himself into a solitary place in *Germany*, built there that Celebrated Abbey of *Riche-Nove*, *Angia Dives*, and Nine or Ten other Monasteries in those parts and in *Alsacia*; and the learned *Alcuin* to whom *Charlemain* gave the Abbey of *Tours* in recompence of those inestimable Treasures of Learning and Science he brought into *France*, with *Claud* and *John* the Scotsman.

A great part of the Manners and Customes we described under the First Race were preserved under the Second. All the great Offices of the Kings House were still the same, unless the *Maire* of the Palace, in whose place it seems the grand *Seneschal* or *Dapifer* succeeded, but with much less authority, and different Functions. *Hincmar* sets down an *Apocrisiare*, a Count of the Palace, a great Camerier or Chamberlain, three Ministerial Officers, to wit, the *Seneschal*, the Butler, and the Count of the Stable, one Mansionary, that is, grand Marechal of the House, Four Huntsmen, and one Fauconer. The King had ever a Council of State, in his Train, consisting of men chosen out of the Clergy and Nobility. The *Apocrisiary* assisted in it, when he pleased, the other great Officers never went but as they were sent for.

Manners and Customes under the Second Race.

Those of the Clergy had a place apart to meet in, where they treated of Ecclesiastical Affairs, as the Nobility treated of matters purely Temporal; and when there was any thing of a mixt nature, they joyned all together to determine it.

In the Militia and Courts of Justice we hardly meet now with any Dukes, but only Earls; some of whom were called *Marquesses*, when the Care and Guarding of the Marches was committed to them, which ordinarily was in the new Conquered Countries; others were called Abbots, either because they possessed the Revenue of the Abbeys, or because they commanded some certain Company's near the King, and taught them their Discipline and Exercise, the *Grandeas* were called Princes, and we have light enough even in those dark times to see, that it was not in the power of the King to dis seize them, nor put them to death but by certain Forms and Rules, and the Judgment of their Peers and Equals where he presided, or in their general Assemblies.

I find three sorts of great Assemblies, the general Pleas of the Provinces; the May-Assembly whither came the *Seniores & Majores natu* of the *French* people, there they chiefly consulted about Warlike Affairs; and the *Conventus, Colloquia*, Parliaments where met together, the Bishops, Abbots, Counts, and other *Grandeas*, consider of Laws and Rules for their Policy, Justice and the Treasury, as well as the Discipline of the Militia both sacred and prophane. The two last kinds of Assemblies were after confounded in one.

The Kings had ever made use of Envoyez or Intendan, of Justice. But *Charlemain* made them ordinary; and I observe that there were Intendants fixed and perpetual, but no Intendants that were so. Neither do I find that they had any *Aquitain* nor in *Lombardy*. He most commonly joyned in such Commissions Count and a Bishop. Seldom do we find two of either of these qualities joyned in the same Commission; they were called *Missi Dominici*, and their Jurisdiction *Missaticum*. The People found them Lodging and a certain quantity of Provision; They took care chiefly to publish the Kings Orders and put them in Execution, to hear the Peoples Complaints and do them right, to punish the Count or Bishop if they were faulty, to reform and reverse unjust Judgments, and compel the refractory to obey. And if they wanted strength or power to effect it, they gave notice to the King. They likewise drew up into Writings and Dids such Grants of Lands as the King and the Church bestowed in Benefice. They rode their Circuits Four times a Year, in *January, April, July* and *October*. They could not keep Courts but in those Months, and in Four different places if they thought fit; They summoned the Counts, and were forced to let them hold all the rest. They Elected Sheriffs with the consent of the people, as also Aoyers and Notary's. The Sheriffs were, if I mistake not, the Assessors of the Courts.

Those that were Free-men were only obliged to be at Four Assizes or Pleadings a Year. This was a most Christian Method that the cause of the Poor was the first of all determined, the Kings business next, then what belonged to the Church,

Church, and last of all that which concerned the People in general. The *Centesier* had not power of Condemning to death. The King gave Audience one day in every Week, before whom were brought only such Causes as concerned the Grantees who had no other Judge but himself, or such whom the Commissioners or Counts had refused to do Justice to, or had adjudged contrary to Law.

The licentiousness in times of War had made most part of the *Frenchmen* turn Thieves and Robbers, and some of them false Coyners. The greatest difficulties the Judges met withal were to suppress these disorders. Those that made counterfeit Money had their hand cut off, the other accomplices escap'd only with a Whipping. They were forced to reduce all their Money to one sort of species, and to punish such as harboured a Thief with the same severity as the Thief himself; and that was the loss of an Eye for the first fault, the loss of the Nose for the second, and the third cost them their life.

Even in those days drunkenness was very frequent, particularly in the Armies, since they were fain to punish such as forced another to drink, and he that made himself drunk was Excommunicated and Condemned to the Penance of drinking Water only, for a certain time.

The Law permitting every one to take his own satisfaction or revenge for an affront or injury, unless he chose rather to accept of a certain Sum of Money Taxed by Law, Murders were very frequent. Charlemain Commanded the Judges to be very careful in agreeing such as had any thing of a quarrel, and if any appeared too obstinate to bring them before him.

There was three sorts of restraint, the one was imprisonment, another was a Guard set upon them, the third was bail or caution who obliged themselves to answer for the Parties.

Homicide committed on a Clergy-man cost them much dearer, then upon any other of equal condition; for they were to pay 800 Sols of Gold for killing a Bishop, 600 for murdering a Priest, 400 for a Deacon, and as much for a Monk.

314.

* Used amongst the Moroccans to this day.

The Method of making War and arming themselves was much changed since the Reign of *Clovis*. They had as much Cavalry as Infantry almost; and they used great Launces * which they darted, or retained in their hands after they had struck their blow. They were Armed *Cap a Pie*, their very Horse were barded, so that a Squadron seemed to be all of Iron. The Infantry had no Cuirasses or Armour, but cover'd themselves admirably well with their Bucklers. They also began to learn the use of Engins in some Sieges.

Whoever deserted the Army without leave incurred Capital Punishment. Every one was obliged to carry Three Months Provision, and Arms and Cloaths for Six, to be reckoned from the time they went beyond the Marches or Limits of their own Country. This when they came from *Aquitain* hitherward was the *Loire*; to those that went thence into *Spain*, it was the *Pyrrean*: to those of *Neustria*, when they made War on *Germany*, it was the *Rhine*, and to those in the Provinces beyond that River, when they were to march far into *Germany* it was the *Elbe*, which were thus set as their Limits, or Frontiers. The Soldiers were allowed to take nothing but in an Enemies Countrey. Those Lords that led them were responsible for their pilfering, and they were disbanded presently in the Field if they did not justly punish them. When the Captains came to Court they were presented with some Gifts or *Regalia*; and it was the Queen's care and charge of such distributions, or in her absence the grand *Chambrier* or *Chamberlain*.

Though the Demeasnes of the King and those of the Church were inalienable, they had been necessitated either to reward such as had served them, or to retain such as could do them mischief, to bestow upon several, but it was only for life and by title of gratification; wherefore they were called Benefice, which term remains only in the Church. Which had of two sorts, the one of such Goods as are effected to such as deserve, which at the present we call a Benefice, and the other certain Lands which they gave to Seculars, to hold of the King

during Life. There were even in those times Arts and crafty ways to confound the demesnes of the Crown with the Lands of particular People; and this subtraction was accounted for a Crime, since it was punished with Banishment and Confiscation of Goods.

There were besides another sort of Lands, which were called *Dominicates*, appropriated to *Dominus* which was the King, but which were Rented by particular Men, at about the Ninth * of the Profits. These were ordinarily only some little Farms or petty Portions of Lands perhaps lopp'd off from the greater ones belonging to the Crown, which could not all be set to the most advantage.

The Levying of Moneys was of three sorts, either by Poll, or upon the fruits and growth of the Earth, or Merchandize and Goods for Traffique; But of the last kind, the *Carlovinian* Princes took none but of the Trading Merchants. For every one besides sent his Goods up and down in Carts or any other ways for his own Families use without paying the least Toll, no more then those that supplied the Kings Household, or even those that went to the Wars.

We may again in some other place, according as occasion requires, take a summary Notice of certain Laws and Usages practised in the time of the *Carlovinian* Race.

LOUIS

814.

LOUIS I.

CALLED

The * Debonnaire, or Pious. King XXIV.

* *Debonnaire*, is Courteous, Affable, Meek, Gentle, Mild, Friendly, of a sweet temper, and conversation, Pious.

POPE S,

LEO III. S. 2. Years, 4 Months,
under this Reign.

STEPHANUS V. Elect. in
June, 816. S. 7 Months.

PASCAL I. elect. in January
817. S. 7 Years, 3. Months and a
half.

EUGENIUS II. Elect. in 824.
S. 3. Years, 3 Months.

VALENTINE, Elect. in 827.
S. 40 Days.

GREGORY IV. Elect. in Sep-
tember 827. S. 16 Years, where-
of 13 under this Reign.

Lewis I. Called the Debon-
naire, Emperour and King of
France, Aged about 35 Years.

Bernard his Nephew, King of
Italy, Aged 16 Years.

814.
Empp.
Leo the Ar-
menian,
And
Louis I. Called
the Debonnaire.

As the Court of that Prince whose Reign is at end, is ever an Enemy to that which is to succeed, it was to be feared there might be some Faction in that of *Charlemain* which would oppose the advancement of *Lewis*. He particularly dreaded *Walla* an undertaking person, who being a Prince of the Blood, and one that had a great hand in the management of his Fathers Affairs, might have aspired to the Succession, or have likewise have been incited thereto by the Daughters and Mistresses of *Charlemain*, who were confederated against *Lewis*, because he would reform their disorders.

The Forces he brought from *Aquitain*, and which he gathered up in his way dispersed the whole Faction, if any such were: *Walla* comes to him upon his Summons with an intire submission, and all the *French* Nobility made haste to go and meet him. He had a very great mind to purge the Court from Scandal, and to that end had Commanded Count *Garnier* to seize upon two Lords *Odille* and *Tulle*: who lived too familiarly with his Sisters. The first of these had the impudence to find out *Garnier* and murder him, but he was cut in pieces on the place, and the Emperor enraged at his insolence caused the eyes of *Tulle* to be put out.

After

After he had celebrated the Funeral of his Father, and divided the Goods with his Brothers and Sisters, he thrust out of the Court all those Women who were there only upon pleasure, and sent his Sisters to remain in those Abbeys which *Charlemain* had bestowed upon them.

The Ambassadors which his Father had sent to *Constantinople*, returned home in Company with some who came from the Emperor *Leo*, and brought with them a Treaty of Peace betwixt the two Emperors. He sent *Lothaire* the eldest of his Three Sons into *Bavaria*, and *Pepin* into *Aquitain*, but retained *Pepin* at Court with himself, because he was as yet too young.

Grimoald Duke of *Benevent* surrendered his Dutchy into his hands, that he might receive it again and hold it from him, upon condition of a yearly Tribute of Seven Thousand Crowns of Gold. *Bernard* King of *Italy* in obedience to his Command, came to wait on him, acknowledged himself his Vassal, and gave him Oath of Fidelity. He could not require this in quality of Emperor, nor as the first of the Family: It must be, in my opinion, that *Charlemain* had given it to *Bernard*, upon condition that he should hold it of his Uncle.

The Sons of *Godfrey* who had sheltered themselves in *Sweden* being returned to *Denmark* with their Friends, had given Battel to *Heriold* and *Reginfroy*, where the last was slain, but the others obtained the Victory. *Heriold* driven out of his Country came to *Louis* to implore his Assistance, and became his Vassal.

The *French* Counts who Commanded in *Saxony*, with the *Abrodites*, had orders to restore him again. They passed the River *Egid* with a potent Army. The Sons of *Godfrey* raised one more numerous, and withal a Fleet of Two Hundred Sail: but keeping themselves at Sea near an Island about Three Leagues from the Shore, the *French* could do no other mischief but only scowre and plunder the Country.

The same Year a Peace was made with *Abulaz* King of the *Moors* or *Saracens* in *Spain*; but that Prince being dead, and the *Moors* still pillaging the Coasts of *Italy* and its Islands, the *Deputies* of *Calara* in *Sardinia* obliged the Emperor to break it.

The *Romans* having Conspired against Pope *Leo*, he put some to death by his own Authority. The Emperor took those proceedings very ill as being contrary to his natural Clemency, and his Sovereignty over the City of *Rome*. He ordered *Bernard* King of *Italy* to go thither and inform himself of the full truth and particulars, which he did; the Pope on his part, sent his Legates into *France* to clear himself there: but the *Romans* were so dissatisfied at that cruelty, that *Leo* being fallen sick, they did not only seize upon those Lands he had usurped from them, but likewise ransack'd his Castles in the Country. *Bernard* was forced to send *Vinigise* Duke of *Spoleta* with an Army, to appease the Tumult. He took some of the most active and leading Mutineers and sent them into *France*.

The *Sorabes* having rebelled were reduced, after the taking their best Hold, by an Army of *Austrasian*, *French* and *Saxons*. The *Gascons* a giddy People, had also taken the Field, because their Count named *Seguin* was taken from them, who had shewed himself disobedient to the Emperor: They were punished for their insolence by the loss of two Battels, and compelled to renounce him whom they had Elected in the room of *Seguin*. We must observe that *Gasconne* was divided into a County and a Dutchy, and that the County held of the Dutchy, and comprehended the Country from the *Pyrenees* to the River of *Adour*, so that *Dags* was part of it.

Pope *Leo* being dead the 23d of May, *Stephen* the Deacon, was put in his place by Election of the Clergy. He waited not for the Emperors confirmation to be Installed, to whom nevertheless he made the *Romans* swear fidelity and afterwards came himself to him at *Reims* to tender his Devoirs. The Emperor gave order to his Nephew *Bernard* to accompany him as far as the *Alpes*, where divers Lords attended to receive him on his behalf; and when he was gotten farther into the Country, he found his Arch-Chaplain and Two or Three Bishops. The Emperor staid for him at *Reims*, received him upon his alighting * off his Horse, accompanied him to the Abbey Church of Saint *Remy*, which when they entered he took him by the hand to help him. The *French* Clergy sung the *Te Deum*, and the *Romans* made loud acclamations in the Emperors praise.

The Pope and the Emperor eat and drank some consecrated Bread and Wine together; then the Emperor retired to the City, and left him to lodge in the Abbey. They entertained each other with Feasting, and gave mutual Presents:

R

the

* *Thegan* says
he prostrated
himself before
him, with his
whole Body.

the Emperor began, and the Sunday following the Pope Crowned both him and the Empress *Hermengarde*, having purposely brought with him two gold Crowns: that for the Emperor was set all over with Jewels and Stones, the other being plain Gold without other Ornament.

817. Three Months after *Leo* went out of *France*, he died at *Rome* the 25th of *January* An. 817, and the Clergy Elected *Paschal*: this man knowing the softness of the Emperor, durst likewise take his Seat in the Pontifical Chair without waiting for his consent; and yet excused it to him by an Ambassador sent expressly. Though the Emperor was not very well pleased, yet he did what was required for his Confirmation: But he reprov'd the *Romans*, and admonish'd them never to fall upon such an attempt again. And yet if we believe the *Partisans* of the Court of *Rome*, *Paschal* wrought so far upon the Emperor that he yielded up his right of confirming Popes.

817. The Sons of *Godfrey* demanded Peace of the Emperor: It was taken to be only a pretence, and therefore great succours were sent to *Heriold*. Upon the demand of the *Grecian* Emperors Ambassadors, who were come for that purpose, *Louis* dispatched a Deputy to settle the Limits of *Dalmatia* between the two Emperors, together with *Cadolac* who commanded for him in those Marches, and the *Slavonians* that had some interest.

817. The 17th of *February*, during an Eclipse of the Moon, a Comet began to appear in the Sign of *Sagittary*.

817. Upon *Holy-Thursd*ay, as the Emperor was coming out of the Church belonging to his Palace, a Gallery fell down under him, twenty persons of Quality were hurt; but it prov'd to have more of fear than danger, for their bruises and broken-shinns were soon healed.

It seem'd *Louis* was Born rather for the Church, than for the World; For as he behaved himself he would have proved a better Abbot or a Bishop, than a King. Besides his perpetual exercise in Devotion (which does not always suite with the Activity of Government) he busied himself very much about the reformation of the Clergy; Amongst other things in the Assembly at *Aix la Chapelle*, he caus'd a Rule to be made for the Chanons, drawn from the Writings of the Holy-Fathers, commanded the Benedictins to observe theirs, sent Commissary's into the Provinces to prevent the Simony, Luxury and Pride, with such other like abuses of the Churchmen, and oblig'd the Bishops, in fine, to Reform at least in outward appearance, and throw aside their Belts, and Embroid'red Girdles, their Daggers with Hilts beset with Jewels, and glingling Spurs; which drew upon him the hatred of the Churchmen, amongst whom the greatest number were the worst.

In this assembly he Associated *Lotaire* his Eldest Son in the Empire, and gave *Aquitain* to *Pepin*, and *Bavaria* to *Louis*, both with the Titles of Kingdoms. *Tegan Chorevesque* of *Treves* hath written that he design'd *Lotaire* his Eldest to be Sole Heir; whether he did it before or after this partition, it was a great weakness.

Louis the Debonnaire,
Emperour and King
of *France*, *Eastern* and
Western.

<i>Lotaire</i> , King of <i>Italy</i> , and As- sociate in the Empire.	<i>Pepin</i> , King of <i>Aquitain</i> .	<i>Louis</i> , King of <i>Bavaria</i> .
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To this place they brought him intelligence of the defection of the *Abodrites*, and the conspiracy of *Bernard* King of *Italy*: both the attempts of the one and the other were suppress'd and stifled in their Birth. *Bernard* a young Prince had suffer'd himself to be possess'd with an opinion that he could dethrone his Uncle. This counsel came from the very Court of *France*, where he had divers abettors, who without all doubt persuad'd him that all the Kingdom was his, belonging to him as Son to the Eldest. His design was discovered before he had time to take his measures: the Forces to whom he had committed the defence or keeping of the passages to the *Alpes*, abandoned them upon the first notice of the March of the Emperors Army, and those that first set him upon this business, were the first that forsook

forsook him. In this distress he took the most dangerous counsel, which made him come himself to *Chaalons*, and fall down at his Feet begging his pardon. This hindred not his being made a Prisoner, together with all those Lords that were in his Train.

The Emperor being returned to *Aix la Chapelle* caus'd their process to be made: The Seculars were all condemn'd to Death: The Bishops, amongst whom was *Theodulfe d'Orleans*, degrad'd and confin'd to a Monastery. Some of the first suffer'd the rigour of the Sentence, others had their eyes put out, whereof two of the most Eminent died, and *Bernard* himself lost his life within three days after. Whoever disturb the Peace of a Nation deserves death; but it was too extreme a rigour towards a young Prince of nineteen years, and an Uncle towards his Nephew. And indeed *Louis* had great remorse all his life, nor did the *French* forgive him that cruelty.

Bernard left but one Son named *Pepin*, and at his age, he could scarce have any more, at least Legitimate. This same begat three, *Bernard*, *Pepin*, and *Heribert*. From *Pepin* sprang The First Branch of *Vermandois*.

The Emperor apprehending his Bastard-Brothers, (*Charlemaine* had left several) might fall into the like Conspiracies, caus'd them all to be shav'd and thrust into Monasteries, and sent away *Adelard* Abbot of *Corbie*, and *Valla* his Brother.

The *Bretons* had created a King called *Morman* or *Mo:van*. The Emperor going thither in Person reduced all the Country in Forty days, and *Morman* being slain in his own Camp, either by his own, or by the *French-men*, he gave them a Duke of his own.

At this return from this Voyage he lost his Wife *Hermengard*. She died at *Angiers*, leaving him three Sons *Lotaire*, *Pepin* and *Louis*.

The *Abodrites* were Subjects and Tributaries to the *French*, who nevertheless allow'd them to have a King. He whom they then had was call'd *Sclaomir*; who having intelligence with the Enemies of *France*, was seiz'd upon by the Emperors Lieutenants, and being unable to justify himself before him, was banish'd, and his Crown given to *Ceadragne* Son of *Tracifcon* who had been cut off by the *Danes*.

Loup Centule Duke of the *Gascons*, guilty of the like Crime, being vanquish'd in a great Battel by the *French* Counts, and afterwards taken Prisoner, was likewise desitituted and exil'd. He withdrew himself into *Spain* to the Court of the King of the *Asturias*.

These Commotions shew'd enough the weakness of the Government, *Liudewit* Duke of *Pannonia Inferiora*, who sought pretences to revolt for grievances he alledg'd to have suffer'd by *Cadolac* Duke of *Friuli*, threw off his Masque in the end, and for three or four years gave a great deal of trouble to those Lieutenants that serv'd the Emperor in *Dalmatia*, *Friuli* and *Bavaria*, till at length he was quite driven out of those Countries. The same Year, upon his return from that expedition, *Cadolac* died upon the Frontiers, and *Baudry* succeeded in his place.

In the general Assembly held at *Aix Bera* Count of *Barcelonna* being accus'd of Treason, and thinking to justify himself by combat, fell under the Sword of his accuser, and should have shamefully forfeited his life according to the Law, had not the Emperor chang'd his Sentence of Death, for banishment.

It was ill counsel made the Emperor give his Sons their shares so young, as he had done: But it was worse after he had done so, to Marry a second Wife; But being resolv'd, notwithstanding his Devotion, to taste again the pleasures of the Nuptial Bed, he made choice of *Judith* Daughter to *Helpon* Duke of *Bavaria*, so much the more a trouble to his repose as she was Beautiful Witty and Gallant.

The Truce between the *French* and *Saracens* of *Spain* is broken, and the *Saracens* begin to range about the Coasts of *Italy*, *Sardinia* and *Corfica*.

Thirteen *Normand* Vessels having attempted to make a descent in *Flanders* at the Mouth of the *Seine*, went and pillag'd the Island of *Amboium* upon the Coasts of *Poitou*. (So great a Mortality hapn'd amongst Bulls and Cowes, that it almost destroy'd the whole Race of that sort of Cattel thorow all *France*.)

The Emperor confirm'd the partition he had made amongst his Sons, and oblig'd all the Lords that were present to Swear they would maintain them therein; and as though he fear'd his Family might want Princes, he made hast to marry them.

Empp.
Michael the
Stammering
and Louis.

Lotaire with *Hermengard*, Daughter to Count *Hughes*, and the year after *Pepin* with *Engeltrude* Daughter of *Thietbert* Earl of *Matric*. Lotaire, when his Marriage was consummate, went into *Italy*, where the Pope Crowned him Emperor, and *Pepin* returned into *Aquitaine*.

We omit several minute things, as the Negotiations of Ambassadors from divers Princes, little exploits in War against the *Abodrites*, *Bretons*, *Saracens*, and others. But it is a very memorable thing, that *Louis the Debonnaire* touched with remorse for having put his Nephew to Death, and cloister'd all his Brothers and natural Cousins against their wills, made his confession to the Bishops, and did publick Penance before all the People at the general Assembly of *Attigny*. After which he gave liberty to all those he had caused to be shaven to quit their Cloister, and recalled *Valac* and *Adelard* to be of his Council.

823. Birth of *Charles the Bald*, and with him a world of Michiefs. Which one may say had been presaged by many terrible prodigies hapning this year: an Earthquake which shoke the Palace of *Aix la Chapelle*, Furious Stormes which spoiled the Corn and Fruits of the Country, a shovre of huge Stones which fell together, with Prodigious Hail, many Men and Beasts in divers places struck with lightning, a Girl that lived ten Months without eating, and after all these a most raging Pestilence.

823. The Authority of the *French* at *Rome* did much incommode the Pope; He knew what Emperors he had to do with, and sought under-hand to weaken them, and to render them odious and contemptible. It hapned that *Theodorus Primicer* of the Church, and *Leon Donatour* his Son in Law, were killed in his House, for no other reason, but because they had too much affection for *Lotaire*. He purged himself by Oath that he had not consented to this Murther: but however he would not deliver up the Murtherers, saying they were of the Family of *St. Peter*: And *Louis too Debonnaire*, or meek, puts up this injury, whereas he should at least have required Justice upon them.

824. Shortly after the Pope comes to die. *Eugenius II.* his Successor made some satisfaction to the *French*, and there were Judges established in *Rome*, all of the Emperors Palace, none of the Popes.

The *Bretons* as obstinate for their Liberty, as the *Saxons* for their Religion assayed to withdraw themselves from the obedience of the *French*, and Elected a Lord of their Country to command them. He was called *Wihormac*, or *Guyormac*, and was Vicount of *Leon*. The Emperor being entred into the Country with three Armies, whereof he commanded one, and his two Sons the two others, made so great waste in the parts belonging to those Rebels, that about the end of ten or twelve days they were glad to come and fall at his Feet, and give up the Children of the most Noted Families for a Pawn of their Submission. The following year the Principals, and *Guyomare* their Chief, came to the general Assembly at *Aix*, as making up now a part of the *French* Monarchy. The Emperor rewarded them all with rich Presents: but when occasion offer'd they made it appear they could swallow the Bait and yet avoid the Hook.

The Peace being broken with the *Saracens* of *Spain*, the *French* Earls, Guardians of the Frontiers had in *An. 822.* passed the *Segre*, and going a great way into the Country, brought thence very rich booty. The King of *Cordona* would needs have his revenge upon *Navarre*, and those Neighbouring Countries that were under the *French*. Those People could hardly receive any assistance: For the *Saracens* held *Sarrageffa* and *Huesca*, which hindred the passage of any succours that would go the lower way, I mean *Catalonia*: and the way thorow *Gascony* by *Aspe* and *Roncevaux* was very incommodious: infomuch that the Emperor could send only the *Gascons*, under command of the Counts *Ebles* and *Aznar* or *Aznar*, who were of that Country. When they had taken care to secure *Pampelonna*, and thought to retreat, they found the *Saracens* had cut off their way back. So they were forced to get the assistance of the People Inhabiting those Mountains to shew them some bye unknown ways: but those treacherous Villains led them into places where the *Saracens* lay in Ambuscade, so that they were cut in pieces, and *Ebles* sent in Triumph to *Cordonia*, but *Aznar* set at liberty as being of Kin to some of those false-hearted Robbers.

The *Bulgarians* had already signalized themselves by their Incurfions into the Territories of the Eastern Empire: The *French* began to know them when they came to be their Neighbours. *Omortag* their King sent Ambassadors to the Empe-

ror

ror to settle the Limits between the two Nations. He detained them above two years with him, and then sent them back without any answer.

By the assistance of the *French*, *Heriold* was received in part into the Kingdom of *Denmark* with the Sons of *Godfrey*. But those Princes out of hatred for that he and all his Family had received Baptism, drove him out of the Country: which broke the Truce made with the *Dane*. Soon after it was renewed, and *Heriold* forced to content himself with the Earldom of *Rjusty* which the Emperor had given him in *Frisa*.

825.
and
the following

The Normands Scouring the Coasts of *Spain*, took *Sevil* which they held a whole year.

826.

The Affairs of *France*, being in a declining condition towards the Marches of *Spain* since the defeat of *Ebles* and *Aznar*, a Lord named *Aizo*, who had left the Emperors Court in discontent, seized by a wife upon the City of *Offonna* in *Catalonia*, and made a League with the *Saracen* King who gave him Powerful assistance: with which help he so tormented the Governors of places, that some quitted them, and others went and joyned with him. There was none but *Bernard* Earl of *Barcelonna*, that persevered in the fidelity he owed the Emperor.

826.

The next year *Aizo* got a very great re-inforcement of the *Saracens*, and the Emperor on his part gave *Pepin* an Army to chastise him, and to re-settle his affairs in those Countries: But the Infidels ransacked the Counties of *Gironna* and *Barcelonna* at their pleasure, before the *French* Forces were in condition.

827.

The negligence of their Commanders was the cause of this delay: which was most severely punished at the general Assembly of *Aix*, with the loss of their employment: And whatever other favour they held of the Emperor. This done to repair their fault, he gave a great Army to his Son *Lotaire*, who advanced as far as *Lyons*, but having conferred with his Brother *Pepin*, he went no farther, because the *Saracens* had made no new attempt.

This was the last Trial the *French* made for those Marches. For the following year, there being a division bred in the Royal Family whereof *Bernard* Earl of *Barcelonna* was the pretence, the *Saracens* and *Spaniards* too, made great advantages of the same; So that *France* could preserve only the Lower Marches, to wit, the Counties of *Barcelonna*, *Ampuries*, *Roussillon*, *Cerdagne*, *Urgel*, *Paillars*, *Offonna* and *Ribagorce*. The People of the higher Marches seeing themselves abandoned by the *French* bethought themselves of making a King; and chose *Eneco* or *Innigo* Earl of *Bigorre*; surnamed *Arista*, by corruption from *Aristat*, a word which in that Country Language signifies the bold, the resolute: By whose valour and the credit he had amongst the *Gascons* and the Inhabitants of the *Pyreneans*, they promised themselves assistance sufficient enough to make Head against the *Saracens*. As indeed he regained *Pampelonna*, and some other Cities from those Infidels.

828.

'Tis here therefore we must assign the beginning Of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and not 70 years earlier by one *Garcia Ximenes*. For all the Six Kings whom they place before this *Innigo Arista*, are fabulous; as well as the pretended Kingdom of *Sobrarne* where they tell us they Reigned. Now *Sobrarne* is a little Country between the Ancient Earldom of *Arragon*, and that of *Ribagorce*, which is within the precincts of the Kingdom of *Arragon*, not of *Navarre*, and hath but six Leagues of extent, and some Burroughs in a Valley, with the Abbey of *Penna*. *Innigo Arista* had for Son and Successor *Ximene* or *Semenon* * d' *Innigo*, and he had one *Innigo de Semenon*, and *Garcia* both Kings. D' *Innigo II.* was Son of *Garcia II.* who had two Sons which were Successively Kings, viz. *Fortunius Garcia*, and *Sance Abarca* the first of that name. After him the Succession of their Kings of *Navarre* is clear and indisputable.

829.
Or
830.

The *Bulgarians* ransacked *Pannonia Superiora* as they listed, *Balderic* Duke of *Friuli* never stirring to repel them; But his cowardly neglect was punished as it deserved: He was devested of all his Honours, and his Dutchy was divided into four Counties.

829.

The Emperor desperately fond of his Wife and of his Son *Charles*, bestowed *Rhetia* and part of the Kingdom of *Burgundy* upon that Child, his other Brothers present. But Trembling with jealousy and wrath,

829.

Louis

* *Ximene* *Stemenon*, *Emiron*, *Emenon*, *Ximinius*, *Eminus* are the same Name.

Empp. Louis
Theophilus Son
of Michael,
and
Louis Debon-
naire with his
Son Lotaire in
Octob.
829.

Lotaire Empe-
ror and King
of Italy.

Pepin King
of Aquitaine.

Louis King
of Bavaria.

Charles King
of Rhetia, aged
6 years.

Then all the rest of the Party that had been for King Bernard, the Relations and Friends of those whom the Emperor had put to Death, those whom he had Banished and sent away and afterwards recalled, Leagued themselves together, and taking this opportunity of the discontent of these young Princes, Heated and Animated the People with divers rumours and reflections.

The Emperor fore-saw the Tempest well enough by the gathering of these clouds; His Wife, as well to have the Absolute Government of her Husbands weak Spirit, as out of affection, increased his Apprehensions, and persuaded him to put an entire confidence in Bernard Earl of Barcelona whom she loved, with the Office of Chamberlain, that she might ever have him near her.

(Bernard's Pride and his too great familiarity with the Emperors bred envy and jealousy, which caused several other Lords to joyn with the contrary Party. All the discontented therefore address themselves to Pepin: And in the ill humour he had conceived against his Mother-in-Law, easily made him believe that Bernard was her Gallant, and that she had bewitched her Husband: and therefore it was a becoming Duty in the Son, to revenge those injuries Practised against his Father, and to restore him to his Honour and Witts again. He believes them, and takes the Field; The Emperor being informed that he approached permits Bernard to retire, sends his Wife to a Monastery at Laon, and comes to Compiene.

The Conspirators Seize the Emperess; she promises them to persuade her Husband to suffer himself to be shaved, or deposed: and upon this assurance they grant her the liberty to speak with him in Private. They having conferred together made an agreement that the Emperess should wear the Vail for a time, but that he should demand some longer time to consider and resolve them.

Mean time his Son Lotaire arrives from Italy, who confirmed all that had been done, shuts up his Father in the Abbey of St. Mard at Soissons, and appointed some Monks to instruct and advise him to put on the habit.

Some time after the Emperess was brought to her Husband and upon the Peoples clamours confined to the Monastery of St. Radegonde of Poitiers.

In this Miserable condition the Debonnaire passed the Spring and Summer-season, his Courage so sunk that he would have consented to turn Monk, if the very Monks themselves, who designed to take advantage of the opportunity, and by some methods bring the Affairs of Court into their management by his means, had not dissuaded him, and found a way for his escape out of that Captivity. One Gondoband amongst others stickled much in his service, and went in his behalf to his two Sons Pepin and Lewis, to entice them to embrace their Fathers Cause, to which they were already much inclined out of the jealousy of the growing power of their elder Brother, and his undertaking to govern all things according to his own fancy.

The Power of these two Brothers serving as a Counter-poise to that of Lotaire, there needed a general Assembly to settle the Government. The contrary Faction would have it in Neustria where they were the stronger, to degrade him, or at least to dissolve his Marriage with Judith, because she was of Kin to him: But yet he had Friends or craft enough to have the meeting held at Nimiquen. There making his Party the strongest by the help and addition of the Eastern French, he obliged his Son Lotaire to come and submit to him in his Tent, and give up the principals of the Confederates into his hands. All the Lawyers, and his Sons themselves judged them worthy of Death: He Pardoned them notwithstanding, and did only command the Laity to be shorn, and the Church-men to be shut up in Monasteries.

When he was got back to Aix, he recalled his Wife, and her Brothers who had been shaved at the beginning of the Commotion; but he would not admit her till she had cleared her self according to the usual manner, of every thing laid to her charge. In the Easter-Holy-days, he was so merciful, that in Honour of him who with his own Blood had Redeemed all Mankind and obtained Pardon for Sinners, He released and recalled likewise all those whom he had caused to be shorne, and

and restored them to their Estates and Lands; but he sent his three Sons into their own Kingdoms. Bernard was admitted to purge himself by combat, and there appearing no accuser to oppose him, he purged himself by Oath.

After these broils neither of his three Sons shewed him a perfect obedience. Pepin and Louis, though he had enlarged their shares, did not leave vexing him; And Lotaire their elder did under-hand contrive all their practices. Pepin being sent for to a general Assembly at Autonne, came not till they were broke up, which made his Father keep him with him. At the same time almost Louis was making ready to come and visit him with too great an Attendance: But the Father going forth to meet him, made him retire, and pursued him as far as Augsburg. From thence he summoned him to be present at the Assembly of Frankfurt; to which he obey'd.

When he had done with one, another began anew. He had intelligence that Pepin was again Arming himself; he went therefore as far as the Palace of Logonriac in Limosin where he Assembled the Estates of Aquitaine. The rebellious Son was forced to appear there; And his Cause having been discussed, he was kept Prisoner. As they were conveying him to Triers he escaped, and as soon as his Father was out of Aquitaine, he got in again with the same evil Spirit. In fine, having been Summoned to appear at the general Assembly of Saint Martins, he not obeying, his Father punished his Rebellion by taking the Kingdom of Aquitaine from him.

It was said that Gombaud the Monk enraged because Pepin hindered him from Governing the Emperor, in recompence of his good Services; stirred up his Fathers wrath against him, and Judith with her Artifices compleating the Project, pulled the young Prince on to these extreams, that she might have his spoil for her own Son Charles; as in effect the Emperor did bestow it on him, and caused him to be acknowledged by the Lords of the Country, to the great displeasure of the other two Sons, who feared the like Treatment.

They therefore conspired all those afresh against him; and the two youngest leave the management of it all to Lotaire, who brings Pope Gregory along with him the better to Authorize him. They take the Field with a numerous Army; The Father on his side gets his Forces together at Wormes; for they were arrived nigh Basle. The Ambassadors he sent to his Sons, and the Pope, finding they urged the Pope to Excommunicate him, declared before his face, that if he came for that purpose, he might return Excommunicated himself, since he transgressed the Holy-Canons.

The two Armies remained encamped between Basle and Strasburgh Five or Six days, during which time the Emperor and the Pope had some conference about a Peace: But under the pretence of Treating, his men were debauched and persuaded to forsake him, and went to the service of his Sons; In so much, that himself was likewise compell'd to go over to them, having before Stipulated that his Wife nor his Son Charles should either of them forfeit Life or Limbs.

They immediately confin'd young Charles to the Monastery of Prom, but did not shave him, and banished the Mother to Tortona in Italy, maintaining that her Marriage was Null, because she was of Kin to their Father within the degree prohibited, which was truth. And that in those days was accounted a crime so great, by the Church, that they punished it with the utmost rigour. Add that the Prelats were mightily offended with her, for that she had caused Frederic Bishop of Trever, a man reputed to be of Holy-life, to be Massacred, because he had dared to reprove the Emperor publicly as he was eating at his own Table.

The Debonnaire, being thus detained, Pepin returned to Aquitaine, and Louis to Bavaria. Lotaire assigned a general Assembly at Compiene to be on the first of October, leaving his Father under a strong Guard in the Monastery of Saint Medard of Soissons. During the Assembly the French beginning to be touched with compassion towards their ancient Emperor, some Lords with some of the Bishops, who feared they should be punished if ever he were again restored, contrived wholly to exclude him, by degrading and condemning him to do publick Penance. Ebon Arch-Bishop of Reims, his Foster-brother and his School fellow, but Son of a Slave, was the principal Author and Promoter of this Counsel.

The Ceremony of this Degradation was as follows. The Bishops having remonstrated his Scandalous faults to him, he sent for his Son Lotaire, and his Princes, and made his reconciliation with him. Then they led him into St. Medards Church, where prostrated before the Altar upon a Sack-cloth, he confessed he had been

been the cause of great mischiefs and troubles to France; and the Bishops exhorting him to name his Crimes openly, he repeated them according to a writing they had given him, containing amongst other things, that he had committed Sacrilege, Parricide and Homicide; in that he had violated the Solemn Oath made to his Father in the Church and Presence of the Bishops, consented to the Death of his Nephew, and done violence to his Relations. That he had broken the agreement made betwixt his Children for the Peace of the Kingdom, and compelled his Subjects to take new Oathes, which was Perjury; from whence proceeded all manner of mischiefs in the Government. That after so many disorders and infinite damages and losses to his People, he had again brought them together to destroy each other: For which he desired pardon of God. Then he presented a Paper to the Bishops, who laid it upon the Altar. After this they took off his Military Girdle, which was laid there likewise: And lastly they disrobed him of his secular Habit, and clothed him with a Penitential one, which was never to be quitted, when once they had put it on.

The People (that is say to the Soldiery) who would have trampled him under foot before he was deposed, now pitied him after his deposition. Louis King of Germany feeling some remorse, or thinking to Aggrandize himself if he restored him, Solicited *Lotaire* to deliver him, to which *Pepin* joyned his interest. But *Lotaire* not being inclinable thereto, and having transfer'd him thence to *Compiègne*, and then to *Saint Denis*, both of them brought their Forces into the Field, and appointed a place to joyn together nigh *Paris*. *Lotaire* observing they flocked thither from all parts, amuses them for some days with the Prospect of a Peace; then finding there was no safety for him, he takes his way by *Burgundy*, and retires to *Vi-enne*, leaving his Father at *Saint Denis*.

The *Debonnaire* being at liberty, would not immediately put on his Imperial Robes, but first desired to be reconciled to the Church by the Bishops: So that even in *Saint Denis* Church it self, they returned the Crown and Military girdle to him with the deliberation and consent, or Counsel of the French People. Some time after a couple of Bishops brought his Wife and his Son *Charles* to him who were set at liberty by those that were to guard him.

834. *Lotaire* had placed some Counts in the Cities above the *Loire*, amongst others *Lambert* at *Nantes* and *Mainfroy* at *Orleans*, who undertook to preserve those Countries for him. These Counts having with great advantage defeated those sent by the Emperor who went and unadvisedly Attacked them, did so importunately Solicite their Master to return thither and pursue the Victory, that he went to them immediately, having forced and burnt the City of *Chaalons* upon the *Soane*.

Pepin was come to the assistance of his Father with considerable Forces: So that they were much Superiour to him in strength. Nevertheless he came and Encamped right over against them, not far from the City of *Blois*, promising himself to withdraw and get away his Men, as formerly. But finding that on the contrary he was in danger of being forsaken by his men, and that he could not make his retreat without a hazardous Battel, he resolved to come and beg pardon; which he could never have obtained, had he been taken with his Sword in Hand.

His Father received him Sitting on a Throne which was raised very high in the midst of his Tent, where he would see him prostrate on his knees, and condescended not to pardon him and his, but upon condition he should come no more into France without his leave, but should remain in *Italy*; all the passages from which place he shut up after him with strong Garrisons.

834. The Princes party being thus abandoned and without support, *Ebon* Arch-Bishop of *Reims*, who had most contributed to the degradation of the Emperor, being taken as he was flying away with the Churches Treasure, was brought before the Parliament of *Mets*. And there the Emperor accused him personally, after his own restauration had been signed by all the *Grandeecs*. The unhappy Creature did not endeavour to make any defence, but as a favour desired he might be judged in private by the Bishops, and owned his Crimes in writing, whereupon he was deposed, and subscribed his own degradation. After this Ignominy he retired into *Italy* to *Lotaire*, whither many others had already faved themselves.

835. And 836. It had been much better for the quiet of France that *Lotaire* had never repassed the Mountains. But the Empress *Judith* desiring to have a support for her Son *Charles* after the death of the old Emperor, who was very Sickly and Infirm, endeavoured to reconcile them, and caused word to be sent, that he should come to Court.

Court. To which notwithstanding he durst not trust so soon; And besides he could not have come, being at that time fallen ill of an Epidemical distemper which brought him to extremity, and almost all the French Lords, who went thither with him, to their Graves. It carried off *Valac* esteemed the best Head-piece and the most powerful Genius of his Court, as it had been of *Charlemains*, and so many other of the most considerable Lords, that it was said it had left France naked both of Counsel and Strength.

In the year 836. the Emperor had a design to go and visit the Sepulchres of the Holy-Apostles in Rome: But the Rumour of the Normands falling upon *Frisia*, where they burnt *Dorstat* and *Antwerp*, detained him in France, where he called general Assemblies as was usual.

837. Towards Easter-day there appeared a Comet in the Heavens in the Sign Virgo, which having in 25 days passed thorough the Signs of Leo, Cancer, and Gemini, came and lost its Train and Globe of Fire, right against the Head of Taurus under the Feet of the great Bear. The Emperor who was a great Astronomer, did first discover it. There had been another Visible the preceding year, on the 11th of April, in the Sign Libra, which shewed its self but three days only.

The principal cause of the trouble and Rebellions of *Debonnaires* Children was the frequent alteration he made in the partitions and division of the Portions of his Sons. The Empress who feared *Lotaire*, and desired to gain him persuaded her Husband to send for him, and to propound to him the division of his whole Estate in two parts, *Aquitaine* and *Bavaria* not comprehended; whereof the Emperor should chuse one, or else that he should divide it, and *Lotaire* should take his choice. *Lotaire* refer'd the division to him; and that being done, he took the Eastern France from the *Meuse* upward, and left the Western to *Charles* his youngest Brother, obliging himself by Oath to defend him, and not to undertake any thing against the will of his Father.

838. The Normands ceased not from pillaging the Coasts of Flanders. They had gained a great Battel in the Island *Walcheren*, which makes part of *Zeland*, where the Count of that Country was slain; and having afterwards Fortified themselves in that Post, made great Ravage, till the French Army beat them from thence.

838. From the First of January a Comet appeared in the Sign *Scorpio* a little after the Sun-set. Some fancied it presaged the Death of *Pepin* King of *Aquitaine*, which followed in the Month of November after. He was Aged some 35 years, and had Reigned Twenty one. They buried him at *Sainte Croix* of *Poitiers*. He left by his Wife *Engeltrude*, Daughter of *Thiebert* Earl of *Matrie*, two Sons, *Pepin* and *Charles*, whose adventures we shall relate in due place, and one Daughter named *Matilda* who Married *Giraud* Count of *Poitiers*.

To have done as *Charlemain*; when a King had allotted his Children their division and that one hapned to dye, if this left any Sons, it depended on the People to Elect one in his stead, or to let his share be given amongst the rest of the Brothers. After the decease of *Pepin* there were two Parties in *Aquitaine*: One whereof a Lord named *Emenon* was Chief, would have the eldest Son *Pepin* to succeed him; the other, headed by *Ebroin* Bishop of *Poitiers*, refer'd it to the Emperor. *Ebroin* comes to him to know his Intentions, for which he was rewarded with the Abbey of *Saint Germain des Prez*. At the very time when the Emperor would have followed him into *Aquitaine* with an Army, he was drawn towards the German side.

839. After the partition made with *Lotaire*, *Lewis* was forbidden to take upon him the Title of King of East-France any longer: his interest and resentment made him take up Arms to preserve it. Now before he could put himself into a posture of defence, his Father passed the *Rhine*, and stuck so close to him, that he was either advised or compelled to come and ask his Pardon.

At his return from this Voyage, the Emperor goes into *Aquitaine*; and being entred as far as *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, hether met and gave reception to the Lords of the Country, whom *Ebroin* had disposed to obedience, and made them give their Oaths for his Son *Charles*. But young *Pepin* with his Friends, kept the Inheritance of his Father still by some corner or other, and held so fast and tugged so strongly against him, that he could not be dispossest in many years.

Louis the Debonnaire,
Emperour and King
of France.

Lotaire, Emperour and King of Italy, aged 45. years.	Louis King of Bavaria, aged 34 years.	Charles King of Rhetia, Burgundy, Neustria & Aquitain, aged 17. years.	Pepin dispu- ting Aquit- taine, aged 14. years.
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840. When the Emperor, after the Parliament of Chaalon, was returned to Aquitain, being at Poitiers to take some course to secure that Kingdom to his Son Charles, he had notice that Louis had debauched the Saxons and Turingians, that he had siezed all the Country without the Rhine, and then being come to Francfort had taken the Oaths of several Eastern-French. Never any business troubled him so greatly as this fame; Though he were indisposed by a defluxion upon his Stomach, and the Weather as yet very unseasonable, he went from Aquitain with the resolution of putting an end to that affair.

He left his Wife and his Son Charles at Poitiers, kept his Easter at Aix, passed from thence into Turingia, and held a Parliament at Vormes. Then his Malady encreasing, he went down the Meuse to Ingelheim near Mets, where lying in his Tents, his Heart pierced with grief, and his Stomach oppressed with an Impostume, he gave up the Ghost the 20th of June, having every Morning for forty days together received the Sacrament or Body of our Lord Jesus Christ. He was in the beginning of the 64. Year of his Age, and the end of the 27th of his Empire and Monarchy, before which time he had been King of Aquitain 32 years.

His Brother Dreux convey'd his Corps to Mets, whereof he was Bishop, and Intombed him in the Abbey of Saint Arnoul; who was the Stock of the Carolinian Family.

He was of a mild and sweet Nature, but too easy and too credulous, insomuch that sometimes his Counsellors could persuade him to unjust things. From his youth he had plunged himself into a profound Devotion; And if we may not say, that he gave too much credit to the Church-men, we may at least own, that he could not discern the good from the bad, or that employing them in his affairs, and bestowing too much wealth upon them, he spoiled them. His Fathers method had been much better, who never suffer'd one man to have more then one employment, or more then one Benefice at the same time. For the rest of his character, he was Laborious, Sober, Vigilant, Liberal, very knowing and Learned, both Speaking and writing Latine as well as any man in his Kingdom, and who together with the perfect knowledge and understanding in the Laws, had ever a great care to see them put in execution.

His first Marriage was with Hermengard Daughter to Duke Ingelram, by whom he had three Sons, Lotaire, Pepin, and Louis; and three Daughters, Adalais whose first Husband was Conrad Earl of Paris; her second Robert le Fort; Gisela, who married Everard Duke of Friuli, Father of that Berenger who was King of Italy; Hildegard married to Count Theodorus; and Alpais Wife of Count Begon. By his second marriage which was with Judith Daughter to Uelpon or Guelfe Earl of Ravensperg, he had Charles, whom they surnamed the Bald.

CHARLES

CHARLES II.

Surnamed

The Bald.

King XXV.

Aged xvii. Years.

POPE S,

GREGORY IV. S. 3. Tears under this Reign.

NICHOLAS I. Elect. in April, 858. S. 9. Tears, 6 Months.

SERGIUS II. Elected in Febr. 844. S. 3 years, one Month.

ADRIAN II. Elect. in Decemb. 867. S. 5. Tears.

LEO IV. Elected in April 847. S. 8. Tears, 3 Months.

JOHN VIII. Elect. in Decemb. 872. S. 10 years, whereof 5. under this Reign.

BENNET III. Elected in August 855. S. 4. Tears.

Lotaire Empe-
rour and King
of Italy.

Louis King of
Germany.

Charles King
of Burgundy
and Neustria.

Pepin Fighting
for the King-
dome of Aquit-
taine.

Some few days before his Death, the Debonnaire had sent his Scepter, his Crown and his Sword, the tokens of Empire, to Lotaire his eldest Son, recommending to him the protection of Prince Charles, and enjoying him to preserve that share for him which had been allotted with his own consent. But Lotaire, or Lotharius was possessed in his mind that his Birth-right and his Quality of Emperor ought to make him Sovereign over his younger Brothers.

With this design he parts from Italy, comes to the Kingdom of Burgundy, where he designed to Rendezvous and bring his Forces together with his Friends, dispatch-

es his Commissaries into all parts to sollicite the Lords to give their Oathes to him, passes from thence to Wormes, and draws the Saxons to his party. From thence Marches even to Francfort. But Louis coming to encamp close by him, startled him: and as he made more use of craft then strength, he made Truce with him till the 12th of November, at what time they were to meet in the very same place to decide their differences, in a Friendly manner if possibly they could, if not, by Dint of Sword.

Charles was then at Bourges where he waited for Pepin who failed at the Rendez-vous promised. From thence he dispatched one to Lotharius to intreat him to remember his Oathes, which he had made in the presence of his Father, and withal to render him all respect and submission as to his eldest. Lotaire amuses him with fine words, and in the mean time adjusts all his Engines to turn him out of his Estates.

After Charles had by his presence confirmed those People betwixt the Meuse and the Seine, and had withal made a Journey into Neustria, he returned with diligence into Aquitain, to put a stop to Pepin's progress, whose courage was much augmented upon the approaching of Lotharius. He took off somewhat of the sharpness of his Mettle by gaining a Battel: but in the mean while, the Neustrian People joyned with Lotaire.

Those Lords that accompany'd Charles observing these Artifices believed the best way was to breake thorow them all with a brave resolution, and advised he would march directly to him. Thus the two Armies were found to be within Six Leagues of each other, the City of Orleans lying between them. Then the Lords on either part endeavoured to bring them to an accord as was the usual custom of the French. Those of Charles's party, finding themselves by much the weaker, yielded to an agreement very disadvantageous, whereby was left to him only by provision Aquitain, Languedoc and Province with some Counties between the Loire and the Seine; and it was said, they should meet at the Parliament to be holden at Atigny, to compose all their differences: but they added this Clause, that in the interim Lotaire should attempt nothing upon Charles nor Louis, otherwise they should be quit of their Oathes and promises.

This Treaty finished, Charles marched towards Bretagne to quell the motions of some Lords of that Country. From thence he returns on his way to be at the Parliament of Atigny. Lotharius had in the mean while endeavoured to shut up the passages against him, broken down all the Bridges over the Seine, and ordered Forces on either Shoar, who coasted along incessantly. Which did him no good, because Charles having information that there were several Vessels at Roien Seized them with great diligence, and wasted over his Army with them. His enemies betook themselves to Flight upon the first appearance of his Standard.

At the same time Lotharius by the advice of Albert Earl of Metz, his chief incendiary, and Othbert Bishop of Metz, were dealing with the French Austrasians; and knowing that Louis of Germany was upon his march to joyn with Charles, caused some Troops to pass over the Rhine to meet him, and did entice away a part of his men, so that he was counsell'd, fearing he might lose the rest, to retreat into Bavaria: where it had been easy for Lotaire to have crush'd him, had he but pursued it.

Charles marching up along the River Seine, makes his Prayers in the Church of St. Denis, joynes some Troops which two or three of his Counts brought him near Montreuil on Yonne, beats two of the Counts that Lotaire had sent to oppose him in his March, goes on to Troyes, where he celebrated the Feast of Easter. From thence he went to Atigny, to let them know he would not neglect to meet at the conference appointed between him, and Lotaire. After his having remained there some days, he Marched towards Chaalons, and there finds his Mother the Empress Judith, and those Forces she brought him out of Aquitain.

He had intelligence at the same time that his Brother Louis having gained a Battel against Albert Count of Metz, made all possible hast to joyn with him. Wherefore he goes that way to meet him. Lotaire gave out a report that he fled, and pursues him. Mean time Louis arrives, and thus the two young Brothers being united, were found to be the strongest. Lotaire therefore gains some days time by his feigned negotiations, till Pepin who was upon the March, could joyn with him. When he had this re-inforcement, he talked of nothing but bringing them to obedience, and having a Monarchical Sovereignty. All the tenders they could proffer, did but confirm his resolution of having all. So that they were constrained

to

to send him word they would give him Battel the next morning about the second hour of the day; which was the 25th of June.

(The two Armies being encamped against one another, near) the Burrough of Fontenay by Auxerre. The whole Power of France, all the bravest Officers, and most of the Grandees and Nobility were about the Four Kings, who were to be both the Witnesses and rewarders of their Actions. Since the Beginning of the French Monarchy, to the very day I write these Lines, there hath not been so much French Blood spilt in any Battel whatever. A Hundred Thousand men perished there; a horrible wound, and which weakned the Carolingian-House so greatly that it could never well recover it self again. The victory fell to the younger Brothers share. They used it with all humility, and would not give the Emperor chace, for fear of spilling more blood. They likewise caused his men to be buried, and took care to dress the wounded as their own, proclaiming a general pardon to all those that would accept thereof.)

The most part of those Officers that had been with these Princes, being gone away, they could not reap all the Fruits might have accrued upon so notable an advantage. Louis repassed the Rhine, and Charles took his way towards Aquitain to drive Pepin entirely from thence. But some dissention hapning in his Councils, so that he acted not vigorously enough; Pepin, who had been brought very low, and would certainly have submitted, re-assumed his courage.

On the other hand Lotaire having gathered up his scatter'd men, and raised new ones appeared soon after in Neustria, where he had a great many abettors. His Army and Charles's drew near each other about St. Denis, the River betwixt them. Charles's being the weakest saved themselves in the Forrests of Perche; Lotaire pursued them, but not able to compel them to a Battel, he sent back Pepin whom he had called thither with his Forces of Aquitain.

The two young Brothers at their parting had appointed to meet again at soonest. As soon as Charles found the way open and clear, he went to the banks of the Rhine to his Brother; and both of them being met the 22th of February in the City of Strasburgh made a new League, and Alliance of Friendship, promising by Solemn Oath never to forsake each other. This Treaty was framed and written in two Languages, viz. * Romance (the Original of the present French) and the * Turdesque. It mentioned that if either of the two Brothers contravened, their Subjects should be no longer obliged to serve them. Which was in truth to leave a gap open for them to change their Sovereign when they pleased.

This union having reassured their Subjects, brought back those whom Lotaire had invigled, and encreased their Forces, they fought for him to give him battel: but he left the Country in so much hast that he made no stop till he was gotten to Lyons, and by his flight abandoned all Austrasia to them, and part of the Kingdom of Burgundy.

When they were come back to Aix, the Bishops by them Assembled pronounced a Solemn Judgment, whereby they deprived Lotharius of all his Portion of Lands on this side the Mountains; and yet they would not admit the two Brothers, till they first were assured by them, that they would govern according to the Commandments of God. To which having answered that they desired so, the Bishops told them: And we by the Divine Authority do pray you to receive and govern them according to the will of God. They then divided betwixt them that portion of Austrasia which had been possessed by Lotaire.

Nevertheless this partition did not stand: for that Prince endeavouring an accommodation with them, the Friends on all hands brought it so to pass that the three Brothers had a parley together in an Island on the Soane, each accompanied and assisted with Forty Lords, in the presence of whom they agreed to divide the whole Succession of their Father (not including Bavaria, Lombardy, and Aquitain,) in three equal parts, whereof Lotaire should take his choice. That the same forty Deputies on the behalf of each of them, should meet together in November in the City of Metz to make that division, and that in the interim each of them should keep the same Portion he then enjoy'd, and remain therein.

The Assembly of the Six-score Lords was not held at Metz; because Lotaire being at Thionville it would not have been secure for those on the behalf of the two younger Brothers; It was removed to Coblenz; where for want of ample powers they could agree to nothing but a Truce till St. John Baptist's-day, and another meeting at Thionville before that time.

In this Interval Charles Married in his own Palace of Crecy upon Oyse, with Hermen-trude

841.

842.

842.

Empp.
Michael III.
and
Lotharius.* Romanica
or Russica
Latina.
* German.

842.

842.

843.

* According to some Odo, or Eudes, Earl of Orlean.

trude Daughter of Wodon *, Grand-child to Adelard who had governed Louis the Debonnaire, and had been a most horrible squanderer of the Treasures and Demefnes belonging to the Crown; which on the one hand had got him the hatred of those that loved the welfare of the State, and on the other the affection and esteem of Courtiers, and all such as were not able to maintain their expences but by the profusion of such Ministers.

843. The French Lords assembled at Thionville succeeded so well about the partition between the three Brothers, that they compleated it the 6th Day of March. To Charles fell the western Kingdom of France, which is near upon the same which we call at this very day France, that is from the Brittish Ocean to the Meuse: To Louis fell Germany unto the Rhine, with some Villages on this side which he would needs have included, because there were some Vine-yards; and to Lotharius with the Title of Emperor, the Kingdom of Italy, and Provence, and all that lay between the Kingdoms of his two other Brothers, which were the Lands between the Scheld, the Meuse, the Rhine, and the Soane. In the German Tongue this was called Loterreich, in Romance or Old-French Lohier-regne, and by contraction Lorraine, that is to say the Kingdom of Lotaire or Lotharius. The Country that bears this Title at present, is but a small part thereof.

As for Pepin, they allotted him no share: but having gained a great victory over those sent by his Uncle, who endeavoured to take away his Kingdom of Aquitain, he maintained himself for some years, even till his Vices, rather than the power of his Enemies, dethroned him.

This division of the Kingdom betwixt Brothers equally, divided the affections of the People of Germany, Gaul and Italy, who had begun to cleave, if I may say so, or joyn together in one Monarchick body, and made the Subjects become instant, unfaithful, Factionous, and take to themselves a liberty of chusing their Princes, believing they might do so, provided they were of Royal blood. But that which was worse, was that France, having lost the best of her Forces by that bloody Battel at Fontenay, was no longer able to keep those People under which had been subdued, especially the Gascons and the Bretons, neither to defend themselves against the incursions of the Normands.

As for the Gascons, Azenar who had Seized upon the County being dead in the year 836. his Brother Sance had also invaded it in despite of Pepin, and justified it by the assistance of the Basques, and the Navarros. The Dutchy was then held by a Lord named Totilus; Azenar far from obeying him, did tyre him with his continual incursions, and whilst he held him in play, gave opportunity to the Normands to ravage the whole Province.

One cannot without horror recount the Ruines, Murthers and Destructions by Fire, which those Barbarians practised over all France. Necessity forced them out of their houses to seek for a subsistence elsewhere: for every fifth year they sent out Colonies or swarms of young People, to go and seek out their Fortunes in other Countries. The desire of plunder and honour, made them ever fall upon the richest Provinces; the false Zeal of their Brutish and Impious Religion made them cruel and bloody, especially towards Church-men; the French making use of their assistance in their publick quarrels, had brought them into their Country; and such rascally people as were but too much at liberty, and in too great numbers during the Civil-War, served them for guides, and not only so, but sometimes became their commanders and encouragers, assisting them in their pillaging and robberies, with so great destruction, that no times nor History can parallel. For from one Sea to the other, there was not one Monastery standing that had not felt their fury and devilish rage, not one Town that had not been ransom'd, plundered or burnt two or three times. Which was demonstration sufficient that it was a terrible vengeance sent from God.

And to make this yet more plain, there were every one of those years most visible fore-warnings to repentance, by some extraordinary Signs shewed from Heaven. A little before the death of Louis the Debonnaire, appeared a Comet; and another again in An. 842. From the year 840. to 850. there were frequently Bat-tels in the Air to be seen: And the Earth-quaked often times with Terrible roar-ings.)

During the Government of Duke Totilus in Gascony, those Barbarians having failed in an attempt upon Burdeaux, ruined Basas, Ayre, Laitoure, Dags, Tarbe de Bigorre, Labour, Oleron and Lafcar; and beat that Duke Twice; But the Third time

Towards 840.

time he had the advantage against them, and drove them quite out of all Gascony.

He survived but a short while after his victory; that command was given to Seguin: and to strengthen him the better against Sance, and likewise against the Normans, the County of Burdeaux was joyned to his Dutchy, which before was Aquitania Secunda; and if I am not deceived, that of Saintes. Which hindred not the Normans upon a second descent An. 843. from defeating him in a bloody Battel between Saintes and Burdeaux, where his death Crowned their Victory.

Duke William his Successor could not stop this Torrent which overflowed Aquitania Secunda, and made them Masters sometimes of Saintes, another while of Angoulesme, then of Limoges or Perigueux. The confusion they brought into those Countries, and the revolt of Bernard Duke of Septimania, which hapned in the same years, gave so much confidence to the Gascons of the Dutchy, that they joyned with those of the County, and together made Count Sance Duke of Gascony. To whom some years after succeeded Arnold Son of Emenon or Immon Count of Perigord.

In the year 841. whilst the Kings were in the Field to destroy each other, Hobery or Oger, one of the most Famous Commanders of the Normands, who commanded a Fleet of 150 Ships, Burnt the City of Rouen the 14th of May, and the Abbey of Gemiege some days afterwards, and for Fifteen or Sixteen years together continued his Barbarities upon Neustria, and more particularly upon Bretagne and Aquitain.

They had also taken their course by Bretagne to make a descent. The revolt of that Province opening a gap for them. Louis the Debonnaire had given the Government to Neomene descended from the Ancient Kings of those Countries, and younger Brother of Rivalon Father of Salomon. Now Neomene having acquired some reputation for having made head against the Normans An. 836. began to think himself worthy of the Crown belonging to his Ancestors: however his design did not appear till after the Battel of Fontenay, when being incited thereto by Count Lambert, he openly declared himself Sovereign, and drove all the French out of Bretagne, unless those in Rennes and in Nantes, who held out.

This Lambert (enraged because King Charles had refused him the County of Nantes which he desired and demanded as a reward for having fought valiantly for him at the Battel of Fontenay) renounced his Service and Leagued himself with Neomene; with whose assistance having beaten and slain Reynold Count of Poitiers, to whom the King had given Nantes, he remained Master of the City. But being in a short time driven thence in a contest hapning between Neomene and himself, he mischievously went and fetched the Normans, and brought them up the River before Nantes, which they took by Escalado on Saint Johns Festival, cut the Throats of most of the Inhabitants who were gotten into Saint Peter's Church, and Massacred the Bishop at the High-Altar while he was saying Mass; carried away all that were left alive, and from thence went and Burnt the Monastery of the Islands, which was Noir Moustier. Thus Lambert became Count of a ruined City, and endeavoured to maintain himself there wavering betwixt the King and Neomene, unfaithful to both, and beloved by neither.

After the division made by the Kings, Bretagne being a pretended Member of West-France, which fell to the lot of Charles the Bald, that Prince having now no enemies at home, turned his Sword that way, thinking to bring Neomene to obedience. But he confidently comes towards him, and meeting him on his March in the Road from Chartres to Mans charged him so smartly, that he put his Army to the Rout, and forced him to fly to Chartres on Horse-back.

This advantage redoubled the Bretons Forces, who made inroads upon Maine, Anjou, and Poitou. It seems nevertheless there was some Truce, since upon King Charles's intreaty, Neomene drove Count Lambert out of Nantes who went and Nestled himself in the Lower Anjou, and there Built the Castle of Ondon.

At the same time that Charles was defeated by Neomene a Civil-War infesting Denmark, the Lords of those Countries who found themselves strong at Sea, amongst others Hasteng and Bier Iron-sides, fell upon West-France, and having forced the Guards that defended the Mouth of the Seine, went up that River with their Barks. They Sacked all on the right and left Shoar, and being unable to take Paris, they destroy'd all that lay without the Island, Plundered the Abbey of Saint Germain des Prez, and Ruined the City of Melun. When

843.

Pridie Idus

844.

845.

When they were pretty well laden with spoil, they were soon tempted with Presents made them by Charles to withdraw themselves, but as they returned they ravaged Picardy, Flanders and Friseland, and took the City of *Hamburg*: however observing all Germany was rising up, to expel them from thence, they quit-
ted it.

The Priests and all Religious Orders fled before them from place to place, seeking out places of safety, or at least hiding places to conceal and keep the Churches Treasure in, as also their Holy-Relicks; towards which their devotion did so much increase, when that furious Storm was over, that it occasioned sometimes bloody contests between the Citizens and Nobility, when the one would have them restored and the other would detain them.

843. Whilst *Lotaire* had denuded Italy of all its Forces to lead them into France, the Dukes *Radelchise* of Benevent, and *Sigenulfe* of Capua, quarrelling with each other, without regarding young *Louis* his Son called the one the *Saracens* of Spain to his assistance, the other those of *Sardinia* (for those Barbarians had invaded that Island) and gave them entrance into Italy, where having Fortified themselves in many places they exercised their fury for twenty years together. And An. 847. pillaged the Burrough of *Saint Peter*, and the Church of that Prince of the Apostles. Which obliged Pope *Leo* the IV. to enclose it with a wall, and quarter the *Corfis- cians* there whom the *Saracens* had driven from their Island.

846. The Nobility respected their Kings so little, that Count *Gisbert* dared to steal away the Daughter of the Emperor *Lotharius*, and convey'd her into the Dom-
inions of Charles to marry her; which gave great cause of complaint to *Lotaire*, and much trouble to *Louis* of Germany to appease his resentment.

In Guyenne the great ones raised Forces for their private quarrels, and fought in despite of *Pepin*. In Italy in the year 844. the Clergy and Citizens of Rome had the confidence to elect *Sergius* II. Pope, without the Emperors permission, who nevertheless having sent Twenty Bishops, and with them some Soldiers forced the Pope to render his devoir, and to acknowledge him for his Sovereign.

It is a Fable, that this Pope first changed his Name, and that before his Election he was called Swines-shout, for it was Sergius IV. had that filthy Name, and he whom we here mention was called Sergius as was his Father. It is held by some that it was one Octavian introduced this mysterious change, who would needs be named John. He was the 12th of that name.

846. The French being entred into Bretagne, intangled themselves unadvisedly in Boggs and Fenny-grounds, where they received a second blow.

847. While Charles was preparing for a Third expedition against that Country, the terror of the Normans obliged him to agree to a peace with *Neomene*; which nevertheless did not hold long, for he began immediately again to make his inroads upon France. For which Charles taking revenge by Fire and Sword in Bretagne, *Neomene* did the like to all the adjacent Countries, and the Territory of *Rennes*, which did not then belong to his petty Kingdom.

847. And 848. Hitherto he had not taken the Title of King, or at least had not put on the Crown. The custom of those times were, that the People did not believe a Prince wore it Legally, if it were not put on by the hand of one Bishop, and the consent of all. Now those of Bretagne having for the most part been nominated by *Louis* the *De-
bonnaire*, would not give their Ministry nor their approbation to this Usurper. He contrived therefore an accusation of Simony against them, by the means of an Abbot named *Connoyon* esteemed as a Saint by the People. The assembly sends them before the Pope to justify themselves, the Abbot follows them to Rome, and *Ne-
omene* causes him to be accompanied with a stately Embassy with a Present of a Gold Crown for the Pope, and an order to desire of him the Restoration of the extinguished Royalty in Bretagne. The whole House of France opposed this so strongly, that he obtained nothing of the Holy-Father but some Relicks, and ver-
bal Reprimands for the accusation against the Bishops. But at their return he fright-
ed them so with the fear of Death as made them confess those crimes, and thereup-
on caused them to be deposed.

848. And 849. Presently after he put men of his own Faction in their rooms, made three more Bishopricks, that is of *Dole*, *Treguier*, and *St. Brienc*, and Ordained the Bishop of *Dole* for Metropolitan. The Popes had bestowed the Pall on those Prelats, in the sixth Century. All this tended towards his Crowning and Anointing, after the

the Mode of the French Kings. Which was performed in the City of *Dole*, where he had assembled the Estates of his petty Kingdom. All his Bishops assisted ex-
cept *Athard* of *Nantes*, who for that reason being turned out of his See, retired to the Arch-Bishop of *Tours* his true Metropolitan: who having called together the Bishops of his Province, and those adjoining, caused some Remonstrances to be made to *Neomene*, but to no purpose.

Two other Enemies, perhaps leagued together, young *Pepin* and the Normans, drew Charles's Army into Aquitain. In the Month of March he took some of those Pirats Ships in the *Dordogne*, and compelled *Pepin* to leave the Field to him: But when he was gone from that Province, the Normans surpris'd *Burdeaux* by the treachery of the Jewes that were in it, and took *William* Duke of the *Gascous* Prisoner, and such others as their covetousness prompted them to spare alive, after their fury had been glutted with blood. The French were so feeble and weak, as to let them make that place, their Store-house and Armory for several years.

The two Kings *Lotaire* and Charles had an interview in the Palace of *Peronne*, and by Oaths renewed again their affection and league for mutual Security. Charles Brother to *Pepin* of Aquitain, relying too much upon these seeming demonstra-
tions, was so imprudent, when he returned from *Lotaire's* Court, of whose protection he made no doubt, as to pass by West-France. Count *Vivian* observing his steps, stop'd him, and carried him to Charles the Bald; who at the Assembly of *Chartres* caused him to be shaved and sent him to the Monastery of *Corbie*. About four years afterwards *Louis* the Germanick, his Uncle, made him Arch-Bishop of *Ments*.

King *Pepin* his Brother had many very ill qualities, he was a Drunkard, filthy-
ly Debauched, and Violent, vexing and grieving his Subjects, and Authorizing the injustice and robberies committed by his Officers. A good part of the *Grande-
ees* of Aquitain having conceived a kind of scorn and hatred for him, invited and called in Charles the Bald whom they received with great applause at *Limoges*, and attended him to the Siege of *Toulouse*, which surrendered on composition. But as soon as he had left Aquitain, they reconciled themselves to *Pepin*.

The Voyage which Charles the Bald made into Bretagne, to put a reinforcement into *Rennes*, did not prevent *Neomene* from Besieging that Town, and taking Prisoners all the Chief Officers of that Garrison.

The same year the Traytor *Lambert* having turned his Coat, seized Count *A-
maulry*, and divers other French Lords who were gotten into *Nantes*, without doubt to defend that place.

The following year *Neomene* attacking the French Territories by *Anjou*, and de-
stroying their Churches with as much Barbarity almost as the Normans, was smit-
ten, as it is believed, by the hand of God, whereof he died in few hours space. His Son *Herispoux* succeeded him.

There was a general Assembly held of all the Kingdoms of the French Monarchy on the banks of the *Meuse*, where the three Brothers met, and swore Amity and mutual Assistance. At their departure from thence, Charles goes into Bretagne to
attaque *Herispoux*, whom he guessed to be as yet unfettled. Their Armies engaged on the Confines of *Anjou*. If we credit the Bretons, Charles's was but ill hand-
led. However it were, he agreed to a Peace with the Breton, to take possession of Aquitain, which was a thing of more importance, and also to oppose the Nor-
mans.

The same year the Pyrate *Hachery* coming out of *Burdeaux* with his Fleet destroyed the Abbey of *Fontenille* to the very Foundations, then going up the *Seine* with his small Boats, he plundered all the Country for a great way on either side, and burnt divers Cities, amongst others that of *Beaurais*.

Pepin's ill conduct had so highly offended the Lords of his Kingdom, that in fine they seized on his Person, and delivered him up to Charles, who caused him to be shorn and confined to the Monastery of *Saint Mard*. Whence making his escape he roved a while, and took part with the Normans, which made him only the more odious; So that being retaken, he was close shut up in the Castle of *Senlis*.

The same year *Lotaire* associated his eldest Son *Louis* in the Empire. He had three living, this *Louis*, *Lotaire*, and Charles.

Lotaire, and Louis
his Son, associate
in the Empire.

Louis King of
East-France &
Bavaria.

Charles of West-
France and Aquit-
taine.

852. There would be no end, if we should set down all the exploits and ravages of
And the Normans. In An. 852 and 853. other multitudes went up the Seine again,
853. and this latter year some went up the Loire, plundered the City of Tours,
and set fire to the Churches, particularly to that of the Grand Saint Mar-
tins.

852. Ebon had settled himself again in the Arch-Bishoprick of Reims, when Lotaire in-
vaded the Territories of Charles the Bald: Afterwards that King expelled him,
and in his stead caused Hincmar to be Elected, who after many contests, was this
year confirmed in that Arch-Bishoprick by the Synod of Soissons.

852. Whether it were by necessity, or evil counsel, the Bald treated the Aquitains ve-
ry rudely. He caused several of the principal Heads to fly, amongst others that of
a Count named Gosbert, which begot so much aversion in them towards their new
Sovereign, that under pretence that he took no care to defend them from the Nor-
mans they sent Deputies to Louis the Germanique to pray him to accept of the King-
dom, or send his Son to them.

853. Whatever union, or strictness of Amity there had been for ten years together
between these two Brothers, the German King scruples not to break it, when it
concerned the gaining of a Kingdom, and sent one of his Sons into Aquitain to
observe the disposition of those People. He did not find it such as he desired,
there being none that concerned themselves or espoused his Interest besides the
Friends and Relations of Gosbert. But Charles having discovered his towards
him, sought the Friendship of Lotaire, with whom he conferred in a Parlia-
ment holden at Valenciennes, a place so situated between both their Territories,
that Lotaire possessed one half and Charles the other half of the City.

854. These two Brothers having brought themselves to a good understanding, called
another Parliament at Liege, to which they invited Louis, to advise together in
common touching the general Affairs of the French Monarchy, but he refused to be
there.

Going from thence Charles passes into Aquitain, and was Crowned at Limoges.
It is not true that he reduced it to a simple Duchy: for his Son of the same name,
held it for some time with the Title of a Kingdom; and we find that it conti-
nued so under the first Kings of the Capetian Race.

855. In this year it was, that after the Death of Pope Leo IV. hapned that strange adven-
ture of Pope Joan, as is said. It was esteemed a very great truth for Five Hun-
dred years together; but in these latter ages, the Learned, nay even some of those
that are separated from the Church of Rome, have held it to be a ridiculous Fable.

855. The Motions of the Grace of God, which when he pleases can mollifie the most
obdurate hearts, or perhaps the Melancholly and restless thoughts of the Empe-
ror Lotaire, a Prince Fantastical and inconstant, gave him so much dissatisfaction
and disgust of the Vanities and Pomp of the World, that he stript himself of his
Sovereignty, and changed his Imperial Purple for a Frock, wherewith he cloathed
himself in the Abbey of Prom, where he Died some Months after, having ruled the
Empire Fifteen years, and the Kingdom of Lorraine Twelve, reckoning from the
time the partition was made amongst the Brothers.

He had for Wife Hermengard Daughter of Count Hughes the Coillard, who brought
him four Children, Louis, Lotaire and Charles, and one Daughter named Hermen-
gard who was stolen away by Gisbert, Count of the Mansuarians.

Before his Abdication he shared his Lands between his three Sons, giving to Lou-
is the eldest of them, Italy and the Empire, wherein he had associated him in the
year 851. To Lotaire the Kingdom of Lorraine, and to Charles, Provence, and
part of the Kingdom of Burgundy.

Louis

Louis the
Germanique
in Germany
and Bava-
ria.

Charles in
Neustria.
and Aquit-
taine.

Louis Empe-
rour and
King of
Italy.

Lotaire II.
King of
Lorraine.

Charles King of
Burgundy and
Provence.

Upon this change all these Princes framed new leagues and new designs. The
young Lotaire much courted by his two Uncles, joyned at last with Charles: But
the Emperor Louis made league with the German King, who sought all manner of
ways to ruin him.

Charles was much hated by the Grandees of his Kingdom, so much as out of
mistrust of their affection, or contempt of their small courage, he bestowed his mi-
litary employments upon people of Fortune, rather than on them. Neither was
he over-much in the esteem of the people, because he defended them but ill from
the incursions of the Normans and Bretons, and also connived at the pilferings of
his Officers. So that there being a grand Conspiracy contrived to set him beside the
Throne, they deputed some to Louis the Germanique, offering to acknowledg him
for their Sovereign, if he would govern them with Justice, and employ his Forces
in their defence.

Therefore whilst Charles was gone to make Head against the Bretons, he crosses
Alsacia with an Army, and comes into Burgundy, where in the Palace of Pontigon
he receives the Homage of a great many Neustrian Lords. After that he assigns
a Parliament at Atigny to receive it from all the rest, and is introduced into the
City of Sens by the Arch-Bishop, named Wenilon or Guenilon; ungrateful and
treacherous to Charles his King, who from a Clerk of his Chappel had made him
Arch-Bishop, and would needs be anointed and Crowned by his hands at Sainte Croix
of Orleans.

Charles who was then on the banks of the Loire with his Army to make head a-
gainst the Normans, having information that his Brother invaded his Kingdom,
left those Barbarians there, and advanced to Brie to fight him: but when he percei-
ved that all went on that side, that his Soldiers themselves began to forsake him, being
afraid his own People might deliver him up, he abandons his Army, which quick-
ly submitted to his Brothers commands.

This sudden revolution was as soon followed with one quite contrary. Those
that had called in the German were the first that repented, and to repair one Treason
by another, they conspired to make him fall into the hands of Charles; Which
was very easy for them, since having been so credulous to follow their advice,
he had sent away his own Forces. But he discover'd their intentions and evil de-
sign early enough to escape the snare; and upon the news he received of the in-
cursion of the Venedes, took therefore the opportunity to return to Germany. As
soon as his back was turned, Charles having gotten his Friends together regained
the Kingdom with as much facility, as he had lost it.

859. The enterprize of the German gave some jealousy to young Lotaire, and induced
him to league himself with his Uncle Charles for their common defence. In conse-
quence of this union the Bishops of the Kingdom of Neustria and Lorraine being Assem-
bled at Metz the 26th of May, charged Hincmar Arch-Bishop of Reims to go and sum-
mon the German to repair the wrongs he had done his Brother, and meet at the
approaching general Parliament, where he that should be found guilty, should
make satisfaction, and adhere no longer to those Traytors. He reply'd that he
was ready to appear there, but having done nothing but by the Counsel of the Bi-
shops, he desired to consult with them.

About mid-June therefore was held a Council at Savonnières, in the Suburbs of
Toul, consisting of the Bishops of twelve Provinces, wherein they laboured for the
reconciliation of the two Brothers and Lotaire their Nephew. It is not expressed
upon what conditions.

The 16th of that Month Charles presents them a Libel of complaints against
Wenilon de Sens. It mentioned amongst other things, That he was anointed King
by consent of the Bishops; therefore, he could not be deprived of that consecration without
their consent: And likewise added, that he would have appeared there to answer them,
had he been called thereto. They allotted four Metropolitans to Judge Wenilon,
who

who assigned him to give his appearance, before them within Thirty days. We do not find they continued this proceeding, for he died peaceably in his Arch-Bishoprick in the year 865.

It is a mistake if we believe this man to be the Subject of those ancient Fables of Ganelon, so renowned for his Treacheries in the old Romances: Such as understand the old French Tongue, know that Enganner signifies to deceive, and Ganelon a deceiver, a Traitor.

The Fathers of this Council, or perhaps of another held at the same place, wrote likewise to the Bishops of *Bretagne* to exhort them to acknowledge the Metropolitan of *Tours*, and sent them a Memorial to admonish King *Salomon* to obey *Charles* King of *France* his Sovereign; which he took little notice of.

The two Brothers *Lewis* and *Charles*, and their Nephew *Lotaire* being reconciled by the mediation of honest men, had an enter-view at an Island on the *Rhine* near *Andernac*, attended by an equal number of Lords who staid upon either hand of the River. They shook hands, and agreed to meet the following Autumn at a general Assembly which was to be held at *Basle*. But they did not come there, having adjourned the enter-view till the next Spring at the Assembly of *Coblentz*.

At this place the Bishops who were then Masters of the Government through the weakness of the Princes, and the little Credit of the Grandees, who shewed no courage but in fighting one another and devouring the People, contrived the agreement between these three Princes, and drew up the Articles or Form to be observed in this Peace, which the *German* first swore to, and the two others after him.

860. *This year 860. the Winter was so hard that the Adriatique Sea was Frozen, and the Merchants of the Neighbouring Countries carried their Goods to Venice by Waggon. In several places there was Snow observed to fall of the colour of Blood; which will not seem wonderful to those that consider how often it hath Rained the same colour.*

861. *The Bretons continually infested the Territories belonging to Charles, wherefore he gave the Dutchy, that is to say, the Government between the Seine and the Loire to Robert Surnamed the Strong or the Valfant, to keep those Marches or Frontiers. Which I was willing to observe, because he was certainly The stock of that Glorious Race of the Capetines; the which (should we reckon their Original or Commencement but from this year) would have eight hundred and odd years of Antiquity, clearly made out from Male to Male, and of crowned Heads; an Honour which no Line on Earth besides can boast of.*

This year the *Bald* made a Lord named *Thierry* Earl of *Holland*, from whom are descended those that have Hereditarily held that Earldom: but they have ever had a much limited Authority, and such a one as could undertake nothing against the Liberty of that Country.

Baldwin Earl of *Flanders* having the support of the *German*, took the confidence to come as far as *Senlis* and steal away *Judith* the Daughter of *Charles* his King, the young Widdow of *Eardulfe* King of *England*. He retired into the Country belonging to *Lotaire*, whence he conducted her to his own, and soundly beat those Soldiers under *Charles's* pay, who would needs pursue them. The Pope having excommunicated him at that Kings complaint, the young Count was so startled, that the following year he went to *Rome* and threw himself at his Feet: the Holy Father touched with his submission, and the Princesses tears interposed to obtain his Pardon. *Charles* was adviced to condescend; Nor indeed could the fault be any other ways repaired.

862. *The passion of King Lotaire bred a greater scandal. He had married Thietberge Daughter of Hubert Duke d'ouvre le Mont-Jon, and allied to Charles the Bald: Now in the year 860. having some disgust against her, and love for Valdrade Niece to Thietgand, and Daughter of Gontier, this being Arch-Bishop of Colen, the other of Treves: these two Prelates Interested and Flatterers having Assembled their Suffragans at Aix la Chapelle, obliged them to dissolve the Marriage; and immediately Lotaire publicly marries Valdrade. The pretended Motives for this Sentence, were a supposed Incest of Thietberges with her own Brother; and the Bishop of Metz his assuring them, that Duke Hubert who could do all things in that Court, had forced the Prince to take Thietberge for Wife after the death*

of the King his Father, who in his Life time, said he, had made him Marry *Valdrade*.

At this time *Nicholas* I. was Pope, a Prelate of great capacity, and one that carry'd it high: He wrote concerning this to *Charles*, who before sought to quarrel with *Lotaire*; and indeed would have expell'd him, to break this Match, had not *Louis* the *German* King interpos'd and obliged them to meet at a general Assembly. *Lotaire* appearing there, promised to submit to the judgment of the Church; and to elude *Charles* his pursuit, appealed to the Pope, praying to let this cause be judged by a Council of *French* Bishops to be held at *Metz*, and whether his Holyness might send his Legats.

The Holy Father grants his request; the Council was assembled in *June*. The two Bishops *Gontaire* and *Thietgand* served the passion of the young Prince: his Presents corrupted the Popes Legats; in a word, the Council pronounced in favour of the dissolution. The two Arch-Bishops had the confidence to carry this Sentence to *Rome* to have the Popes approbation. But far from that, he calls a Council in the *Lateran* Palace, by whom they were deposed and both of them excommunicated; and it was declared that all the other Bishops who were assisting at this false judgment should incur the same punishment, unless they craved pardon by express Legats.

Thietgand and *Gontaire* replied very smartly to the decree he published, and framed another whereby they declared him excommunicate himself, and contravening even, said they, the Holy Canons favouring the excommunicated, and separating through pride from the society of the other Bishops. Which did not a little encourage the revolt of *Photius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and the obstinate resistance of *Hincmar* Arch-Bishop of *Reims*. Nevertheless soon after *Thietgand* submitted to the Sentence, but could not obtain his absolution during the life of *Nicholas*. But the Arch-Bishop of *Colen* regarded it not, still continuing in his obstinacy.

Charles the *Bald's* subjects, male-contented with his Government, had made several Leagues against him: he engages his Friends likewise to make one for his service, and to meet in all parts of the Country under his Standards, to be ready to March when ever he required it.

Valdrade had promised to go for absolution to *Rome*; she went twice into *Italy*. And twice repenting her having repented; returned back. The Pope having therefore Assembled his Church declared her excommunicate, and wrote very harsh Letters to young *Lotaire*, threatening to deprive him of his Kingdom.

There is no craft nor submissions which this Prince did not put in practice to elude that Sentence. But the Pope not valuing all those Arts, sent a Legat into *France* named *Arsenius*: who addressing himself to the *German Louis* called a Synod, and taking upon him a Supream Authority, declared to *Lotaire* that he must take his Wife again, or remain excommunicated with all his Adherents. The Kings his Uncles maintained this Sentence in such sort, that for the time he was forced to obey.

But so soon as the Legat was departed *France*, he began afresh to mis-use his Wife, to threaten to make process against her for Adultery, and prove that crime by combat. The accused retires to the protection of *Charles*, the Pope takes her business much to heart, and excommunicates *Valdrade*; and Duke *Hubert* Brother of this Queen rebelling against *Lotaire* plunders his Country, kills his people, and exercised all manner of cruelty, till he was slain himself, by Count *Conrad*, Father of that *Rodolph* who was the First King of *Burgundy* beyond the *Jour*, or *Transjurain*.

Salomon had fancied that the Kingdom of *Bretagne*, though *Neomene* had obtained it rather by conquest than succession, belonged to him, because he was the Son of *Rivalon* eldest Brother to that King. Thus having forgotten he was carefully and tenderly bred under his tuition, he contrives a conspiracy against *Herispoux* his Son, assaults him in the Fields, then kills him in the Church to which he fled for safety, and so puts the Crown all bloody upon his own head.

Neomene and he intituled themselves Kings of *Bretagne*, and a great part of *Gaule*, because in effect they possessed the Countries of *Mayne* and with that the lower *Anjou*, which they had wrested from the French. For this cause was *Anjou* divided in two Countries, the one containing what is beyond the River *Maine* and held by these Breton Kings, the other what lies on this side, and remained to the French.

At

At the same time the Normans entering into Neustria by the Loire, spread themselves all over Nantois, Poitou, Anjou, and Tourraine. *Ragnulfe* Duke of Aquitaine, and Duke Robert the strong, who was so called because he guarded those Marches against these Barbarians and the Bretons, having attacked them in a Post which they had fortified near the River, were by misfortune both slain in the combat: So that their Army wanting a Head, though they got the advantage, let those robbers get away from them.

Robert had two Sons very young, *Eudes* and Robert whom we shall find to have reigned hereafter.

The Saracens tormented Italy no less. *Lotaire* went thither with his Forces, not only to assist the Emperor *Louis* his Brother, but moreover by this means to deserve and gain the Favour of the Pope, which was *Adrian* successor to *Nicholas*; hoping in time to obtain the dissolution of his Marriage with *Thietberge*. The Holy Father received him very well, because he assured him he had punctually obey'd to all that was enjoyned him: but when both he and his came to receive the Holy Communion from his hands, he obliged them all to swear it was true that he had quitted *Valdrade*.

Now it hapned shortly after that the most part of these Lords died of sickness or otherwise, in such numbers and so suddenly as if they had been cut down by the Sword of an exterminating Angel; and *Lotaire* himself was Seized with a Fever at *Luca*, which he drag'd along to *Piacenza* where he gave up the Ghost the 6th of August. Which some interpreted a divine Vengeance, for the false and sacrilegious Oath he and his Courtiers had made. The Body of Jesus Christ in the Sacrament being a destroying Sword to the wicked and unworthy Communicant.

368. His youngest Brother *Charles* King of *Provence*, endeavoured to reap his succession, and was Crowned at *Mets* by the Bishop *Adventius*. But he survived not long after, and died without Issue. He was Interred in the Church of St. Peter's at *Lyons*.

LOUIS in
Bavaria and
Germany.

CHARLES in
West-France, Bur-
gundy and Lorrain.

LOUIS II.
Emperour in
Italy.

368. *Charles* who then held a Parliament at *Poissy*, informed of the death of *Lotaire*, went and Seized on the Kingdom of *Lorraine*, neither minding the Emperor *Louis* Brother of the two last Kings, to whom it should have belonged, nor the Mediation of the Pope who desired him by an express Legation, to do his Nephew Justice. The Bishops of that Kingdom being Assembled at *Mets*, gave him the Crown; And *Hincmar* the Arch-Bishop, chief promoter of that Decree, put it on his Head with the usual Ceremonies.

Lotaire had one Son and two Daughters by *Valdrade*. The two Daughters were *Berte* and *Gisele*; *Berte* was first wife to Count *Thibault* Father of *Hugh* Count and Marquess of *Provence*, and by her second Marriage to *Adelbert* Marquess of *Tuscany*, Father of *Guy* and *Lambert*. *Gisele* was Wedded to *Godfrey* the Dane, who Reigned in *Frisland*, the Son was named *Hugh* who when he came to Age contended for the Kingdom of *Lorrain*.

369. *Hermenrude* Wife to *Charles* the Bald, dying at St. Denis the 16th of October, he married for the second time *Richende* or *Richilda* his Mistress, Daughter of Earl *Buvin* or *Boves*, and the Sister to *Thietberge* Widdow of King *Lotaire* III.

370. It was with some justice, but without legal power, that the Pope should take any cognizance of the difference about *Lotaire*. He dispatched a second Embassy to *Charles* the Bald, to exhort him to surrender it to the Emperor *Louis*, otherwise he would Excommunicate him; And he wrote to the Bishops that they should forbear all Communion with that King, unless they would be cut off from the Church of Rome. *Charles* reply'd modestly enough to the Legats; but the French Bishops went a higher Note, and the Arch-Bishop *Hincmar* wrote very smart Letters to *Adrian*.

His Nephew, of the same name, Bishop of *Laon*, was of an other opinion, and

and with much heat maintained all those Orders brought from the Pope. He had Excommunicated a Norman Lord, because he detained some Lands belonging to his Church whereof the King had given him the Benefice. His proceedings were blamed and condemned by the Bishops at the Synod of *Verberie*: he appealed to the Pope: for which cause his Uncle having cited him before the Council of *Atigny*, which consisted of the Bishops of twelve Provinces, he caused his Equipage to be Plundered by the way, and when he came to the Assembly forced him to renounce his Appeal. The Pope made grievous complaint of it, and would have brought the Process and the two *Hincmars* to Rome: but the Arch-Bishop reply'd with force, and hindred him.

This dispute went so far that the Bishop of *Laon* was deposed and clapt in Prison, whereafter two years Persecution his Eyes were put out.

The two Brothers *Louis* and *Charles*; after many persuasions used by the latter, and by the mediation of the Bishops and Lords, met in a place agreed upon on this side the *Meuse*, each with a certain number of People, and there divided the Kingdom of *Lorrain* in two, without having any regard to their Nephew the Emperor *Louis*.

Whose cause the Pope still supporting, sent a famous Legation to the two Brothers. *Louis* sent them back to *Charles*, and he taking time to delay, advanced as far as *Lyons*, as it were to confer with the Pope: but it was in effect for a quite contrary design. For very far from doing his Nephew justice, he likewise seized on the Kingdom of *Burgundy*, where he met with no opposition but from *Berthe* the Wife of Count *Gerard*, who sustained a Siege in *Vienne* and surrendered it upon composition. *Charles* the Bald gave this County in charge to *Boson* Brother to the Queen *Richilda* his Wife, whom he also made Duke of *Aquitain* and Grand-Master of the Porters*, and raised him in such sort, that he was shortly after one of those that dismembered the Monarchy.

During this Voyage he had left the Lieutenantcy of his Kingdom to the Arch-Bishop *Hincmar*, who by his Genius no less powerful then daring, had rendred himself very necessary. He had no small ado to hinder the designs and enterprises of *Carloman* eldest Son of his King. This Prince had some years before conspired against his Father who had made him a Deacon in despite of him; and having rebelled another time, he put him in Prison. The Prayers of the Popes Legates, who came the year before into France, had got him out again: but abusing this mercy, he fell again to his old Practices. Now being fallen the third time into his Fathers hands, he caused him to be condemned to Death, and then changed that Sentence to a deprivation of his sight, that he might have time to repent. Some time afterwards a couple of Monks craftily got him out of Prison, and convey'd him to his Uncle the German King, who gave him an Abbey for his maintenance. But Death did not leave him long in the enjoyment of it.

This cursed Custome of putting out Eyes, and other ways of dismembering, was the invention of the Greek Princes; and it hath been long practised in the West, so that Vassals in their Oaths of Fidelity, swore they would defend the persons of their Lords, and never consent they should be maimed in any part of their Bodies.

About these times the *Gascons* desiring to collect their Forces under a Duke of their own Nation, and of the Race of their ancient Dukes to secure themselves against the fury of the Normans, and the revenge of *Charles* the Bald, went into Spain to the Son of *Loup Centulle*, whom the King of the *Asturias* had made an Earl in old *Castille*, to desire and get one of his Sons. The youngest after the refusal of all his Brothers, accepted the Honour: his name was *Sanche*, his surname *Mitarra*, the *Saracens** had bestowed it on him because he was their Ruin, and their Scourge. From him are proceeded the Hereditary Dukes of *Gascony* who lasted near 200 years. He had a Successor of the same name and surname as himself. This Son was Father of *Garcia Sanchez* the Crooked, who had three, *Garcia Sanchez* Duke of *Gascony*, *William* Count of *Fezenzac*, and *Arnold* Count of *Astarack*. This last not Born the natural way, but by an incision they made in his Mothers Flank, was surnamed *Non-nat*. Not Born.

The Princes of the *Carlovinian* Line, were for the most part, of weak Spirits, Fools, or Sottish. *Louis* Emperor of Italy, though Pious and Valiant, was so slighted by his Subjects, that they would part him from his Wife, because he had

870.

* Princeps of
Arianism.
871.

* *Medarra* is
their Tongue
signifies ruin
and destructi-
on.

872.

had no Male-Children. And even *Adelgise* Duke of *Benevent* made him Prisoner, and extorted from him very unjust things.

873. The Children of *Louis* the German gave their Father a great deal of trouble, and seemed to punish him for the disquiet he had given to his. The eldest named *Charles*, and afterwards surnamed the *Gross*, troubled without doubt with horror for the conspiracies he had made against him, had violent fits of Madness, believing he had seen the Devil and was possessed by him. He was cured of that Frenzy for some time, after many Devotions, and Vows over the Graves of Saints: but his Brain having been once so disturbed, he felt it all his life afterwards.

873. The Normans had seized on the City of *Angers* about four years since, and settled themselves there with their Families, from whence, when they had a mind to it they ran about the *Loire*, and all those other Rivers which fall into it, loading their Barks, with the Plunder and Pillage of all the Country. *Charles* assisted by *Salomon* King of the *Bretons*, besieged them in that City. The Siege was long: the *Bretons* by great labour bring it to an end; they turned the stream of the *Maine*, and by this means their Vessels lay all on dry ground, and gave them opportunity to approach to the foot of their Wall. The *Pyrats* could no way have escaped, if they would have forced them: however the *Bald*, so terrible had they made themselves, fearing the revenge such other Parties they had abroad in divers parts of the Kingdom might take, not only did them no hurt; but likewise gave them the liberty to depart with all their plunder. They only made a promise never to return any more into *France*: but at their departure from thence, they went and nestled themselves in an Island within the *Loire*, from whence they continued their old Trade.

Towards the Month of August, an unknown cause brought towards the Coast, or Borders of Germany, a prodigious quantity of Locusts, which were about the bigness of an inch, having six wings, and teeth as hard as a stone. In less than an hour they had eaten up all the Herbs and Greens growing in a Country of seven or eight Leagues in length, and two in breadth, to the very Branches and Rinds of young Trees. After they had done incredible mischief, a strong Wind hurried them into the British Sea, where they were drowned: But dead they did no less hurt than when living: the great heaps thrown by the Waves upon the Shoar, infecting the Country with the Plague.)

874. While King *Salomon*, who was become a good Man and devout to the doing of Miracles, was thinking to retire into a Monastery, and leave his Crown to his Son *Guegnon*: two of his Cousin Germans *Pasqueten* or *Pasquitan* Son of *Neomene*, and *Urfand*, assisted by *Wygon* Son of Duke *Rodolph*, and some French Inhabitants of *Bretagne*, whom he had treated ill, conspired against him, and besieged him in his Castle of *Plelan*; where surrendering himself and his Son, upon some false promises the French put out his eyes, and a few days after put him to death.

The two Cousins having shared the Sovereignty, soon quarrell'd each other, and came to blows near *Rennes*; *Urfand* with a Thousand men only, charged *Pasquitan* who had Twelve times as many, and got the advantage.

875. The other Lords of the Country, after the example of these two, set up likewise for Sovereigns, amongst others *Alain* Earl of *Broerac*, that is to say, the Territory of *Vennes* and that of *Porboet*, and *Salomon* Count of *Rennes*, Son of the Sister to a King of the same name; On the other hand the Normans wasted all the Country; so that *Bretagne* thus torn, lost the name of a Kingdom. And took that of a County, and then a Duchy. In those days, these two Titles were confounded.

Soon after *Urfand* fell sick to extremity; *Pasquitan* having notice of it gets his Forces together. *Urfand* whose courage could not fail, but with his Life, was carried in a Litter to the head of his men: his presence gave them the victory, but hastened his death a little. A great deal of honour which cost him but a Moments Breath.

875. His Rival did not long survive him, sickness deprived him of that which death had bestowed on him. His Succession remained in dispute between *Alain* his Brother, and *Judicel* Son of the Daughter to *Herispoux*. They found it better to share it by agreement than by the Sword, and at length it fell all to *Alain* by the Death of *Judicel*, who was slain in a * fight against the Normans.

Louis Emperor of Italy Dies without Male Children in the Month of August An. 875. the 20th of his Empire, who had been mightily disturbed by Factions of the Grands

his State, and incursions of the Saracens. His Tomb is to be seen at *Milan* in *St. Ambrose* Church.

His Wife was named *Engelberge*, according to some the Daughter of *Ethico* who was Son of another *Ethico* Duke of *Suevia* or *Germany*, by whom he had but one Daughter only, named *Hermengarde*, who An. 876. was Ravished by *Boson* Brother to the Queen *Richilde*, and with the consent of *Everard Berenger* Son of the Duke of *Friuli*; who had her in keeping.

Louis the Germanick.

Charles the Bald.

It was now betwixt the Germanick and the Bald who should first Seize upon Italy. The Bald making great diligence got thither before *Charles* and *Carloman* two of the Germanicks Sons, who went two several ways, whilst their Brother *Louis* fell upon *France* to make a diversion. For the two first the Bald amused them with very fair words, and sent them back handsomely; and as for the third, the Prelats made such pathological remonstrances to him, that he took pity of the poor people, and returned without committing many acts of Hostility.

The Popes interest was to have an Emperor of a great name, one that could lend him powerful assistance, as *Pepin* and *Charlemaine* had done, but yet not abide in Italy, where he must have lain too heavy upon his shoulders: wherefore he would have no Italian Lord, because they were both weak and resided upon the place; and besides being to chuse out of the *Carlovinian* Line, he could not so well comply with the roughness of those that Governed in Germany. He therefore pitched upon *Charles* the Bald, and incited him by a sumptuous Embassy to come to *Rome* to receive the Imperial Diadem, as if it had been absolutely in his disposal.

He set it on his Head upon Christmas Day with great Solemnity. After which the new Emperor bestowed the Duchy of *Spoleta* upon *Guy* the Son of *Lambert*, and that of *Friuli* on *Berenger* the Son of *Everard*.

At his return he received also the Crown of *Lombardy* at *Pavia*, and a Confirmation of the Imperial one at an Assembly of Counts and Prelats in the said City, the Pope assisting in Person.

And the following year, there being yet several Lords in Italy who refused to acknowledge him, the Pope held another Council in *Rome* to Confirm him a second time adding Excommunications against the refractory.

The Western Empire could be but a vain or empty Title, and at most had nothing belonging to it but the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, and the *Pentapolis*; for his power was not absolute in the City of *Rome*, and the Kingdom of *Lombardy* belonged, nor held any wise of it.

Nevertheless the Bald esteeming himself wholly obliged to the Pope, and of his Sovereign being become his Subject; even so far condescending as to take it for an honour to bear the Title of his Counsellor of State: endeavoured in recompence with all his might to extend his Authority over the liberties of the Gallican Church. In a Council held at *Pomigon* he supported as much as he could the Popes Legats, who brought Letters of Primacy to *Ansegise* Arch-Bishop of *Sens*, saying the Pope had Commissioned him to assist at that Council, and to cause his Orders to be put in execution, and in effect he made him take his Seat immediately next the Legats. But the French Prelats encourag'd by *Hincmar*, who thought he better deserved that honour than *Ansegise*, could never be induced neither by Prayers nor threatnings to give consent to that Novelty. At the eight Session the Bald brought in the Empress his wife (so fond was he of her) with the Crown upon her Head, to preside there with him; of which the Bishops were so ashamed that they did not so much as rise up to receive her.

Though the Germanick were Seventy years old, and much discomposed in his Family by the discord amongst his Sons, he had nevertheless so great a resentment, for that *Charles* the Bald did him no justice in the matter of the Empire and Territories of Italy, that he gathered all his Forces to make a powerful irruption upon *Neustria*. Being come to *Francfort*, Death broke the thrid of his life and his undertakings the 28th of August, the Seventieth of his Age, and the 59, since his first Coronation

875.

875.
Empp.
Basilus and
Charles II. cal-
led the Bald at
Christmas.
875.

875.

876.

877.

This Prince was well read in the Learning of those times. He was all his life long Active, Warlike and Liberal, one that cared not for money but to bestow it, and had a greater esteem for Steel than Gold; a great Zealot in Justice and Religion, an equitable distributor of commands and employments, in Fine approaching more than any Prince of his Line, to the noble virtues and qualities of *Charlemagne*: By *Emme* his sole wife, a *Spaniard* by Nation, much applauded by the Authors of those days for her Wisdom and Piety, he had three Sons, *Carloman*, *Charles*, and *Louis*.

876. Upon the News of his death, the *Bald*, of a defender which he was just before, became an aggressor, and resolved to strip those young Princes his Nephews before they could be aware. *Louis* nearest Neighbour to this danger sent Ambassadors to him, to put him in mind of the Treaty made with his Father, and offered him to prove by thirty witnesses, whereof ten should undergo the trial of cold water, ten more of hot water, and other ten that of burning Irons, that they had on their part never infring'd it in the least.

The *Bald* pretended to give ear to these justifications, and agreed to a Cessation, during which he made Oath he would not molest them. Yet he pursued his march by narrow and unfrequented ways through the Mountains, intending to surprize him near *Andernack* where he lay encamped, and to put out his Eyes. But the Bishop of *Colen* who was with him, having in vain used all his endeavours to dissuade him from this treachery, gave secret notice to *Louis*, who put himself into so good a posture as he defeated his great Army, and might have cut them all off would he but have pursued them.

877. The three Brothers confirmed by this victory in the Succession of their Father, divided it betwixt them. *Carloman* the eldest had the Kingdom of *Bavaria* to which belonged *Pannonia*, *Carinthia*, *Bohemia* and *Moravia*. *Louis* the second had *East-France* or *Germany*, and with that part of the Kingdom of *Lorraine*. *Charles* had the Country of the *Grifons*, *Switzerland*, *Souabe*, *Alsace*, and the other part of *Lorraine* bordering on them.

CHARLES
the Bald, Empe-
rour, King of
Neustria, *Aqui-
tain*, *Burgundy* &
Provence.

Carloman, King
of *Bavaria*, and
the Title of
King of *Italy*.

Louis II. *Charles* of *Ger-
many*, properly
of *East-France*.
so called.
Lorraine between both.

* *Tra* in old French signifies Tribute.
During all these dissensions the *Normans* had fair play. The *Bald* put no stop to them but with Presents of Gold and the like, which rather invited them soon after to come again, then perswaded them to stay away; So that while he lost himself with the imaginations of vain conquests, they imposed * *Tribute* upon *West-France*, and had it paid as themselves demanded, or after their own mode, the reason perhaps why they were called *Truands*.

The *Saracens* on the other hand tormented *Italy* no less: they had Fortified themselves at *Tarente*, and having made a League with the Duke of *Naples*, sacked all to the very gates of *Rome*. Pope *John* cries out and calls upon the *Bald* for help, and as a great favour sends him the confirmation of his Election to the Empire. He goes therefore into *Italy* with *Richilda* his wife whom he led about every where. The Pope comes to meet him as far as *Versel*, Crowned the Empress at *Tortona*, and from thence they went down to *Pavia*, to consult with the Lords of *Italy* about the means to drive out the *Saracens*.

While they were there they heard that *Carloman* King of *Bavaria* approached with a great Army to resume the Kingdom of *Italy* and the Empire. Upon the bruit of his march the Assembly dissolves, the Pope flies to *Rome*, and *Charles* makes hast into *France*: But at the same time *Carloman* Seized with a Pannique fear, turns back again to *Germany*.

Whilst the *Bald* was absent from his Kingdom, the *French* Lords formed a conspiracy against him, *Dofon* himself his Favourite and Brother in Law to his Wife, was of the Knot. They hated him mortally, and the occasion or pretence was, that he raised people of mean Birth, and seemed to despise the *French* Nation, in affect-

ing

ing to wear his Cloaths after the *Greek* Mode who were their mortal Enemies. It hapned therefore by the wicked contrivances of these Factionous persons combining, that upon his return, passing by Mount *Cenis*, he was poisoned by *Sedecias* his Physician, a *Jew* by Birth, and reputed a Magician. Accidents not uncommon to Great ones who make use of such-like People. His body was interred at *Vercel*, and seven years after brought thence to the Abbey of *St. Denis*. He died at the Age of 55 years, the second of his Empire, and the 38th of his Reign, accounting from the Decease of his Father.

At he loved Pride and vain Pomp more than Solidity, so Fortune in conformity to his humour, made him happy in appearance but unhappy in effect, she bestowed many great Lordships and but little good success upon him. The best of his qualities was that he acquired great learning, and gratified good Schollars with Honour and rewards, seeking and sending into *Greece* and *Asia* for them to enrich *France* by their knowledge; worthy of praise for so doing, had he but taken care to provide for the necessity and security of his Country, before he brought in those Ornaments.

His Father was blamed for raising people of a servile condition to Ecclesiastical dignities: And he going farther yet advanced very mean persons to Military Employments, and to such dignities as were due only to the greatest in his Kingdom: This turned the whole State, as it were upside-down, the greatest Families sunk to nothing, and the meanest were raised to the highest pitch, to whom the obscurity and ignorance of those times was very favourable in concealing and preventing all knowledge of the baseness or Poverty of their Original.

The City and Abbey of *St. Denis* are obliged to this King for the Faire at *Landy*.

He had no Children by *Richilda* his second wife; but by *Hermentrude* his first he had many: there was but one now alive, which was *Louis* whom they surnamed the *Stammering*, because in truth he was so.

The hatred they bare to the Father was transferred to the Son: he endeavoured to take it away by force of gratifications, bestowing Abbeys upon some, to others Lands and Employments were given: but by pleasing and pacifying a few, he created a world of discontents; and the Princes (so the great Lords were called) took offence, that he should grant of himself, what he could not well do without their consent, and in the general Assembly.

Whilst they were making divers Cabals, grounding all, as I believe, upon this pretence, that it did not appear to them that his Father had * ordained he should succeed him; his Mother in Law *Richilda* comes with all speed and brings him his Father *Charles* the *Bald's* Will, by which it was manifest he had given him his Kingdom, and did invest him in it by the Sword of *St. Peter*, and the Royal ornaments which he sent to him.

Louis being a little better Authorised by this means, the Lords agreed with him, but certainly not till it had cost him a great deal: And the Arch-Bishop *Hincmar* Crowned him in the City of *Reims* the 8th day of *December*.

U 2

Louis

877.

877.
* The Fathers Will, was a necessary condition.

LOUIS II.

Surnamed

The Stammerer.

King XXVI.

Aged about xxx, or xxxii. Years.

POPES,

JOHN VIII. During all this Reign, and in the following.

Louis, called the
Stammerer, Empe-
rour, King of *
Neustria, Aquitain,
Burgundy & Provence.

Carloman,
King of
Bavaria.

Louis of East-
France.

Charles of
Germany.

Lorraine to both.

* Neustria
and West-
France are
the same.

Empp.
Basilius
and
Louis the Stam-
merer.

878.

IN the mean time Lambert Count of *Spoleta* and *Albert* Marquiss of *Tuscany*, partisans of King *Carloman* who pretended to the Empire, being entred into *Rome* kept Pope *John VIII.* a prisoner. But soon after, having made his escape out of their hands, he takes Shipping and Lands in *Provence*, whence he was conducted to *Lyons*. From that place, always defrayed in his expences by the Bishops of *France*, he came to *Troyes*, where he held a Council: the King came likewise thither, and by his hands was Crowned Emperor, the seventh of September.

878.

In this Council the Pope Excommunicated *Hugh* Bastard Son to King *Lotaire II.* and *Valdrade*, who pretended to be Legitimate, and had collected together some herds of Robbers to regain the Kingdom of *Lorraine*. He likewise restored *Hincmar* Bishop of *Laon*, permitted him to say Mass, though he were blind, and bestowed one half of the revenue of the Bishoprick upon him.

879.

After the Popes departure, the *Stammerer* going towards *Lorraine*, conferred about *Marsenne* upon the *Meuse*, with *Louis* King of *Germany*. They made a Treaty by which they divided *Lorraine* betwixt them, as it had been betwixt their Fathers, and the *Stammerer* promised him part in *Italy*.

Neither the obedience nor affection of the Lords was firm towards him, they gave little heed to his Orders: and it hapned that having taken up Arms to suppress *Bernard* Marquiss of *Gothia*, whose Government he had given to *Bernard* Earl

Earl of *Auvergne*, he fell sick in his passage by *Autun* in *Burgundy*, not without suspicion he was poysoned, wherefore he sent for his Son *Louis* whom he put into the hands and keeping of *Bernard* Earl of *Auvergne*, *Thierry* his great Chamberlain, the Abbot *Hugh*, and some other Lords. This *Hugh* or *Hugues* was very powerful towards the latter part of the Reign of *Charles the Bald*, under *Louis* the *Stammerer*, and likewise under his Children.

The *Stammerer* being with much difficulty brought to *Compeigne*, gave up his Soul upon Holy-Friday the 19th of April: He was buried at the same place in the Abbey-Church of *St. Cornille*, his Age was 30 or 35 years, of which he had Reigned only one and seven Months. Before his death he sent the Crown and other Regal ornaments to his Son *Louis*, by the Bishop of *Beauvais* and an Earl, with order to have him appointed King as soon as possible.

He was in his youth married to *Anfride*, by whom he had two Sons, this *Louis* of whom we speak and *Carloman*: but, as she was of mean extraction, the King his Father without whose consent he married her, obliged him to put her away. For this reason it is that some Historians say that these two Princes are Bastards. After this divorce he took another named *Adelaid*, or *Alice* Daughter of some English Prince, and Sister to *Wilfrid* Abbot of *Flavigny* in the Dutchy of *Burgundy*. She was with child when he died, and brought a Posthumus Son into the World, Born the 17th of September following. He was named *Charles* the Simple.

The Western Empire remained vacant two whole years, and *Italy* in an extreme confusion, thorough the discords of the Lords, and the spoil and ravages of the *Saracens*, to whom the Pope was fain to pay Tribute.

We may in this Reign, place the Original of the Earls of *Anjou*, from a Lord named *Ingelger*, the Son of a Breton named *Torquat* or *Tortulfe*, on whom *Charles the Bald* had bestowed some Lands in *Gastinois*, and *Perretta* Daughter of *Hugo* Labbe in marriage. This *Ingelger* was the Father of *Fulke le Roux*, who being made Earl of *Anjou* by *Charles* the Simple, valiantly defended that Country against the *Normans*.

Louis

LOUIS III.

AND

CARLOMAN,

King XXVII.

At the Age of Adolescence.

POPES,

JOHN VIII. 3 Years and half in this Reign.

MARTIN, Elected in January 883. S. one Year, and 20 days.

ADRIAN III. Elect. in January 884. S. One Year, 3. Months, whereof Six Months in this Reign.

LOUIS III. And Carloman, his Brother, Kings of West-France, Burgundy and Aquitain.

CARLOMAN King of Bavaria.

Louis the Young, King of Germany or East-France.

Charles the Fatt, of Germany, properly so called.

Lorraine to both.

879.

TO the very end of this Race we shall find nothing but factions, the Kings being but their May-games, and even their Creatures. *Thierry* and the rest to whom the *Stammerer* had recommended his Son, sent to the other Lords to meet at the general Assembly at *Meaux*: And they reconciled the quarrels between *Thierry* and *Boson*. *Gauzulin* forgot not the injuries he had received by the preceding Government, and having made his Party with some Bishops and Lords, proposed that to heal the distempers of *France*, they ought to bring it all under one head, and for that purpose call in *Louis of Germany* (with whom he had contrived and held intelligence, as having formerly been taken Prisoner by him at the Battel of *Andernac*) promising to bring him in and make the *French* accept and own his Title to the prejudice of the Bastard Sons of *Louis the Stammerer*; For thus he called them.

The

Louis III. And Carloman, King XXVII.

151

The greatest Friends to these two Princes could no other way divert this Storm, but by yielding up to the *German* King that part of *Lorraine* which the *Bald* and the *Stammerer* had possessed. And ever since, that Kingdom, though disputed and divers times resumed by the Kings of *West-France*, yet remained at last with the *Germans* or Kings of *East-France*.

Louis would not have been satisfied with less than the whole Monarchy, had not his affairs pressed him to return home in haste; For being informed at *Mets* of the sickness of *Carloman* his eldest Brother who was Seized with the Palsie, he posted to *Bavaria* to prevent him from giving the Kingdom to *Arnold* his Bastard Son. Now *Carloman* died soon after, and was Interred at *Oettingen* in *Bavaria* in *St. Maximilian's* Monastery founded by him. He had no Legitimate Children, but two natural ones, *Arnold* to whom he could leave only the Duchy of *Carinthia*, *King Louis* having even in his life time received the Oaths of his Subjects; and *Gisele*, who *An. 890.* married *Zuendipold* King of *Moravia*, whom for that reason some have called *Carloman's* Son.

880.

Louis III. and Carloman as before said.

Louis and Charles the Fatt as above said.

In the mean while *Gauzulin* and *Conrard* fearing to be oppressed by the other *Neustrian* Lords, applied themselves to *Lewitgarde* the wife of *Lewis* of *Germany*, a very ambitious Princess who solicited her Husband so earnestly, that she overpersuaded him to return once more into *France* with much greater strength then he at first carried.

880.

Upon the rumour of this second Irruption, the Lords caused not only *Louis* eldest Son of the *Stammerer*, but also *Carloman* his Brother to be both Crowned in the Abbey of *Ferrieres* in *Gastinois*.

880.

Some while after these two Brothers being at *Amiens*, divided their Fathers Kingdom betwixt them; *Lewis* had *Neustria*, and *Carloman* the Kingdoms of *Aquitain* and *Burgundy*.

880.

At their first accession they meet with the displeasure of seeing two Kingdoms, belonging to their Father dismembred from the Succession, which were *Lorraine*, as we have observed, and *Burgundy*. As for this last it was lopp'd off by *Boson*. That Lord had been in such high favour with *Charles the Bald*, that he had given him *Provence*, if not in Sovereignty, at least to perpetuity, and his Niece *Hermengarde* to Wife. Having these advantages he was encouraged by that ambitious Princess to make himself King; So that having gained the Lords and Prelats of those Countries he was Crowned King of *Burgundy* in the Royal Castle of *Mantale* in *Dauphine* by the hands of the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons*.

This attempt went near the hearts of the two Brother Kings: but besides him they had two Enemies more to deal withal, their Cousin *Louis* and the *Normans*. They gained a Battel against the last nigh the River of *Vienne* the first day of *November*. After which leaving their victory imperfect, they turned head against *Louis*, who by the instigation of the Abbot *Gauzulin* was advanced even to their Frontiers. Having intelligence they were coming towards him, he durst not march forward, but demanded to parley with them at *Gondouville* where they saw each other.

In his retreat he defeated in *Hainault* a crew of eight or ten thousand *Normans*, but lost his Bastard Son in that Bustle. Those Pyrats had burnt *Saint Omers*, *Teroienne*, *Arras*, *Tournay*, *Saint Riquier*, *Saint Valery*, and all the Countries of *Hainault*, *Flanders* and *Boulonois*. Four *Burghers* of *Tournay*, who fled to *Noyon*, rebuilt the City, and let houses at easy Rents. *Arras* was deserted thirty years, the Inhabitants having forsaken it for *Beauvais*.

The four Kings to compose their contests, had assigned a general Assembly at * *Gondoul* a Town near *Mets*. *Louis* of *Germany* sent to excuse himself because he was fallen into a fit of sickness; but *Charles* his Brother came there and confer'd with *Louis* and *Carloman* touching their common interest and affairs. They found it necessary to enter into a league together for the destruction of their Enemies. *Louis* the *Germanick*, with *Louis* and *Carloman* against *Hugh* the Son of *Valdrade*, who sacked all the open Countries of *Lorraine*: And *Charles* the *Fatt* also with his two Brothers to pull down *Boson's* pride.

881.

As for the first, the Forces of *Louis* the *German* and the two Brothers having encountered

encountred the Army belonging to *Hugh*, commanded by *Tybault* his Brother in Law, they put it to the rout and made a great slaughter.

Then *Charles the Fatt* and his two Brothers marching joyntly against *Boson*, defeated him in Battel, and afterwards besieged *Vienne*, where that Rebel had left his wife, retreating himself to the Mountains. We shall not find this siege at an end till about two years hence.

Charles was come thither upon the request of his Cousins, and had left the affairs of *Italy*, whither had he made one Voyage already, and in some Months time had secured to himself all *Lombardy*, whereof he was Crowned King by the Arch-Bishop of *Milan*. And being impatient to return again, he took leave of them, and having repassed the Mountains, went directly to *Rome*; accompanied by the Patriarch of *Aquileia*.

At this time the Pope, who hesitated on whom he should bestow the Imperial Crown, could not deny a Prince so powerfully Armed, and therefore set it on his Head upon *Christmas* Day, in the year 881.

In the mean while a * Fleet of *Normans* entring by the *Vaal* or *Waal*, fortified themselves at leisure in the Palace of *Nimeghen*: So that *Louis* not being able to force them, only obliged them to quit the Kingdom. They went away indeed with all their men, but took all their Plunder with them likewise.

Another very strong Fleet going up the *Somme*, forced the rich Abbey of *Corbie* and the City of *Amiens*, then spread themselves at large over the neighbouring Countries. The mischief was very great: therefore *Louis* leaving his Brother *Carloman* at the siege of *Vienne*, hastned into *Picardy*, fell upon the *Normans* near *Amiens*, and laid nine thousand of them dead on the place. Nevertheless whether it were that he expected some other greater Body of them was marching towards him, or was Seized with a Pannique fear, he returned home, and the remainder of those *Barbarians* fell a plundering as before.

A third Body of them came to the place called *Haslon* nigh the *Meuse*, and having fortified themselves there, set the City of *Liege* on Fire, and likewise burned *Tongres*, which had otherwhile been ruined by the *Vandals*, then set fire to *Coulen*, *Bonne*, *Nuis*, the Palace of *Aix la Chapelle*, and *Triers*, and *Mets*; and having gained a victory over the Bishops of those two Cities where the Bishop of *Mets* was slain, made a horrible slaughter amongst the poor Peasants who were in Arms for them.

Whilst *Louis* the German was getting his Forces together to oppose them, he died at *Frankfort* the 20th of *January* in the strength of his Age, having Reigned but six years. His Corps was conveyed to *St. Nazaire* the Abbey-Church of *Loreheine*, where his Fathers lay.

He was the only Brother of three that married: his wife was called *Lnidgarde*, daughter of *Ludolfe* Duke of *Saxony*, and Sister to *Otho* Father of *Henry L'Oiseleur*, or Bird-catcher. He had but one Son, who in *An.* 880. playing in a Window, fell down and bruised himself so that he died.

Charles the Fatt Emperour,
King of *Italy*, *Germany* or
East-France, *Barvaria* and
Lorrain.

Louis and *Carloman*
of *East-France*, *Aquitain*
and part of *Burgundy*.

882. The Succession of the German Kingdom and likewise the necessity of affairs called *Charles the Fatt* into *France*, where the *Normans* posted at *Haslon* plaid the Devils, assisting and being reciprocally assisted by *Hugh* the Bastard of *Valdrade*: who invited and animated those *Barbarians*, and kindled factions amongst the Lords, to revenge himself at least, if he could not settle himself.

Charles therefore comes over the Mountains, confirmed the donation of *Carinthia* to *Arnold* his Bastard Nephew, and gave him the command of his Army, and afterwards he had held a Parliament at *Wormes*, *Arnold* having joyned him, he marched towards *Haslon*.

His Van-guard at first made the *Normans* retreat; And had it not been for the intelligence and correspondence between some of his Chief Officers (in favour without doubt of *Hugh*) and those *Barbarians*, he might have forced them upon this first disorder.

disorder. The Emperor afterwards blocked them up with his whole Army: But a most dreadful Tempest and furious Plague infesting his Army, were once more favourable to them: So that after ten days Siege, they were quit upon condition to leave the Kingdom, whence they carried infinite riches.

They had two Kings or Generals, *Sigefroy* and *Godfrey*. The first Embarked with above 40000 men. The other, whether for Interest or Devotion, received Holy Baptism, and had the Emperor for his God-Father, who gave him a natural Daughter of King *Lotaires II.* in Marriage, named *Gisfe*, and two thousand and fourscore Livers in Gold, with the Dutchy of *Frisia*.

About the same time *Louis* King of *West-France*, going to meet some *Breton* Princes, who were bringing him an Army to march against the *Normans*, fell sick at *Tours*, whence being brought back in a Litter, he died at *Saint Denis* in *France*, the of *August*, having Reigned somewhat more than three years. *Paul* *Emilius* says that spurting his Horse to run after a pretty Maiden that fled from him into a House, he broke his back riding in at the door which was too low, and thereof died.

Carolus *Craßus*,
or
Charles the Fatt,
Emperor & King
of *Germany*.

Carloman King
of *West-France*,
Aquitaine and
Burgundy.

His Brother *Carloman* immediately went from the Siege of *Vienne*, leaving the prosecution thereof to Earl *Richard*, to secure his Succession and head that Army, which was marching against the *Normans*. Upon his arrival at *Autan* he had information that those Robbers being afraid were fled out of the River *Loire*, and a few days after, he sees *Richard* come to him, who having taken *Vienne*, brought thither both the wife and daughter of *Boson* Prisoners.

From thence he marches against another Body of *Normans*, who having gotten in by the Mouth of the *Somme*, ran up as far as *Laon* and *Reims*: he charged them vigorously, and one part of them were defeated, the rest made their escape in their Barks by the River *Aisne*.

At this time the grand *Hincmar* Arch-Bishop of *Reims* worn out with age, and pierced with grief to see his Country thus Plundered and wasted, his self being forced to fly from his City, threatened by those *Barbarians*, as they were conveying him in his Litter, he died at *Espernay*, leaving the *Gallican* Church almost quite destitute of any Prelate, that understood her Rights or took care of her discipline.

After the example of the Emperor *Charles the Fatt*, *Carloman* his Cousin treated with the *Normans* to go out of his Countries, compounding with them for twelve thousand Marks of Silver to do so.

Shortly after being a-hunting in the Forrest of *Iveline* near *Montfort* a days journey from *Paris*, he was mortally wounded by a wild Boar, or as others say, by a Gentleman of his Train, who thought to dart the Boar. He lieth buried at *Saint Denis*. In all he Reigned five years, that is, three joyntly with his Brother, and two alone.

His Father had contracted him to *Boson's* daughter *An.* 878. But it is most likely he never did marry her: Nor do we find that he had any Children. For that *Louis le Faincant*, or Do-nothing, which some would bestow upon him, is a pure Chimera.

As soon as the *Normans* had the news that he was dead, they entred upon the Kingdom again, subtilly interpreting, according to their Genius, and their own interest, that the Treaty expired with his life. *Hugh* the Abbot fought them, and made so terrible a slaughter, that they left *France* in quiet for some time.

CHARLES III.

Surnamed

Craffus, or, The Fatt.

King XXVIII.

Aged about L. Years.

POPES.

ADRIAN III. Nine Months under this Reign.

STEPHEN IV. Elect. in May

885. S. five Tears, and some Months, whereof 2 Tears. 8 Months under this Reign.

Charles the Fatt
Emperor in Italy,
and Germany.

Charles the Simple
aged 7 years, a Minor
under the Tutelage of Hugues
the Abbot, in France.

884. I need not be thought strange if the *Western-French* standing in need of a King in his Majority to command their Armies, did not confer the Crown upon Charles the *Posthumus* Son of Lewis the *Stammerer*, who was but seven years of Age, but gave their Oaths of Fidelity to Charles the Fatt, who was very potent, and was not as yet observed to be weak Spirited and inclining to be distracted.

884. However it cannot be said that they excluded the Pupil, since they entrusted the Abbot Hugh the Great with his Guardianship and Education; who held in *Fief*, the Earldom of *Paris* and the Dutchy of *France*, that is to say, all that lies within the *Seine*, the *Loire* and the Sea, excepting only the Bishopricks.

885. *Valdrade's* Bastard had not quitted his pretention to *Lorraine*: And *Godfrey* the Norman Duke of *Frisia*, his Brother in Law, were creating some quarrel that they might have an opportunity to restore him to the possession of that Kingdom. The Emperor Charles ridd himself both of the one and the other, but by unhand-some means, according to the contrivance of Henry Duke of *Saxony*. For this Henry and *Gnillebert*, or *Gilbert*, Arch-Bishop of *Colen*, having drawn Godfrey to a Conference at an Island in the *Rhine*, there massacred him, and all the *Normans* that attended: And at the same time Hugh, who came upon his promise of Faith and security to *Joinville*, was Seized and his Eyes put out, then confined to the Abbey of *St. Gal*.

The

Charles III. surnamed the Fatt, King XXVIII.

155

The fury of the *Normans* which began to be allayed, burst out again upon this bloody Treachery, and made most horrible work under the conduct of *Sigefroy*. They entered the River *Seine* with 700 Barks, and so great a number of other Vessels that the stream was cover'd with them for above two Leagues in length: the City of *Paris* seated on an Island, and having Bridges on either branch of the River, put a stop to this formidable Fleet. The *Barbarians* who would needs have the passage thorough this River free, held it besieged three years.

886.

During all that time they tried their utmost endeavours to accomplish their ends. But the Bishop named *Goslin*, the Abbot *Ebon* his Nephew, the Earl *Eudes*, whom we shall hereafter find to be King, with a great many valiant Knights and the *Parisians*, whose courage was then greater than their City, defended it better then it was attacked.

886, 87, and 88.

The besiegers did from time to time make attempts, and assaulted the Towers of the two Gates, from whence being repulsed would make incursions upon the adjacent Provinces, still keeping the City block'd up with Forts which they had built very nigh the place.

Twice did the Emperor Charles send thither Henry Duke of *Saxony* upon the earnest intreaties of the *French*, who deputed Count *Eudes* to go and unpleore assistance from him. The first time he forced the *Danish* Camp, and put some relief into the City, which done he returned: but the second riding headlong imprudently into a ditch cover'd with straw and some small branches (a Stratagem often used in those times) he fell into the snare, and was instantly slain and stripp'd. His Army finding themselves a Body without a Head returned into *Germany*.

At last the Emperor came in person with numerous Forces, and encamped at *Montmartre*. Yet through some discontent which hapned between him and the *French* Lords, or some other cause, he chose rather to make use of Gold then Steel to drive out those Robbers, and came to composition with them: importing that for seven hundred pounds weight of Silver, they should go out of *France* in the Month of *March*, that in the mean while they might winter about *Sens* in the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, where those troublesome Guests staid six Months. And this concluded he returned much troubled with a grievous Head-ach, for which they were fain to make divers Incisions.

887.

When they were assured of the State of his indisposition and affairs, they came and planted themselves again in the Fields of *St. Germans*, pretending however to keep their agreement; but indeed to surprize the City, as they thought to have done one day about dinner time (for it was the custom then for all the Inhabitants to dine at the same hour) if they had not been observed to come up slowly in their Boats, which they had made proof against their darts, and very well mann'd.

West-France was without any Head, and all the Lords of almost equal Authority, unless it were somewhat they shewed of more then ordinary respect to Hugh who was Tutor to Charles the Simple; but this eminent Lord died in the great disturbance and trouble of the Kingdom, An. 887.

Count *Eudes*, as I believe, succeeded him in the most part of his Governments, more for his virtue, then because he was his own Brother by the Mother. For the *Genealogists* assure us that their Mother was *Adelais* Daughter of *Louis* the *Debonnaire*, who had been first married to Count *Conrard*, by whom she had this Hugh the Abbot and another *Conrard* Father to *Rodolph* Duke of *Burgundy*, and in her second Marriage to *Robert* the Strong, she had *Eudes* and *Robert*.

887.

Charles the Fatt had ever had a weak Brain, since he fancied he saw the Devil, which grew weaker after they made Incisions in his Head. He became suspicious of his Empress, which gave confidence to *Berenger* Marquis of *Friuli* to plunder the equipage belonging to *Luithgard* Bishop of *Verfeil* accused of Governing that Princess at his pleasure. Nevertheless Charles shewing some resentment the Marquis came and made him satisfaction at the Parliament of *Uberlinghen*. But yet that very same year, he put her away in the open Assembly, swearing that he had never touched her, though they had lived ten years together. She was named *Richarde*.

887.

(His frenzie appearing more notorious in the general Assembly at *Tribur*, all his Subjects both of the Kingdoms of *Germany* and *Bavaria*, forsook him even by the Brothers advice of his own Sister *Hildegard*, to Elect and own in his stead *Arnold* his Bastard

Bastard Son: And when he thought to Arm himself against him, he was likewise forsaken by the *Lorrainers*, then by the *Almans* or *Suabes*, his ancient Subjects. In so much, that he had not a man left to serve him, nor a single penny to help himself. There was none took any pity, or gave him Food but *Luitperd* Bishop of *Mentz*, till *Arnold* (to whom he sent a natural Son of his to beg Bread) allowed him the revenue of two or three Villages for his Subsistence.

Thus was this Prince, who in those days had been the most potent of the whole world, having no apparent Vice, but on the contrary was very good, very just, and Devout to excess, reduced to this extremity because he had not strength of judgment, and wanted lawful Children, two things very necessary for a Sovereign.

This deplorable condition lasted perhaps a shorter time than he would yet have had it. He died a little while after, either with grief or strangled by his Enemies the 8th of January An. 888. His Corps was buried in the Monastery of *Richennoie*, situate on an Island in the Lake of *Constance*.

Of all the *Carlovinian* Race there was but two Princes left, *Arnold* and *Charles*, one a Bastard, the other but a Child. According to the humour of the *French* in those days, all should have been governed by *Arnold*: But there were so many of the Nobility equally Powerful and Ambitious, who thought themselves as worthy as a Bastard, being of the *Carlovinian* blood by their Mothers-side, that he could get no Authority amongst them neither in *West-France*, nor in *Italy*.

There were two others in *Italy*, that is *Berenger* Duke of *Friuli*, and *Guy de Spoletta*, Lands wherewith *Charles the Bald* had invested them. Each of these descended of the Blood Royal, though only by the Female side, who believed that for want of Males, capable to Govern, they ought to take their shares of the Succession of *Charlemaine*. They therefore agreed together, that *Guy* should have the Title of Emperor and *Gallick France*, and *Berenger* should enjoy *Italy*. Now the first having spent time in getting himself to be Crowned Emperor at *Rome*, stayed a little too long ere he came into *France*, so that finding their humours changed he went back into *Italy*, where he overthrew *Berenger* in two bloody Battles and forced him to take Sanctuary with *Arnold*.

Arnold likewise not making that diligence he ought, and besides the *Nenstrians*, or *Westerns* not agreeing well with the *Eastern* or *Germans*: was much amazed that the Lords of *Nenstria*, which henceforward we shall name simply *France*, sent word to him when he was coming, that in the Assembly at *Compiègne* they had Elected *Eudes* Earl of *Paris* and Duke of *France*.

And indeed, though some made a noise in favour of *Charles the Simple*, yet he was Crowned by *Gautier* Arch-Bishop of *Sens*.

On the other hand *Rodolph* the Son of *Conrad*, and Nephew of *Hugh* the Abbot, occupied the Lands between the *Mount-Jon* and the *Alpes Penines*, that is, *Savoy* and the *Swisse*-Country, and was Crowned King of *Burgundy, Trans-jurane*, or beyond the *Jour*, at *St Maurice's* in *Valais*.

As likewise *Louis* the Son of *Boson*, whose Father the Usurper of the Kingdom of *Burgundy Cis-jurane*, having been drove from thence by the Kings *Louis* and *Carloman*, Scized on the Country which lies between *Lyons* and the Sea, betwixt the *Rhone* and the *Alpes*, under the Title of King of *Arles* or *Provence*, and caused that Kingdom to be confirmed to him by a Council held purposely at *Valence* An. 890. He claimed and founded it upon this, that he was the Son of a Daughter of the Royal blood, and that *Charles the Fatt*, had Adopted him, in the Assembly of *Überlingen*. You may observe that all those Princes that thus dismembered the Monarchy, were sprung from the Daughters of the blood Royal, and believed themselves fitter and more capable to Succeed than *Arnold* or *Charles the Simple*, whom they looked upon as both of them Bastards,

Eudes,

E U D E S,

King XXIX.

Aged xxvi. Years.

<i>Arnold</i> Em- perour and King of Ger- many.	<i>Eudes</i> King of <i>West- France</i> & <i>Aquitain</i> .	<i>Louis</i> of the Kingdom of <i>Arles</i> .	<i>Rodolph</i> of <i>Burgundy</i> <i>Trans- jurane</i> .	<i>Guy</i> Emperour; and <i>Berenger</i> dispu- ting for <i>Italy</i> , betwixt them.
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Thus the Succession of the *Carlovinian* House was divided into five Dominions (without counting the Lords who set up almost for Sovereigns) 1. *Italy* which was joyned with the Title of the Empire. 2. *Germany*, which then also comprehended the Kingdom of *Bavaria*. 3. *France*, which had the Kingdoms of *Nenstria*, *Aquitain*, and part of *Burgundy*. 4. *Burgundy Cis-jurane*, named ordinarily the Kingdom of *Arles* or *Provence*, under which were likewise the *Lyonois* and *Dauphine*. 5. and *Burgundy Trans-jurane*, or beyond the *Jour*, as the other on the contrary.

We need not doubt but these new Kings gave part of the Quarry to the Lords of their Party, and consented to every thing to get only their Oaths and Homage; nor can we imagine but these Lords did the like towards their Vassals, and these again to the lesser Nobility. From hence arose so many Lordships both small and great, of which the Bishops themselves such as were of good Families and had but courage enough, did not forget to take their shares.

Now *Eudes* to show himself worthy the choice they had made of him, went out against the *Normans* who ravaged *Burgundy*. He set upon them on *St. John Baptists* Day, nigh *Mount-faucon*, slew nineteen thousand, and pursued the remainder to the very Frontiers, shewing himself personally brave on all occasions.

Another party of them who were in *Champagne*, descended by the *Murme* as far as *Paris*, and there loading the Barks upon Waggon, carried and put them into the River again below the City, then falling down to the Sea and so running along the Coasts plundred the Country of *Conjentine*.

Alain and *Judicael*, who were contending for their shares in *Bretagne*, agreed together to fight the *Normans* their common Enemy. *Judicael* alone rashly presents them Battel, and so doing lost both his Life and honour: But *Alain* having gotten all his Forces together, fought them so fortunately that of fifteen thousand hardly did four hundred escape. The *Bretons* attribute this success to a vow he made to bestow the Tythe of the Spoil he should gain upon *St. Peter's* at *Rome*.

Such Devotion towards the Holy-Chair was very ordinary in those Ages. Divers Princes devoured their Estates, and became Tributaries to *St. Peter*. Which did not a little contribute to imprint that persuasion the Popes then had in their minds, that they had a right both to give and to take away Crowns.

After these losses the *Normans* having but few men left in *France*, two of their Chiefs*, *Godfrey* and *Sigefroy* went and shipped a new levy of a hundred thousand men.

* They called them Kings.

land men raised in *Denmark, Sweden and Norway*, that their reputation might not be wholly blasted. They entered the *Meuse* with fourscore and ten thousand, leaving the remainder to guard their Vessels. King *Arnold's* Lieutenants assaulting them indiscreetly, were defeated with the loss of an infinite number of the Nobility.

890. But *Arnold* himself, picqued at so bloody an affront, passes the *Rhine* with the whole Force of *Germany*, seeks them in their very Camp which was close by the *Meuse*, and forced them with so much fury that he left not so much as one of them alive. The dead Bodies made a Bridge quite cross the River, and the Flood was swoln with the Blood of those *Barbarians*.

If any wonder whence there could come such vast numbers, we must know, First, that all the rascally and pilfering French, and the like of other Countries joyned with them: That besides those Countries were then extremely populous: and all those Inhabitants greedy of Plunder lifted and embarked themselves to come and rob such rich and fertile Nations. In fine, there came so many, who were either destroyed, or else Inhabited in France, that those large Territories of the North are unpeopled to this very day. Thus in these last Ages, Spain which once swarmed with men, has made her self become a Desert, through the covetous humour in her Subjects, who all transport themselves into that new World where are the Mines of Gold and Silver they so long for.

891. All the *Neustrian* Lords did not own *Eudes* for their King. *Aymar* Earl of *Poitiers*, whom he would have dispossessed of his Estate to give it to his Brother *Robert*, *Ranulfe* II. Duke of *Aquitain* and some others in those parts, had taken up Arms against him.

892. Now whilst he was employed in *Poitou* in the War, a confederacy was contrived between * *Herebert* and *Pepin* Brothers sprung from *Bernard* King of *Italy*, the one Earl of *Vermandois*, the other of *Senlis*, and *Baudouin*, or *Baldwin*, Earl of *Flanders*, *Fulk* Arch-Bishop of *Reims*, and many others, who having been to fetch *Charles* the Simple out of *England*, whither his Mother had carried him, caused him to be Crowned at *Rheims* the 27th of *January* in the year 893. It was by the assistance of *Fulk*, that he immediately wrote *Apologetick* Letters to *Arnold*, *Guy* and *Rodolph*, exhorting them to help the Pupil against the Usurper. Which at first made some impression upon *Arnold*, in favour of *Charles*; but soon after, either in tereft or inconstancy, turned him on *Eudes* side.

Some have said that that *Guy* of *Spoleta* whom we have mentioned, had likewise been Crowned at *Langres* three years before. So that there were three Kings chosen and Crowned in *West-France*: But *Guy* had absolutely quitted it for *Italy*, and seemed to pretend no more to it.

Charles,

CHARLES,

Called

The SIMPLE,

King XXX.

POPES,

STEPHEN VII. Near Three years.

THEODORE II. Elef. 901. S. 20 dayes.

JOHN IX. also Elef. in 901. S. 3. Tears, 15 dayes.

BENNEDICT IV. Elef. 905. S. about 2. Tears.

LEO V. Elef. in 907. S. 40 dayes, after which Christopher dethroned him, & S. 7 Months.

SERGIUS III. an. 908. having dethroned Christopher. S. about 3 years.

ANASTASIUS III. Elef. an. 910. S. 2 years, 2 Months.

JOHN X. Elef. in 912. S. 15 years, whereof 12 under this Reign.

Arnold King of *Germany*, *Bavaria*, and *Lorraine*.

Eudes and *Charles* Competitors for *West-France*.

Guy Emperour and King of *Italy*.

Rodolph in *Burgundy*, and *LOUIS* in *Arles*.

For two whole years the parties for *Charles* and *Eudes* made War with various success. *Eudes* being returned from *Guyenne* drove *Charles* out of *Neustria*, but shortly after he got in again by the assistance of the Lords of his party.

Eudes made him work enough, and had no less to do himself, being forced to guard himself as well from his own party, as from his Enemies. Count *Gantier*, Son of *Adelme* his paternal Uncle and Count of *Laon*, drew his Sword upon him in open Parliament; and had afterwards the confidence to take shelter in the City of *Laon*: but *Eudes* followed him so close, that not giving him time to

to put himself into a posture of defence, he took the Town, and caused his Head to be cut off.

892. *Arnold* was sometimes on his side, sometimes for his Rival.

and 3. The well meaning *French* tyred with these discords, during which the *Normans* took their opportunity to return, contrived I know not what kind of Truce, between the two Kings. It seems *Burgundy* and *Aquitain*, *Champagne* and *Picardy* were to belong to *Endes*, all the rest was *Charles's*.

It troubled *Arnold* very much that contrary to the custom of *France*, such Princes who were of *Charlemain's* Blood but only by the Female side, should dismember the best Portions of his Succession. He goes down therefore into *Italy*, drives *Guy de Spoleta* out of all *Lombardy*, and forces him to retire to *Spoleta*. But he satisfied himself with that advantage only and went back into *Germany*. Now this *Guy* labouring to gather an Army about *Spoleta*, died of a bloody Flux, say some, though others make him to live a great while longer. However it were, *Arnold* gained nothing by his Death, for as he was at distance, the Lords conferred the Kingdom upon *Lambert* his Son, before *Berenger* his Competitor, who thought to restore his own Title, had time to take his measures. This *Lambert* was Crowned Emperor, and bare the Title as long as he lived.

In the mean time *Arnold* attacked *Rodolph* in *Burgundy* beyond the *Jour* or *Transjourane*, and put him to a great deal of trouble: however he could not force him quite out of those Mountains.

The year following he held a Council at the Palace of *Tribur*, which is betwixt *Ottobin* and *Ments* on the other side of the *Rhine*, and after that a Parliament at *Wormes*, where King *Endes* was present, and upon his return Plundered the Baggage belonging to the Ambassadors whom *Charles the Simple* was sending to *Arnold*.

In this Assembly *Arnold*, with the consent of the Lords, which he had very much ado to obtain, got *Zuentibold* his Bastard Son to be accepted for King of *Lorraine*. This young Prince embracing *Charles's* Party, besieged the City of *Laon*, then esteemed very important because of its advantageous situation upon a Hill: But when he found *Endes* returned out of *Aquitain* with his Army, he raised the Siege and turned his back to him.

The *Normans* began again their Incursions on that unhappy Kingdom with so much the more assurance and facility, as they found *Endes* backward and careless to suppress them, who indeed was only able to do it, but left them to go on to revenge the inconstancy of the *French*, who having made him King, would not obey him as he expected and required.

This year *Rollo*, or *Rol* one of the most considerable Leaders of those Pyrats after he found he could do nothing in *England*, where he had tried to Land, being also advertised by a Dream or divine Vision, steered his course towards *France*, and puts in at the Mouth of the *Seine*. Perhaps he might be called in by *Charles*, who turned every Stone to ruin his Rival.

As for the Empire of *Italy*, *Arnold* being invited by Pope *Formosus*, who would revenge himself for the outrages received from the *Romans*, forced the City of *Rome*, and having chastised them, was Crowned Emperor: But soon after as he was besieging the Widdow of *Guy* in the Castle of *Fermo*, one of his *Valets de chambre*, whom that subtil woman had corrupted, gave him a Drink which laid him asleep for three whole days, and brought him to be Paralytick for a while.

897. There hap'ned this year a horrible scandal in the *Roman Church*, *Formosus* Bishop of *Porto*, otherwhile degraded and condemned by Pope *Nicholas*, was elected Pope after *Stephannus VI.* This was the first example in the Church, and of most pernicious consequence, as we find it now every day, that without any necessity a Bishop is transferr'd to another See, and as one may say, does quit and forsake his first wife, to marry another. But after his death, Pope *Stephen VII.* his Successor, caused him to be taken out of his Grave, and having placed him in the Papal Chair dressed up in his Pontifical Ornaments, reproved and told him that thorough his ambition he had violated the orders of the Church, then condemned him as if he had been living, disrobed him of his Ornaments, cut off those three fingers with which he gave his Benediction, and caused him to be thrown into the River *Tiber* with a stone about his neck.

898. The enterprizes, surprisings and ren-counters, between *Charles* and *Endes*, ended by the death of the latter, which hapned the 3d. of January An. 898. about the end of the 36th of his Age, and the 8th. of his Reign. At his death he very earnestly

Empp.
Leo and
Lambert.
895.
895.

earnestly desired and enjoyed his Brother *Robert* and the other Lords to own and acknowledge King *Charles*, whom he hoped they should find a Prince as much deserving for his Vertues, as his Birth to Rule over them. He left but one Son by his Queen *Theodorade*, named *Arnold*, who took the Title of King of *Aquitain*: But death soon snatcht the Crown from him before he was married, or, as I believe, of Age enough to be so.

<i>Arnold</i>	<i>Charles</i>	<i>Zuendibold</i>	<i>Louis</i>	<i>Rodolph</i>	<i>Lambert</i>
Emperor	alone in	in <i>Lorraine</i> .	<i>Provence</i> .	<i>Burgundy</i> .	in <i>Italy</i> .
in <i>Germany</i> .	<i>France</i> .				

The loss of the Kingdom of *Lorraine* did much displease the *French*; wherefore *Charles* to gain their esteem endeavoured to recover it. The rebellion of Duke *Reinier* who had been the Favourite of *Zuendibold*, and whom that Prince had driven out of his Country, did facilitate the means, he therefore passed the *Meuse*, with a great deal of company. *Zuendibold* betakes himself to flight, but soon after all his Lords coming to him, he pursues him in his turn; and there had been a Battel if the Lords on either Part had not procured a Truce between them.

Soon after an Assembly was held in the Abbey of *Gorze* nigh *Mets*, which confirmed a Peace between *Charles*, *Arnold* and *Zuendibold*.

Towards the end of the year *Arnold* died, having Reigned twelve years since the Death of his Father *Charles the Fat*; And held the Empire only two years and a half.

He had divers Children by three several women; amongst others *Zuentibold*, and *Arnold the Bad*, by two Concubines, and *Louis* by a lawful Wife. This last was but eight years old when his Father died.

<i>Charles</i>	<i>Zuentibold</i>	<i>Louis</i>	* <i>Rodolph II.</i>	<i>Lambert</i>
the Simple,	in <i>Lorraine</i> .	<i>Germany</i> .	in <i>Burgundy</i>	and
in <i>France</i> .		* <i>Louis</i> in	<i>Transjurane</i> .	<i>Berenger</i>
		<i>Provence</i> .		in <i>Italy</i> .

The *German* Princes immediately Crowned *Louis*, and committed his person to the care and Guardian-ship of *Orto* Duke of *Saxony* who was married to his Sister, and Arch-Bishop *Haton*, as they did the conduct of his Army to *Lutpold* or *Leopold*, Duke of the Eastern Frontiers of *Bavaria*. From whom some make the House of *Bavaria* to be derived.

The Dominions of *Louis* were soon enlarged by the death of *Zuentibold* who behaving himself with much irregularity and little justice, and making his chief exercise the divertisement with women, and taking counsel only of the lowest and meanest People, gave the Lords of *Lorraine* just cause to forsake him to submit themselves to *Louis*. Those that had the Government of this young Prince brought him purposely to *Thionville* where they put the Crown upon his Head: and *Zuentibold* endeavouring to revenge it, was slain in a Battel fought between them, the 3d. day of August in this year 900. He Reigned five years.

<i>Charles</i> in	<i>Louis</i> in	<i>Rodolph I.</i>	<i>Louis</i> in	<i>Lambert</i> and
<i>Neustria</i> , or	<i>Germany</i> &	in <i>Burgundy</i> .	<i>Provence</i> .	<i>Berenger</i> in
<i>West-France</i> .	<i>Lorraine</i> .			<i>Italy</i> .

In the War which *Arnold* Earl of *Flanders* made against *Hebert* Earl of *Vernandois*, *Endes* had favoured *Hebert*, and King *Charles* took part with *Arnold* to whom he was in some sort obliged for what he enjoy'd. Now *Endes* being dead, *Hebert* who was subtil and insinuating, found means to make friends with *Charles*, and got into so much credit with him, that this simple and un-knowing King, took the City of *Arras* from *Baldwin*, and gave it to Count *Altmar*, that he might restore *Peronne* to *Hebert*.

Y

Baldwin

898.

899.

900.

900.

Baldwin or Baudouin coming to the King, to beseech him to let him have his Town again was denied with rough language. Now Fulk Arch-Bishop of Reims, great both by birth and merit, was then chief Counsellor to Charles, and holding the Abbey of Saint Vaast, had excommunicated Baldwin, for invading the Lands thereof: Wherefore Winomach Lord of the Island, Vassal to the Count, imputing the affront his Lord had received to the Counsel of this Arch-Bishop, way-laid him in a Wood and murdered him; for which being pursued and excommunicated by all the Bishops, made his escape into England, where he was eaten up with Lice.

It seems this was an Epidemical distemper in those days; For we find divers persons in History that died thereof, amongst others Arnold the Emperor the preceding year, and King Rodolph of whom we shall hereafter make mention.

900. The Hungarians began to make themselves known about the latter end of the Reign of Charles the Fatt. They then seated themselves in Pannonia, having chased out the Huns; and from thence became a Scurge to all the Provinces beyond the Rhine and the Danube, as the Normans were to all on this side. They were Originally a People of Scythia, Brutish and Barbarous beyond all imagination. Their Mothers trained them to inhumanity from their Birth, gashing and mangling their Faces that they might have nothing of humane; and by swallowing down blood mixed with their own tears before they sucked their first Milk, they might grow Blood-thirsty, and pitty-less to all mankind. They caroused in blood, and fed upon raw flesh, cut the hearts of those they took Prisoners in quarters, and swallowed the goblets reeking warm, had no faith, nor truth, nor honour, no wit but to defraud and contrive mischief, always a turbulent and furious courage either against an Enemy or against one another. The women were yet worse than the men. They had scarcely any other weapons besides Arrows, but were so dextrous in the use of them, that every one they shot did some execution, and every wound almost was Mortal. They were all Horsemen, very serviceable in flat and open Countries, who would notably harrafs an Army within their Bow-shot, but useless in Mountainous or Woody places, or for Sieges; Nor indeed would they ever adventure to come to handy-blows, but ever made a running Fight.

* You must mistake this Zuentibold, for the Son of Arnold.

King Arnold had brought them in to fall upon the back of Zuentibold * a Slavonian Prince, who would have usurped Moravia and make himself King. He being dead, they were not afraid to fall upon the Countries belonging to Louis his Son; And this year they gained a great victory against his Forces near the City of Augsburgh, and afterwards Plundered Bavaria, Swaben, Franconia and Saxony.

901. The year following having good information of the Civil War betwixt Berenger and Louis the Son of Boson they marched into Italy. The Italians An. 899. tired with the Government of Berenger, and above all with Adebert Marquis of Tuscany Father of another Berenger who was likewise King of Italy, had called in Louis: But Berenger I. had made himself so strong with the assistance of Adebert Marquis of Tuscany, that he hemm'd him in and forced him to a promise he would renounce the Kingdom, upon condition he would give him free liberty to march home again without farther lett or molestation.

902. The oaths of ambitious Princes are as frail and short liv'd as the vows and promises of Lovers: the same Adelbert who had supported Berenger's cause, turning Coat, and soliciting Louis to return thither again, that un-advised Prince confides in Faithless men. But he had time to repent at leisure. For they delivered him up to Berenger, who deprived him both of his Empire and his sight. That done he forced the Pope (it was John IX.) to Crown him Emperor, but so soon as he was gone from Rome, the Pope sent for Lambert, who was then private in some corner of Italy, and Crowned him. Which was confirmed by a grand Council held at Ravenna.

Empp. Leo VI. and Lambert. 902.

Berenger Governed 22 years, we might say happily enough, had it not been for the incursions of the Bulgarians. In the Month of August this same year, they again entered Italy with a numerous Army, and having ranfack'd the Territory of Aquilea, Verona, Coma and Bergamo, came at last towards Pavia, Berenger mean while had got his Forces together: When they saw his numbers three times more than they expected, they endeavoured to make a retreat; and when he followed and pursued them so close that they could not get off without fighting, they pro-

fer'd him all their Plunder and their own Baggage. The Italians would hear of nothing less than to have them all upon discretion. Necessity converted their fear into fury and despair; the Hungarians now attaque their pursuers, and cut their Army all in pieces. And Lombardy did afterwards become their prey: Nor did they attempt to drive them thence but with their money: a Bait so sweet that it allured them to return again often.

In the year 903. a Star appeared near the Pole-Artick, which darted from the North-North-East, towards the South-West, a long Train resembling a Lance, which passing between the Signs of the Lyon and the Twinns, crossed the Zodiac. It was seen for three and twenty days.

For seven or eight years together there was nothing so remarkable as the cruel incursions of the Normans. An. 903. Heric and Haric two of their Captains burnt the Castle of Tours, and Saint Martin's Church.

An. 905. Rodolph and Gerlon two other Commanders of the same Nation took the City of Rouen upon composition, and there settled their Habitation, fortifying the Castles that were near them.

From thence for five years space they made Incursions into all the neighbouring Provinces, conquered Constantine, and inhabited it, sacked all Picardy, Artois, Champagne, and the Country of Meffin, often frightened Paris, covered the Seine, the Marne and the Loire with the Ashes of those Cities they consumed by Fire near those Streams, and beat the French every where; excepting at Chartres from whence they were repulged by the protection of the Holy Virgin, and the courage of Bishop Gosselme, and at Tonnerre, where one of their Parties was defeated by Richard Duke of Burgundy.

The foregoing year Lambert was killed by treachery, as he was taking his pleasure in hunting, by Hugo Earl of Milan. The Western Empire remained vacant till the year 915. When Berenger was again Crowned by Pope John X.

We may here place the Birth of the Kingdom of Arragon, because about this time Sancho Abacca I. having extended his Kingdom of Navarre, or Territory of Pampeluna, towards Huesca, and conquered all the rest of the Province of Arragon, besides the Earldom of the same name which held already of him, took the Title of King of Pampeluna and Arragon.

In An. 911. hapned the Death of two Kings, Rodolph of Burgundy beyond the Jour, and Louis King of Germany. The first left Rodolph II. his Son for Successor. The second being only 19 or 20 years of age, had only two Daughters Placidia or Plesance, and Matilda, who for Husbands had Conrad Duke of Franconia, and Henry the Bird-Catcher Duke of Saxony and Son of Duke Otho. The Lords of Lewis's Kingdom intending to bestow the Crown upon this Otho, he excused himself upon the Score of his great Age, and generously advised them to Elect Conrad Duke of Franconia, though he had been his Enemy.

Charles	Conrad	Louis	Rodolph II.	Berenger
the Simple	in	in	in	in
in France.	Germany.	Provence.	Trans-jurane.	Italy.

Rollo the great Captain did by little and little make himself familiar and friendly with Franco Arch-Bishop of Rouen. Upon his intreaties he had twice or thrice granted a Truce. The design of that vertuous Prelat was to convert him, Rollo's was to attain the Sovereignty, and of the head of those Pirats become a Legal Prince. The French Lords had much ado to suffer such a Stranger to be settled thus in the best Country of the Kingdom: But the People so long and often tormented by their plundrings and continued disturbance, cried out to them to put a period to their miseries. Besides Robert Earl of Paris, who aspired to the Monarchy, desired he might remain in that Station, to have his assistance in time of need. For these reasons, Charles made a Truce with him, during which he propounded to him, to give him in propriety, and with the Title of a Dutchy, that part of Neustria between the Sea, the River of Seine and the Epte which falls in-

to the *Seine*; with his Daughter *Gisèle* in marriage, if he would be converted and embrace Christianity.

912. Upon these conditions *Rollo* was Catechised, and received holy Baptism upon Easter-Eve An. 912. Earl *Robert* was his God-Father and named him. After this he went and did homage to the King for the Lands he gave him, and then wedded the Princess his Daughter, but she lived only a short time with him, and brought him no Children.

Thus this Province which the *Romans* called *Lugdunensis Secunda*, was dismembered from the propriety of the Kings of *France*; But not from their Sovereignty: and according to the name of it's new Inhabitants took that of *Nor-mandy*.

As this was granted to them, because they knew not how to drive them out, so for the same reason they were released of the Homage, and dependance of *Bretagne*, because they were indeed Masters of it, and pillag'd it when ever they pleased: And withal by this means it was reduced to the Sovereignty of the Crown, by subjecting it under a Duke that held it of the King.

913. The year following *Rollo* failed not to demand Homage of the *Bretons* with his Sword in hand. Duke *Alain** *Rebre* or the Great had been dead six years and left his Children very young. Those that govern'd them, rather then let them degenerate from their Sovereignty, carried them out of the Country with some of the greatest Nobility. And since that we find no mention of them in History*. Count *Porhouet*, named *Mathued*, who had married a Daughter of *Alain*'s the Grand, went into England with his Wife. *Berenger* Earl of *Remes* and *Alain de Dol* having defended themselves the best they could, were at last constrained to bow the Knee before the *Normans* and shake hands with them.

There were besides in divers other parts of *France*, especially in *Bretagne*, *Anjou* and the Country of *Maine*, and the Islands in the River *Loire* numbers of these people; but in time, following the example of *Rollo*, they took Habitations, and Naturalized themselves *French*, but not without first doing a vast deal of mischief; and for a long while after, the settlement of these drew in fresh swarms from *Denmark* and *Sweden*, who were no less ravenous and cruel, though not so formidable as the first.

913. and 14. All the *Grandeens* of *Germany* were not satisfied with the Election of *Conrad*. *Arnold* Duke of *Bavaria* Proud for having vanquished the *Hungarians* in his Dutchy, rose up against him with design to make himself King: and not being able to compass it, pretended to stickle that *Charles* might have it.

915. That King had it ever in his thoughts to Sieze again upon the Kingdom of *Lorraine*. Now meeting this fit juncture, and the assistance of *Reiner* Count of *Ardenne*, who was very potent in those Countries, he enters into *Lorraine* and makes himself Master of part of that Kingdom, whereof he made him Governor with the Quality of a Duke.

916. Duke *Rollo* had repudiated *Pope* Daughter of the Earl of *Bayeux* to marry the Daughter of *Charles* the *Bald*; that Princess being dead, he takes his former wife again, by whom he had two Children *William* and *Gerlose* or *Gerloc*.

916. *Henry* Duke of *Saxony* rebels against *Conrad*, gains a Battel over *Everard* his Lieutenant, and gives chase to *Conrad* himself; whilst on the other side, the *Hungarians* over-run even to *Alsace*, burning the City of *Bale*, and can have no stop put to them but by Sums of Money, which *Conrad* is forced to give them.

917. An. 917. Died *Rollo* first Duke of *Normandy*, for ever renowned for that severe justice and exact policy he established within his Dominions; Where the very mention of his name is able to this day to stop the Progress of Villians, and bring those that are such before the judgment Seat. Some put off his death to the year 924. his Son *William*, afterwards surnamed *Long-Sword*, Succeeded him; And undertook his Tuition.

918. The following year hapned the Death of *Baldwin* the *Bald* Earl of *Flanders*. His Eldest Son, *Arnold* the *Fatt* Inherited his Earldom; *Adolph* the Second Son, the Cities of *Terouenne*, *Boulogne* and *Saint Omers*, but some few years after he died without Children.

Fulk le Roux Earl of *Anjou*, Son of *Ingelger*, quickly followed *Baldwin*, *Fulk* the Good his Son Succeeded him.

Conrad

Conrad King of *Germany* went off likewise the same year by a Wound he received in the *Bavarian* War. Dying he commanded with a more then Royal generosity, *Everard* his Brother, to carry the Regal Ornaments to *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, though he had always made war against him. Thus he returned the kindness that *Otho* his Father had shewed in giving him the Crown, and laid down all thoughts of revenge to promote the happiness and safety of his Country which stood in need of a Prince able to defend it against the Incurfions of the *Hungarians*. This *Henry* was called the *Bird-Catcher*, because he was found catching of Birds, when they brought him the news of his Election.

918.

Charles the Simple in France.	Henry the Bird Catcher in Germany.	Rodolph II. in Burgundy Transjurane.	LOUIS in Provence.	Berenger in Italy.
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Before *Henry* was well settled, *Charles* falls into *Lorraine*, conquer'd it all as far as *Wormes*, and compels him to become his Subject for the remainder of that Kingdom.

But the *French* Lords, who apprehended that if *Charles* grew too potent and too peaceable, he might take away their Estates which they intended to make Hereditary, stirred up new troubles. Amongst others in *Lorraine* *Gisalbert* and *Otho* Son of Duke *Regnier*, the first of these had wedded a Daughter of King *Henry*'s, and in *France* *Robert* Brother of King *Endes* who held Intelligence with the Son of *Regnier*.

919.

These Male-contents being joyned with divers others, during the time the two Kings *Henry* and *Charles* were thrusting each other out of *Lorraine*, did in the end make their Cabal so strong that all *Charles*'s Subjects abandoned him, as had done otherwhile those of *Charles* the *Fatt*. The pretence for this general revolt was, that he had a Favorite by name *Aganon*, who disposed of every thing, wasted the Royal Treasure, and treated the *Grandeens* of the Kingdom insolently.

920.
& 21.

However *Herve* Arch-Bishop of *Rheims* getting him into his house, found a means to make up the Breach between him and his Subjects, so that they restored his Crown to him, but not his Authority.

921.

For a new broil being started up, because *Charles* refused the Abbey of *Chester* to *Hugh* called the *Blanc* Son of *Robert* who pretended to it, for that his Aunt and Mother in Law had enjoy'd it, to bestow it upon *Aganon* his Favourite: the troubles not only began again, but which was worse, *Robert* at the Instigation of *Gisalbert*, having gained a great Party amongst the *French* Lords, got to be Elected and Crowned King at *Rheims* by the Arch-Bishop *Herve* the 20th of June in the year 922.

922.

Charles the Simple. in France.	Robert his rival.	Henry the Bird-Catcher, in Germany.	Rodolph II. in Burgundy Transjurane.	LOUIS in Provence.	Berenger Emperor in Italy.
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Upon this news *Charles* raises his Siege from before the Castle of *Capremont*, where he held *Gisalbert* one of his greatest Enemies cooped up. This *Gisalbert* had once before been stripp'd of all his Estate by this King, and being restored again by *Henry* his Father in Law, had revolted this second time. Then *Charles*, who had had the advantage over *Henry*, changed condition, and became a suppliant to him. Both he and his rival strove to get him first; and by that means confirmed him in the possession of the Kingdom of *Lorraine*.

922.

However these two competitors had each of them still some share. *Charles* having raised considerable Forces in that part which he held, came resolutely to find out *Robert* encamped with his men near *Soissons*, on this side of the River *Aisne*, and having passed over unawares, charged him furiously whilst his men were feeding and refreshing themselves. *Robert* fighting at the head of his Army, was slain with the stroke of a Lance, which honourable deed some Authors bestow upon *Charles*. Nevertheless *Hugh* his Son, Earl *Hebert* of *Vermandois* and the others Chief Officers of his Party, not only made head against *Charles*, but gained so upon him, that they had utterly defeated him, had they but followed their pursuit.

This

* Blanc, is
white.

923.

This combat hapned the 15th of June, so that Robert Reigned not one whole year. He had married *Beatrix* daughter of *Hebert* II. Earl of *Vermandois*, by whom he had a Son *Hugh*, whom they surnamed the *Blanc**, the *Grand*, and the *Abbot*, and one Daughter *Emma* wedded to *Rodolph* Duke of *Burgundy*, Son of Duke *Richard* who died the year preceding.

The string or knot of *Robert's* Party was not broken thorough the loss of their Head, but held the firmer united because their danger appeared the greater; Therefore the Lords by the persuasions of *Hugh* his Son, who found himself not potent enough to be a King, but to make one, Elected *Rodolph* Duke of *Burgundy* his Brother in Law, a Noble-man of a brave presence, and a much better judgment, and Crowned him at *Saint Medard* in *Soissons* the 13th Day of July.

The *French* Historians place this *Rodolph* and *Endes* before mentioned in the rank of their Kings, and yet they do not put in *Robert* Brother of *Endes*, for which there can be no reason assigned but the shortness of his Reign.

Rodolph,

RODOLPH,

King XXXI.

Charles — *Rodolph* *Henry* the *Rodolph* II. *LOUIS* *Berenger*,
the *Simple* his rival. *Bird-catcher*, in *Burgundy* in *Emperor*.
in *West-France*. in *Germany*. *Trans-jurane*. *Provence*.

After the Election of *Rodolph*, all the world forsook *Charles*: the *Norman* assistance which should have come to him, not being able to pass, because his enemies lay betwixt them, rendred him more odious. Having therefore no other refuge, he wrote in a doleful manner to *Henry* King of *Germany*, and gave him up *Lorraine*, upon condition he would help him against these Rebels. The reward was great, and the Act of restoring a King very glorious, *Henry* did therefore promise he would undertake it with all the power of *Germany*.

Robert's Party was greatly astonished at this News, they did not know how to ward so dangerous a blow, *Hebert* Earl of *Vermandois* draws them out of this difficulty. King *Charles* believed he had quite taken him off from their interest: But this Traytor, whose Sister *Robert* had married, having decoyed his King into the Castle of *Peronne*, whither he was so simple as to let them lead him, detained him Prisoner, and confined him to *Chasteau-Thierry*, where he was strongly guarded.

Queen *Ogina* having heard of this detention of her Husband fled to *England* her own Country, and carried with her the only Son she had by him, named *Louis*, to wait a better opportunity out of the reach of those who could no way secure their Royalty but by his Death. *Saulse* Arch-Bishop of *Rheims*, having had some contest with the Kindred of *Hetto* his Predecessor, for having taken some *Fiefs* from them which they held of the Church, was joyned with *Hebert's* Party to gain their protection, and had made him a promise never to assent to any Election whatsoever but whom he pleased.

During the Reign of *Rodolph*, of *Lewes Transmarine* and *Lotaire* III. there was almost a continual War betwixt the *French* and the *Germans*, for the Kingdom of *Lorraine*; We shall mention only the great events. It is certain that *Rodolph* reduced a great part thereof to his obedience.

They were fain this year 924. to make a Collection for the *Normans*, as *Charles* the *Bald* had done several times, partly by voluntary contribution, the rest by way of a Tax.

The Duke of *Aquitain*, *William* I. of that name the Son of *Ebles*, did not submit himself so much as he ought to *Rodolph*, he was obliged to turn his Sword that way. *William* knowing his resolution, advanced to the River of *Loire*, which made the bounds of his Dutchy: where after some negotiations he passed the same, and alighting came to *Rodolph*, who embraced and kissed him sitting on Horse-back, and the next day granted him a Truce for eight: Which being expired the Duke did him Hommage, and in requital had the City of *Bourges* and *Berry* restored which *Rodolph* had taken from him.

The *Italians* grown weary of *Berenger*, bestowed the Sovereignty upon *Rodolph* II. King of *Burgundy Trans-jurane*. *Berenger* taking no other counsel but from revenge, was so unhappy as to make a league with the *Hungarians*, and drew them into *Italy*. Those *Barbarians* having sacked *Mantona*, *Brescia* and *Bergamo*, reduced the celebrated and rich City of *Pavia* Capital of the Kingdom of *Lombardy* to a heap

925.

924.

924.

a heap of ashes. Two hundred of the Citizens escaping the Fire and Captivity redeemed the Walls thereof from the hands of those destroyers for eight Bushels of Silver, which they had raked together out of the Ashes and Rubbish of it's ruins.

924. This money being received the *Bulgarians* passed the Mountains, and penetrated even into *Languedoc*. The same *Rodolph*, and *Hugh* Count of *Vienne* followed them and pressed so close upon them, that those *Barbarians* partly cut off by the Sword, and the rest perishing by the Flux or Dysentery, and want of Food, enriched greatly those Countries with their Spoil which they came to plunder.

925. The year following *Berenger* struggling to regain the Kingdom of *Italy*, was slain by his own People at *Verona*. After his death the Title of Emperor in the West was not conferr'd upon any, at least by the Pope or *Italians*, till *Otho* I. An. 962.

Western
Emp. vacant
Emp. of the
East likewise.
By his death the Kingdom remained entirely *Rodolph's*: but the inconstancy of the *Italians*, who were ever hunting out one Lord and Master by another, made them resign themselves to *Hugh* Count of *Arles* the Son of *Brethe*, to ridd themselves of *Rodolph*. Who being informed that they had Treacherously killed *Burchar* Duke of *Svevia*, his father in Law, withdrew himself into his own Kingdom of *Burgundy*, not daring to attempt any thing amongst such wickedly disposed people.

Rodolph King of France. *Henry* of Germany. *Hugh* of Italy. *Rodolph* II. of Burgundy.

926. Every year almost the *Normans* made Incursions: Besides those that were in *Neustria*, there were others in *Burgundy*, and towards *Artois*; and at all times they were forced to be making head against them, or be in pursuit of them; but they had such sure friends amongst the *Grandeas*, who would not suffer the Kingdoms grievances to be scann'd, that they ever got away scot-free.

This year *Rodolph* King of France, having surrounded them in a Wood in the Country of *Artois*, they made a Furious Salley unawares, in which he was wounded, and had been taken without the timely assistance Count *Hebert* gave him. Those that held the Islands in the *Loire*, having been a long time besieged by *Hugh* and *Hebert*, defended themselves so stoutly that they gave them the City of *Nants* for their habitation.

927. Notwithstanding the strickt alliance which seemed to be between King *Rodolph* and *Hebert*, the City of *Laon*, became an occasion of discord between them. *Hebert* would have it for *Otho* his Son, and the King desired to keep it to himself. *Hebert* not able to get it by friendship, had thoughts of gaining it by force. He therefore draws *Charles* the Simple out of Prison, and carries him to parley with the *Normans*, who suffer'd his confinement with great impatience, because he had bestow'd upon them the richest Province of France. This menace having effected nothing, for as much as *Emma* the Wife of *Rodolph* was obstinately bent to preserve *Laon*, and had put her self in there, he conducts him to *Reims* as if designing to reestablish him.

927. Then was the Queen forced to let go her hold, and surrender up the place to *Hebert*: who being by this means appeased, returned *Charles* to the Castle of *Peronne*, and made a new Oath to *Rodolph*.

928. In the year 928. *Hugh* King of *Italy* came into France (we do not find for what reason) King *Rodolph* went towards *Lyonnois* to receive him and conferr'd with him.

* A Trench or Moat.
A crew of *Normans* gotten into *Boulenois* made a double Foss or Water-graft round about *Guifces*. Afterwards *Arnold* Earl of *Flanders* gave it in Fief to *Sigebert* Commander of that Fleet: who some time after stole away his daughter *Eltrude*; but finding he came to besiege him, was in so much dread of his wrath that he hanged himself, and left that Woman great with child of a Son named *Adolph*, who was since Earl of *Guifnes*.

929. Sometimes *Rodolph*, otherwhile *Hebert* gave hopes of setting the unfortunate *Charles* the Simple at Liberty, and paid him all the respects due to a Sovereign. Yet only death took him out of their custody, putting a period to his Captivity and unhappiness in the City of *Peronne*, the 7th Day of October in the Year 929. He was Interred at *St. Fourcy's* in the same City. His Reign if we reckon from his Coronation

Coronation day to that of his imprisonment was 37 years, his life 50. He left but one Son named *Louis* by his Queen * *Ogina*, Daughter of *Edward* King of *Ogiva*. England.

Rodolph King of France. *Henry* of Germany. *Hugh* of Italy. *Rodolph* II. of Burgundy.

930. Whilst King *Rodolph* was gone into *Aquitain*, he had news that the *Normans* of the Islands in the *Loire* had adventured to run as far as *Limosin*: He went and set upon them in the place called *Dextricios*, we cannot well tell where that was, and so hemm'd them in that not one of them returned. This seasonable victory gained him great esteem amongst the *Aquitains*, and induced them to acknowledge him with a little more submission.

930. The Regal Authority was in an extreme low Ebbe and feeble condition, the Lords made War upon one another for their under Vassals, and such places as they usurped from each other, and often times attacked their Kings when they refused them certain Lands or Abby's.

Hebert could not agree with *Rodolph*, because he was his Sovereign, he held a correspondence with all his Enemies, and sought all means to weaken him. The pretence for this quarrel was that *Hugh* Brother in Law to the King had allured some of his Vassals from him, amongst others *Herluin* Earl of *Monstrueil*.

931. There was a rude War betwixt them for five years together, divers places taken, and much Country laid wast. *Hebert* made use of the assistance of the *Lorrainers* against him, and had given his Oath to *Henry* King of Germany. But *Rodolph* being helped by *Hugh* the Great, took the City of *Rheims* which *Hebert* enjoy'd, because he had caused them to Elect his Son Arch-Bishop, though a Minor destituted *Benon* Bishop of *Chaalons*, who had followed *Hebert*, and besieged him in *Laon* himself, which he gained upon composition.

Hebert's Insolence being a little abated, *Rodolph* made a journey into *Aquitain* and *Languedoc*, where he received homage of *Raymond* and *Ermengard* Gothican Princes (for so was named that part of *Languedoc*, nearest to the *Pyrenean* Hills) and of *Loup Azeuar* Duke of *Gascogny*, whom, if we credit *Flodoard*, was mounted upon a Horse one hundred years old, and yet vigorous and lusty.

932. *William* Duke of *Normandy* did likewise pay him homage, and in retribution he gave him those Lands the *Bretons* held on the Sea-side; I believe those were the *Bessin* and the *Constentin*.

In *Italy* King *Hugh* from the year 929. had obtained the Seignory of the City of *Rome*, by wedding the lustful *Merofia* Widdow of *Guy* Marquits of *Tuscany*, who then Governed the City and the Holy Chair: but he was soon driven thence by *Alberic* the Son of that Woman, to whom he had given a Box on the Ear, and retired into *Lombardy*. *Lambert* who Succeeded in the Marquisat of *Tuscany* to *Guy* his Brother, was likewise Brother by the Mothers-side to King *Hugh*, for he was Son to *Berte* his Mother, who in her widdow-hood married the second time to *Adelbert* Father of *Guy* and *Lambert*. *Hugh* notwithstanding put him to death, and bestowed *Tuscany* upon *Boson* his Brother both by Father and mother, who proved as little faithful to him as *Lambert*.

931. The People were soon distasted with his Government, and recalled King *Rodolph*. These two Princes being ready to embroil all *Italy*, their friends contrived an agreement between them, which was such that *Rodolph* should renounce the Kingdom of *Italy*, and also should assist *Hugh* with a certain number of men to preserve it, on condition *Hugh* should give him *la Bresse*, *Viennois*, and all that he held in *Provence*, with the Title of King of *Arles*; which by this means was united to the Kingdom of *Burgundy* *Trans-jurane*.

The name of the Kingdom of *Arles*, was not given it because those Kings that enjoy'd it, did ever reside there, nor were ever Crowned there, but because that was so renowned a City as to deserve the Title, having been in the Roman Emperors days, the Capital of seven Provinces of the Gauls, and her Metropolitans Vicars of the Holy Chair.

933. Notwithstanding this agreement, the *Italians* persisting in their resolution to set aside *Hugh*, invited *Arnold* Duke of *Bavaria* to come and take the Crown. He made way as far as *Verona* and was well received; but *Hugh* got good footing there

there, and chased him back again into *Bavaria*. After which to maintain his ground the better, he associated his Son *Lotaire* to the Crown.

The Acts we find of *Louis* the Blind King of *Provence*, makes it appear he was yet alive *An.* 933. So that there is no colour to mention his death till *An.*

934.

934. He was then 55 years of Age, and had but one Son named *Charles Constantine*, who not being at that time out of his Child-hood, the *Provençals* who then stood in need of a King able to Govern, Elected *Hugh* Son of Count * *Thibault* and *Be-the*, who was Marquis of *Provence*.

* See before in
An. 829.

In the mean time the two most potent Lords in *France*, *Hugh le Blanc* and *Herbert de Vermandois*, not being able to agree together made a rough War upon each other, the King favouring *Hugh*, whose Sister he had married. *Henry* King of *Germany* having interposed to make up this Breach, *Saint Quintins* was restored to *Hebert*, and his wife *Peronne*, by a Cessation which ended in a final Peace.

933. 34.
35. 36.

Anno 935. The three Kings of *Germany*, *France*, and *Burgundy* had an interview near the *Meuse*, to give joyned orders for repressing the cruel incursions of the *Bulgarians*, who infested the Dominions of all these Princes. This very year having ravaged *Lombardy*, they were gotten into *Burgundy*: but when they understood the King of *France* was marching that way, they returned speedily into *Italy*.

In this march the same King besieged and took *Dijon*, which *Boson* his own Brother had got in his possession. Which I mention only to shew the universal disorders of those Reigns, even amongst the nearest Kindred.

936.

In the year 936 died *Ebles* Earl of *Auvergne* and *Poitou*, and Duke of *Aquitain*, the Son of *Ranulfe* and Successor to *William*, leaving his Estates to *William* surnamed *Teste d'estoupe*, or *Flaxen-head*, his Son.

As likewise *Rodolph* the King of *France* left this World the 14th of his Reign and the 15th of *January* in the City of *Auxerre*, where he fell sick in the former Autumn of a *Phthisis*. His Monument is at *St. Columbes* of *Sens*. He was a Prince most Liberal, Valiant, Religious, Just, and worthy of better times. His wife died a Twelvemonth before him, and his Brother *Boson* about a quarter of a year: both Child-less. But they had another Brother called *Hugh le Noir*, i. e. the Black, who bare the Title of Duke of *Burgundy* and the surname of *Capet*.

936.

The same year *Henry* the Bird-Catcher also ended his days, and in his place the *Germans* set up *Orto* his eldest Son, afterwards surnamed the Great.

Church of the
9th Century, or
Age.

Never Prince employ'd so much care, and so much Time in regulating all that concerned the advantage and administration of the Church, the Discipline of the Clergy, and Christian manners, as *Louis* the Debonnaire. In all the Assemblies, hardly any other thing was ever treated of: He and the Grandees of his Kingdom were present in the Councils to approve and subscribe what was ordained; which afterwards he confirmed by his Letters Patents.

At the Council of *Aix-la-Chapelle* in the year 816. were digested in writing the Form and Method of the Institution of the Ecclesiasticks in CXLV. Articles, and those of Religious Orders in XXVIII. both taken out of the Ancient Councils, and Holy Fathers. After this Council, and in the same place, he made XXIX. Capitulary's, as was the Custom upon the like occasions.

The year following 817. he assembled the Abbots and their Monks in the same place, who made XC. Chapters or Rules for Monastick Discipline: After which *Bennet* Abbot of *Aniane*, laboured in the reformation of the Order of *St. Bennet*, which was much unsettled and shattered.

The Laity were much given to abuse and often murder the Clergy: And for this reason he called a Council at *Thionville* *An.* 821. where the Bishops ordained long and tedious penances for such as should commit those crimes. The next year he convoked another at *Arigny*, and there in imitation of the Example of the Great *Theodosius*, he would needs voluntarily undergo publick Penance for the Death of *Bernard*, and those violences he had committed against some other of his Kindred. He also made several Capitulary's for the Government of Church and State.

To the same end, and to find out some way to appease the wrath of God, which appeared visibly in the frequent incursions of the *Normans*, he gave order *An.* 828. for the Assembling of four Councils the year following, in four several parts of the Kingdom, at *Mentis*, *Paris*, *Lyons* and *Thoulonze*, and framed Articles of what they were to consult about. He confirmed the Decrees of all those four in one at *Wormes*, which was held the same year in presence of some Legats sent by Pope

Gregory

Gregory IV. We have the Acts of that held at *Paris*, which is the VI. of that name. They are very judicious, and divided into three Books.

He called another Assembly *An.* 832. in the Abbey of *St. Denis*, to re-establish the Monastick Orders, and Authorized this Reformation by a Declaration.

We must not amongst these Holy Assemblies place that of *Compiègne*, where this good Prince was degraded and condemned to wear the Habit of a Penitent. That of *St. Denis* in the year 834. reconciled him to the Church, and restored him to the Communion. The Council of *Thionville* did the same thing, and besides that, degraded *Ebbon* Arch-Bishop of *Reims*, who had been the Principal Author of that attempt.

To shew his thankfulness to God as well by his works, as his Prayers and Devotion, he caused one to be held at *Aix* *An.* 836. where some excellent Decrees were made, which the Fathers sent to *Pepin* of *Aquitain*, thereby to admonish him of his Duty towards God, and restrain him from treating the Churches so ill for the future, as he had done. These Decrees were Commented as one may say, and Corroborated with Reasons and Arguments extracted from the Fathers, which was frequently practised by the Councils of those Ages.

It would be too tedious to mention all those that were held during the Reign of *Charles the Bald*, with all those Capitulary's which were framed for the same purpose of Reformation. We have the Council of *Lauriac* in *Anjou* *An.* 843. that of *Thionville* and another at *Vernon* in *An.* 844. those of *Beauvais* and *Meaux* *An.* 845. that of *Paris* the year following, to compleat the Regulations which could not be finished in that of *Meaux*; One at *Soissons* in 853. and another at *Verberie*, to digest all that had been Ordained at *Soissons*; One at *Tonziack* * in the Bishoprick of *Toul*, *An.* 860. composed of the Bishops of fourteen Provinces. One at *Soissons*, *An.* 866. One at *Troyes* the year after, as it were for a supplement to that of *Soissons*, all these being for the Reformation of Discipline, and Manners. Most of the others were for particular affairs, and yet did often make Canons. That of *Mentis* in the year 848. where *Rabanus Maurus* the Arch-Bishop presided, sent back *Godefride* the Monk * to *Hincmar* of *Reims* his Metropolitan; who at the Council of *Crecy* on the *Oise*, the same year, caused him to be condemned. This Monk was accused for preaching errors concerning the Doctrines of Predestination, Free-will, and the Redemption by the Blood of Jesus Christ; These questions were debated again *An.* 853. in the third Council of *Valence*, which met to prosecute the Bishop of that City for certain Crimes.

* It is believed
to be Thierigh
Vauconleux.
Diocess of
Toul.

* Of this see
hereafter.

The Council of *Paris* of the year 847. was called for the business of *Ebbon* of *Reims*, that of *Tours* met *An.* 849. about the enterprise of *Neomene*, who had given the Bishops of *Bretagne* a Metropolitan, and had thereby substracted them from the Arch-Bishoprick of *Tours*. In that of *Crecy* *An.* 858. the Bishops depured two of their Assembly to go and make remonstrances to *Louis* the Germanick, upon his invading the Kingdom of his Brother *Charles*. There was one at *Savonieres*, the Suburbs of *Toul*, *An.* 859. to make up that Breach. *Lotaire* the Young convened two at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in the year 860. about the business of the Marriage of *Thierberge* and *Lotaire* II. and there was likewise a third at *Mentis* for the same Subject.

In that of *Senlis* *An.* 863. *Hincmar* caused *Rouland* Bishop of *Soissons* to be degraded, upon the accusation of a Priest whom *Rouland* had deposed, for being surprised with a Woman, and Mutilated in those Parts or Members, which are unuseful to a good Ecclesiastick. *Rouland* appealed to *Rome*; Pope *Nicholas* sent word to *Hincmar* and the Bishops that they should order the Party accused to come to him that he might review his Process; and upon the second Summons he interdicted their saying Mass, till they did obey. But *Hincmar* who had great Credit in the *Gallican* Church, stood it out, and caused Guards to be set upon *Rouland* lest he should slip out of the Kingdom. Nevertheless two years after he went to *Rome*, and was restored to his Bishoprick by Pope *Nicholas*.

The same Holy Father ordered *Herard* Arch-Bishop of *Tours* to call a Council at *Soissons* *An.* 866. (which was the III) to restore *Wlfade* * and his Companions to their places of Clerks in the Church of *Reims*, in case *Hincmar* who had displaced them, refused to do so: That of *Troyes* in 867. laboured in the same business. There was a Council *Verberie* in 869. One at *Arigny* *An.* 870. and another at *Douzy* in 871. concerning the affair of the unfortunate *Hincmar* of *Laon*. In that of *Arigny*, was likewise debated the division of the Kingdom of *Lotaire* I.

* He was afterwards,
Arch-Bishop of *Bozenges*.

and the Rebellion of *Carloman* Son to the *Bald*, who was condemned to be kept Prisoner at *Senlis*. Which was confirmed in another held at *Senlis* *An.* 873.

* Perhaps it is truly upon the River of *Vesle*, Diocess of *Reims*.

* Thought to be *Pont-yon*, two Leagues above *Vitry*.

* The Palace of the *Burgundian* Kings, about four Leagues from *Vienne*.

The Council of *Donzy* * *II.* *An.* 874. was against incestuous marriages, and such as invaded any thing belonging to the Church. That of *Pontigon* * in 876 confirmed the Regulations framed in that of *Pavia*. Pope *John VIII.* having escaped out of the Captivity of *Lambert* Count of *Spoleta*, and *Albert* Marquis of *Tuscany*, while he was in *France*, called that of *Troyes* in 878. where he caused the Excommunication he had at *Rome* thrown upon those persecutors to be approved, as also the Condemnation of *Formosus* Bishop of *Porto*, and his Adherents. The Bishops of *Burgundy* in that of *Maintaille* * gave the Kingdom to *Boson* *An.* 879. There was one at *Fimes* in *Champagne* in 881. amongst whose Acts we find an exhortation and advice to King *Louis* Son of *Louis* the *Stammerer* to Govern well. King *Arnold* had one held at *Mets* *An.* 888. That of *Valence* in *Daulphine* *An.* 890. gave the Kingdom of *Burgundy* *Cis-jurane* or *Arles* to *Louis* the Son of *Boson*. In the same Kingdom there was one at *Vienne* two years after, of which some Canons are remaining. The same year that of *Reims*, where *Foulk* Successor to *Hincmar* presided, which ordered comminatory Letters to *Baudouin*, or *Baldwin*, Earl of *Flanders*, who invaded the Propriety belonging to the Churches.

The question about the Worshipping of Images, and that touching Predestination, had like to have divided the *Gallican* Church. For the first, it is certain there were no Bishops in all *France* that would have broken them, or rejected the Intercession of Saints, unless *Claude de Turin*, who was so pelted on all hands, that he could not stand his ground. But many, and those of the most Learned, amongst others *Jonas* of *Orleans* and *Agobard* of *Lyons*, could not consent or yield, that Images should be adored. In so much that the Emperors *Theophilus*, and *Michael* having sent Ambassadors into *France* *An.* 825. to consult with the *Debonnaire* about the means to take away that Schism which divided the *Greek* Church from the *Roman*, the Bishops who were Assembled at *Paris* to confer about it, examined the Sayings of the Fathers with their reasons and opinions on that Subject, whence they did infer that the Worshipping of Images was not to be permitted.

They also wrote Letters conformable thereto, to be sent unto the Pope on this occasion, as well in their own as in the Emperors name, and others likewise for his Holyness to send to the Eastern Emperors. But we do not find that these resolutions had any effect; the *Gallican* Church hath allowed and received the Worshipping of Images, and hold those of a contrary opinion to be Heretiques.

For the question of Predestination, that made more noise yet. It was *Godeschale* the Monk a Native of *Germany*, but who had taken his Frock in the Abbey of *Orbais* in the Diocess of *Soissons*, who gave occasion for these Disputes. On his return from a Pilgrimage to *Rome* passing by *Ments*, he made out some propositions upon this Subject, which seemed to be hard and Scandalous; he was accused to be damned, as the Elect to be glorified, and therefore as he was the Author of good Actions, so he was likewise the Author of Sin. Those on the other side for him maintained that he held no other then the Doctrine of *St. Augustine*, *St. Gregory*, *St. Fulgentius*, and in fine the whole Church, which is, that God predestinates or Inclining them to Sin.

However it were, *Rabanus Maurus* Arch-Bishop of *Ments*, adjudged him guilty of the Error whereof he was accused: but because in condemning him he seemed to contradict that Proposition in General, that God Predestinates to Death, not knowing it was the opinion of *St. Fulgentius* and authorized by many of the Fathers, *Godeschale* reproached him that his was contrary to their Sentiments.

There is some likely-hood this Monk did not express himself with all that respect and submission he ought to so great a Prelat; and indeed being cited before the Council of *Ments*, he presented a Petition containing an accusation against him; The Arch-Bishop call'd him Make-hate and Insolent, and sent him back to *Hincmar* his Arch-Bishop to give judgment against him.

Hincmar, who of himself had but little mercy, and was besides something evilly disposed against the Monk, because of his too confident proceedings, used great severity towards him. For in the Council of *Crecy*, he caused him to be condemned for his Incurable obstinacy, and for his having been the cause of trouble, to be deposed from the Order of Priesthood, whipped till he should throw his

Writings

Writings into a Fire which was kindled near him, then shut up in close imprisonment, where he died at ten or twelve years end.

He persisted however in his opinions to the last; and *Hincmar* treating him like one excommunicated deny'd him the Sacraments, even at the time of his dissolution, and Christian Burial after his death.

Now as in the Council of *Crecy*, that Arch-Bishop had composed four Chapters, wherein he seemed to refute that Proposition of *St. Fulgentius*, and examine and oppose some others of *St. Augustin*'s; the greatest men of those Times withstood the enterprise. Amongst others *St. Prudence* Bishop of *Troyes*, *Servais* *Loup* a Priest of *Ments*, *Loup* Abbot of *Ferrieres*, *Ratramne* a Monk of *Corbie*; Nay even the Church of *Lyons*, to whose judgment *Hincmar* referr'd himself together with all those of the Kingdom of *Arles*, and his Pastor *St. Remy*, who for his Doctrine, and Ecclesiastical capacity was to be compared with the ancient Fathers.

Divers Councils were held, and many things written on either side, especially by *John Scot* for *Hincmar*, and by *Florus* for the Church of *Lyons*: By which, (say the Learned) it appears they were all for *St. Augustine*, but did not well understand themselves, or explain their own meaning clearly, so that the Errors they charged each other withal lay only in the different Interpretations and Sense of either Party. And indeed the Councils before whom these Controversies were brought wisely suppressed them, declaring that they were to be considered in a more ample manner and sober discussion. Which certainly they would never have done if there had appeared any positive or notorious errors in either Party.

All the mischief of this Storm fell upon two Priests, *Godeschale* and *John Scotus*, who suffer'd because they had reflected on the Bishops. The first was handled as is above-mentioned; the other having been mightily baffled and despised, was compelled in the end to forsake the Court and Kingdom: And even after his death was condemned as the Precursor of *Berenger*, and the *Sacramentarians*; *Rabanus*, and *Amalarinus* Deacon of *Treves* were likewise censured or blamed in their life time for holding that villainous or filthy opinion of the *Stercoranists*, which is not to be explained without trespassing on that respect, which is due to the most Sacred of all Mysteries.

The Authority especially was excessively encreased ever since *Pepin* made use of their interest to obtain the Crown, and *Charlemain*, after the Pattern of the *Visi-Goth* Kings, would have affairs both Civil and Ecclesiastical debated in the same Assemblies; where those Bishops being the Principals, often times carried things so as best pleased and served themselves. But the Rebellion of *Louis* the *Debonnaire*'s Children against their Father, and afterwards the Civil Dissentions ensuing, raised their power to a higher pitch yet, and put them into such a Capacity that they seemed to pretend a Right of Electing Kings, like the Pope, who disposed of the Empire, as if it had been a Benefice depending on him.

It is fit we observe that at the Coronations of Kings, they forgot not their own Interests, nor failed to make them promise solemnly to maintain the Rights of the Church: But we do not find them always so careful and zealous for the good of the People and the Prerogative of the Nobility.

Of those that appeared with most Splendor, some were such as were noted for Intrigues and Factions; and of them were a great number, *Ebbon* of *Reims*, *Agobard* of *Lyons*, and *Bernard de Vienne* active in the degrading of *Louis* the *Debonnaire*. *Ebroin* of *Poitiers* for disposing *Aquitain* to surrender themselves into the hands of that Emperor, who would bestow it upon *Charles* his beloved Son. *Thietzand de Colen* and *Gontier de Ments* touching the marriage of *Valdrade*. And *Hincmar* of *Reims* for his resisting the Pope, and intermeddling with all affairs both of Church and State, wherein he acted with as much heat as judgment during the Reign of *Charles* the *Bald*.

The others were illustrious for their Learning; as the same *Agobard*, *Theodulfe*, and *Jonas* his Successor, *Rabanus Maurus* of *St. Bennets* Order and Arch-Bishop of *Mentz*, *Hincmar* of *Reims* who had been Abbot of *St. Denis*, and the other *Hincmar* his Nephew, *Remy* of *Lyons*, *Adon* of *Vienne*, *Hilduin* Abbot of *St. Denis*, *Loup* Abbot of *Ferrieres* in *Gastinois*, *Henry* Monk of *St. Germain d'Auxerre*, *Valafride Strabon* Abbot of *Richenone*, *Florus* Master of the Church of *Lyons*, that is a Divine, and *John Scot*, or *Scotus*, surnamed *Erigena*. This last was a great Philosopher, and for the Beauty and Delicacy of his wit, highly cherished by *Charles* the *Bald*, even to the lying in his Chamber: But in Theology he passed for one of a raving Brain, whose sentiments were not right and sound.

As

As for *Hincmar de Reims*, we have his works whereof every one may judge. The other *Hincmar* his nephew very zealous for the Popes authority collected their Decretal Letters, and was the first that durst put down the names of some Ancient Popes, who till that time had none, but which *Isidore Mercator* had already gathered together. Other Canonists followed his error, till at length the more judicious found they were but fictitious. *Adon de Vienne* composed a Martyrology which is yet in being: *Hilduin* wrote the life of St. *Denis* the *Areopagite* by command of *Louis* the *Debonnaire*, from the Memoires of *Methodius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*; who to flatter the *French* endeavour'd to have two things believed, which the Criticks pretend to condemn of false-hood; The one, that this *Saint Denis* had been Bishop of *Paris*; the other, that those Writings which go under his name, were his own.

We have the Epistles of *Loup de Ferrieres* which give a great light in the affairs of those times; And the Monk *Henry* wrote the Life of *Saint Germain de Auxerre* in more Elegant Verse than the roughness of that Age could promise.

I shall observe *en passant* that *Latin* Poetry began to rouse its self under *Charles the Bald*, and amongst other Poets that flatter'd him, there was one that made a Piece containing three hundred *Hexameters* in praise of the *Bald*, where every word began with the Letter C.

Some for their good lives deserved to be placed in the Catalogue of Saints; as *Anscher* taken out of the Order of St. *Benedict* by *Louis* the *Debonnaire*, to be the first Arch-Bishop of *Hamburg* Established by that Emperor, and to Preach to the *Danes* and *Swedes*; the same *Rabanus* whom we have mentioned: Two *Andres*, one of *Sens*, the other of *Mans*; *Ayos* * de *Bourges*, *Prudence* de *Troyes*, *Hildeman* de *Beauvais*, *Foulquin* and *Hunfroy* de *Teroüanne*, *Amant* de *Rodez*, and *Bernard* de *Vienne*. This last had *Adon* above-named for Successor both in his Sanctity and his See: But he had very few in that good Christian Maxim, so often in his Mouth, and ever in his Soul: That the Riches and Goods of the Church, are the Patrimony of the Poor; and that a Clergy-man hath no right to them but for his necessities. Nor did he keep any more Domestique Servants but one Priest and one Lay-man; Proclaiming to all Prelats by this noble example; That he who is great in himself, hath no need of other Equipage, or Train of Servants to make him appear so.

Saints.

* *Aigulfus*.

Louis

LOUIS IV.

Surnamed

TRANSMARINE,

King XXXII.

Aged xix, or xx Years.

POPES.

LEO VII. in 936. S. 3 years, 6 Months. MARTIN II. Elect. 943. S. 3 years, 6 Months and one half.

STEPHEN IX. Elect. in 939. S. 3 years, 4 Months. AGAPET II. Elect. 946. S. 9 years, 7 Months.

Louis IV.
surnam'd
Transmarine,
in France.

Otho I. in
Germany.

Rodolph II.
in Burgundy
Transjurane.

HUGH
and
Lotaire his
Son in
Italy.

Of all the French Lords *Hugh le Blanc* Earl of *Paris* and *Orleans* Duke of *France*, and Brother in Law to the late King, had the greatest Authority in the Kingdom: He durst not however take the Crown, because *Hebert* Earl of *Vermandois* and *Giselbert* Duke of *Lorraine*, two very potent Enemies would have broke his Measures. He found it therefore more safe to make a King of the Blood of *Charlemaine*, who should be wholly obliged to him for his Crown.

To this purpose he dispatched a Famous Deputation of Prelats and Lords, whereof *William* Arch-Bishop of *Sens* was the Chief, into *England*, to beseech *Ogina* the Widdow of *Charles* the Simple, to bring back her Son *Louis*, whom the *French* desired to own for their King. She granted their request, but not without great opposition of King *Aldestan* her Brother: He apprehended his Nephew might be destroy'd by some treachery as his Father had been; and therefore would

would not be satisfied with only their Oaths, but took Hostages besides. *Hugh* and the other Lords came to receive their King at his Landing at *Bullogne*, tender'd their Hommage on the *Strand*, and thence conducted him to *Laon* where he was Anointed by *Arnold* Arch-Bishop of *Reims* the 20th day of *June*.

936. Immediately after his Coronation, *Hugh* who still retained the Administration of the Kingdom, carried him into the Dutchy of *Burgundy* for his own ends, for there were some pretences, but how grounded we do not well know; And *Hugh le Noir* appropriated it to himself as Heir of the Deceased *Rodolph* his Brother, who had it from *Richard* his Father, on whom *Boson* had bestowed it when he was made King of *Burgundy*. *Le Noir*, or (the Black) had therefore Seized on the City of *Langres* after the Decease of King *Rodolph*, but the new King and *Hugh* thrust him out again without striking one blow, and engaged him to yeild up one half of the Dutchy to *Hugh le Blanc* or the *White*.

An. 937. King *Rodolph* died, having Reigned 25 years in *Burgundy Transjurane*, and only five in the Kingdom of *Arles*. He left three Children, *Conrade* who Succeeded him, but whom *Otho* Seized upon and detained fourteen years: *Burchard* Bishop of *Lausanne*; and *Adeleis* a most illustrious Princess, who by her first marriage was Wife to *Lotaire* King of *Italy*, and at her second to the Emperor *Otho I*.

LOUIS	Conrad in	Otho in	HUGH
in France.	Burgundy &	Germany	and
	Arles.	& Lorrain.	Lotaire his
			Son in Italy.

937. The second year of his Reign *Lewis Transmarine* took the Government in hand, and sent for the Queen his Mother to come to *Laon* to have the Benefit of her Counsel. To settle his Authority the better, he first began with some petty Rebels by little and little, then falls upon *Hebert* himself whom he thought the more easily to overcome because he was grown odious for his Treachery against *Charles the Simple*. And indeed he gained some places very quickly: But *Hugh* fearing they would set upon him likewise joyned with *Hebert*, who was besides his Uncle by the Mother; And because he judged there would be little security in a person that had broke his Faith, he armed himself likewise with the Alliance of King *Otho* by Wedding his Daughter, named **Havida*.

* *Havide*, *Havide*, *Hadnige*, *Avoy*.

938. The King on his side fortified himself in a more strict Union with *Arnold* Earl of *Flanders* a Mortal Enemy to *Hugh*, *Artold* Arch-Bishop of *Reims*, *Hugh le Noir* Brother of the Defunct King *Rodolph*, and some others: but this year *Giselbert* Duke of *Lorraine*, being come to the assistance of *Hugh* the Great his Brother in Law, *Arnold* and the *Noir* negotiated a Truce till the first day of *January* of the following year, between the King and that Duke.

As soon as that was expired the War began afresh. Whilst the King was in *Burgundy*, to divide it with the *Noir*, *Hugh le Blanc*, *Hebert* & *William* Duke of *Normandy*, over-ran and Burnt the Territory's of *Arnold*. The Bishops censures had not power enough to stop them: but the Kings Return gave them more cause of dread, and made them renew the Truce to the Month of *June*.

Henry the younger Brother of *Otho* fancied to himself that the Kingdom of *Germany* belonged to him, he being Born when his Father was a King, whereas *Otho* came into the World before he was so. *Giselbert* very powerful in *Lorraine*, and who had married *Gerberge* Sister to these two Princes, instead of behaving himself as a Mediator between them, takes part with the Younger.

These two Brothers in Law thus Leagued, sent to King *Louis* to put themselves under his obedience; After which *Otho* having beaten and forced them at a passage over the *Rhine*, the despair they were under made *Giselbert* and some other *Lorrain* Lords, come even to *Laon* to do him Hommage.

Louis wanted but very little of having the whole Kingdom of *Lorraine* surrender to him; he got into *Alsace* and was well received every where: But when he came to treat those as conquered people, who had voluntarily submitted to him, it soon alienated their affections.

939. Mean time *Hugh* the Great, *Hebert*, *William* Duke of *Normandy*, and even *Arnold*

Arnold of *Flanders* not thinking it expedient for themselves that King *Lewis* should make himself so potent, re-allied themselves with *Otho*; who having quitted the Siege of *Capremont*, which was *Giselbert*'s impregnable Fortrefs, and joyned with them, easily drove *Louis* out of *Alsacia*, then laid Siege before *Brisac*, a place very considerable in those days, and where they shewed notable Fears of Arms.

Whilst *Otho* was at this Siege, a party of his, especially the Clergy abandoned him. But *Giselbert* and *Everard* were defeated by his men at their passage over the *Rhine* near *Andernac*, where the last remained dead on the spot, and the other that had been the Fire-brand, of all these Wars, was drowned. This unhoped for advantage, having ruined *Henry*'s Party, he grew wise, and timely yielded himself up to the discretion of his Brother; who sent him away Prisoner for some time. In the interim *Brisac* surrendred and all *Lorrain* was his, the Government whereof he bestowed upon *Henry* himself, and soon after upon Count *Otho*.

The year following King *Louis* thinking to strengthen himself on that hand, or perhaps gain Vassals and Friends amongst the *Lorrainers*, married that Kings Sister *Gerberge*, the Widow of *Giselbert* by whom she had two Children *Regnier* & *Lambert*.

Count *Hebert* of *Vermandois* had by craft and force got his Son, but ten years of Age, to be nominated Arch-Bishop of *Reims*: which being contrary to the Rules of the Church, the Clergy placed one *Artold* in that Episcopal See, who by consequence was an Enemy to *Hebert*, and a great friend to the King. The contest about this Arch-Bishoprick begot a War, which lasted 18 or 20 years, and greatly molested all *Champagne*.

This year after, some other inconsiderable actions, *Hebert* with Earl *Hugh*, and *William* Duke of *Normandy* besieged *Reims*; The Inhabitants being terrified, forsook *Artold* and opened their Gates to them. *Artold* thorough the like fear suffers himself to be persuaded to renounce the Arch-Bishoprick and accept of an Abbey; whereof repenting again, the King embraces his defence, and the quarrel revived again.

From thence the Confederates went and planted the Siege before *Laon*: but upon the noise of the Kings March, who was returning from *Burgundy*, they retired towards *Otho*, and having led him as it were in Triumph to the Palace of *Atigny*, they put themselves into his protection.

King *Louis* having refreshed *Laon*, retires into *Burgundy*. His strength lay that way, because of *Hugh le Noir* who together with *William* Count of *Poitiers* accompanied him. King *Otho* having a potent Army, pursued him thither, and struck *Hugh le Noir* with so much terror, that he made Oath never to employ his Forces more against *Hugh le Blanc*, nor against *Hebert*, who were his new Vassals.

The next year *Louis* notwithstanding besieges *Laon*, wherein was Count *Hebert*; but it was to his own great damage; for being surprised in his Legements by his base Subjects, he beheld above one half of his men slain with his own Eyes, and could not save himself but by a shameful flight.

After which forsaken of all his *Neustrian* Subjects, he took shelter under *Charles Constantine* Earl of *Vienne*, his Cousin German, being the Son of *Louis* the Blind King of *Italy* and *Arles*, and a Sister of Queen *Orina*'s. Thence he had recourse to the Pope, the Lords of *Aquitain*, and to *William* Duke of *Normandy*. The Pope sent a Legat to exhort the Lords of *Neustria* to be faithful to him: those of *Aquitain* came and tendered him Hommage at *Vienne*, and profer'd their assistance; And *William* quitting the Associates treated him magnificently in his City of *Rouen*, and served him with his Forces, as did likewise the *Bretons*.

With these Forces he sought all opportunities to fight his Enemies: but they were retreated on this side the *Oise*, and having broken down all the Bridges would not come to any Engagement. Therefore a Truce was made between them; and by the mediation of King *Otho* a Peace was concluded, by which *Hugh* and *Hebert* submitted to their King.

There was a mortal hatred betwixt *William* Duke of *Normandy*, and *Arnold* Earl of *Flanders*, because this Last would constrain *Herluin* Earl of *Monstrenil* to become his Vassal, and had taken his Castle, whilst *William* on the contrary had espoused *Herluin*'s quarrel and powerfully assisted him. *Arnold* not being able to have his will of *Herluin*, betook himself to base and treacherous means to compass it; For having upon pretence of reconciliation, procured an enter-view with *William* in an Island on the *Somme* right against *Pequigny*, he caused him unhappily to be assassinated the 18th of *December* An. 942.

A a

That

That good and vertuous Prince had just designed, before he was murdered to take upon him the Habit of St. Bennet in the Monastery of *Jumièges*, which he had begun to rebuild. He left but one Son named *Richard*, Born of *Sporra* his wife who was Daughter of *Hebert* Count of *Senlis*; he Succeeded him in his Dukedom.

943. A great part of the *Normans* were yet Idolaters, and there came every day new flocks of them from the North, who encouraged them in their Superstitions. After the Death of *William* they rebelled against his Son, and would force him to renounce his Baptism. *Hugh* the Grand allied to his Father assisted him against those impious revolvers, beat them in several rencounters, and help'd him to destroy their Leaders: their names were *Setric* and *Rodard*.

The King knowing that while the *Normans* were divided, their little Duke *Richard* might easily be stript, and that it would be a Noble act to recover so great and good a Country, went to *Rouen* about Autumn, and seized upon *Richard's* person, under pretence of breeding him in his own Court. The *Burg-her's* at first took the Alarm, and stood in his defence, so that he was fain to shew him to the people and confirm the Duchy to him: but their first heat being spent, he so managed the business that persuading them he would have a great care of his Education, they suffer'd him to be carry'd away to *Laon*.

943. When he had gotten him absolutely in his power, *Arnold* Earl of *Flanders* whose interest it was to exterminate all the *Normans*, by his Presents and Counsel, easily inclined him to the resolution of incapacitating him for ever, and resuming the Dukedom. Before they came to the Execution of this, *Richard's* wife Governor, by name *Osmond*, craftily drew him out of the Danger; He stole him out of Court, trussed up in a Faggot of Herbs, and conveyed him into *Senlis*. That City one of the strongest in those days, was then held by Count *Bernard* Uncle to *Richard* by his Mother; who kept that Pupil and would not surrender him either to the King, nor to the *Normans*, till he could see a little more clearly what was like to be the event of that War then threatened.

943. During these stirrs *Hebert* of *Vermandois* died at *Peronne*, (tormented with the gnawing remorse of his treacheries, crying perpetually in his Agonies, *We were twelve of us that betrayed King Charles!*) He had three Sons, *Hebert* and *Robert* who shared his Lands, and *Hughes* or *Hugh* pretended Arch-Bishop of *Reims*.

944. King *Lewis*, who had that fault that he could not dissemble, adventures rashly too early to ruin them. His precipitate revenge drew great troubles upon him; the other Grantees apprehending the like usage, joyned all to defend them. Even *Hugh* agreed with the *Normans*, and King *Otho* made one, and openly declared against *Louis*: who for that reason reconciled himself to *Hugh*.

At first this Duke had embraced the cause of little *Richard*: but the King promising he should share the Duchy of *Normandy* with him, and likewise have the Territory's belonging to the Bishopricks of *Evreux*, *Lyseux* and *Bayeux*, he not only abandoned the Pupil, but also joyned with the King to ruin him. They entred the Country therefore at the same time, the King by the way of *Rouen*, and *Hugh* towards *Evreux*. *Bernard* Count of *Senlis*, who had saved his Nephew, did likewise preserve his Country by his wonderful Sagacity. He advised the *Normans* to pretend a submission to the King, to avoid the desolations of a War; and afterwards easily persuaded him to reserve all that rich Province to himself, and take away from *Hugh* those places which he had conquer'd; so that by this Method he caused a new rupture between those Princes.

944. He afterwards omitted not to make those advantages he had designed: for he engaged the discontented *Hugh* to undertake once more the protection of *Richard*, and to promise him his Daughter * *Emine*, who was not however married till Sixteen years after. And more-over this little Prince being still dispossessed, he so craftily contrived his affairs that he restored him. And thus it was. There was a *Chieftaine* or *Norman* King named *Aigrold*, who being come some years before from *Denmark*, had taken his Habitation in *Constenin*: This Prince having consulted with *Bernard*, revolts against *Lewis*, and sends to summon him to set the little *Richard* at Liberty. Upon this news *Bernard* counterfeiting great zeal, assures the King that all *Normandy* was united for his service, and by these plausible pretences obliges the King to go thither in person to suppress that Pirat. His Army and *Aigrold's* being near each other, *Aigrold* seems to be afraid, and demands a Conference; the King agrees to it, and to that end goes to the Village of *Cresten-ville* in the mid-way between *Caen* and *Lisieux*. The train was so well laid that the

the *Norman* finding himself the stronger, cuts off all that came with him, Seizes upon his person, and sends him Prisoner to *Rouen*.

In this rencounter *Herluin* Earl of *Monstreuil*, the principal subject of the quarrel between the deceased *William* and *Arnold*, was slain by *Aigrold* in revenge for that although he had always been protected by *William*, nevertheless he had ingrat-fully sided with *Arnold* to oppress *Normandy* and it's little Duke. 944.

In vain did Queen *Gerberge* implore the assistance of King *Otho* her Brother for the deliverance of her Husband. He refused to apply any other means but only his mediation. By virtue of a plenarie power Signed by the Bishops at his desire and by all the *French* Lords, he decreed with them at a Conference held at *St. Clair sur Epte*, That *Louis* should restore *Richard* to his Duchy and receive homage, and from that time he should be set at Liberty, and give his second Son and two Bishops for security. But *Louis* getting out of the hands of the *Normans*, remained still under the power of *Hugh*; who upon I know not what pretences detained him at least a year under the guard of *Thibault* Earl of *Blois* his Cousin German, and would not let him go till he had gotten the City of *Laon* of him. 945.

In the mean time King *Otho* who had conquer'd the County of *Burgundy*, whether he feared an absolute re-union between the King and his Subjects, or whether the Tears of his Daughter *Gerberge* and compassion to behold a King so ill treated by his means moved his heart, he roughly refused *Hugh* who sought his amity, and profer'd *Louis* his assistance to revenge himself. 946.

Lewis accepted it, and soon after he was out of his imprisonment, went to *Otho* at *Cambresis*, where *Arnold* Earl of *Flanders* had joyned Forces with him: So that they had together above thirty Legions: And which is remarkable, all these combatants, except the Abbot of *Corbie* in *Saxony*, had all Straw-hats, without doubt to defend their heads from blows, or from the cold. 946.

One would imagine such a prodigious Army must overwhelm *Hugh* and all his Allies: but after they had tried *Laon*, driven away Arch-Bishop *Hugh* from *Reims*, and restored *Artold* to his See, having shewed themselves before the Gates of *Senlis* and the Suburbs of *Paris*, they ran themselves on ground and Shipwrackt against *Rouen*. The death of *Otho's* Nephew and a great number of *Saxons* who were slain there, the autumnal Rains, the approaching Winter, *Arnold's* desertion who withdrew in the night time with his Forces, apprehending to be delivered up to the *Normans*, constrained *Otho* to raise his Siege and retire. 946.

Afterwards *Hugh* besieged *Reims*, and King *Lewis* *Monstreuil*, held by *Rotgar* Son of Count *Herluin*: but both without success. 947.

In August the two Kings *Louis*, and *Otho* conferred together on the *Kar*, or the *Cher*, concerning their affairs. This River which coming from the Country of *Luxembourg* falls into the *Meuse* between *Sedan* and *Mousson*, hath ever since made the bounds or separation of the Kingdoms of *France* and *Lorraine* as it did heretofore of *Neustria* and *Austrasia*.

Anno 947. Italy suffer'd a New change. *Auscace* and *Berenger*, one Brother, and the other Son of *Adelbert* Marquis of *Ivrea*, having ingratfully conspired against King *Hugh*, that Prince put *Auscace* to Death, and *Berenger* escaped to *Herman* Duke of *Swabia*. Now this man having good information that *Hugh* had rendered himself very odious to the *Italians*, having founded their affections, repass'd the *Alpes*. He was received in *Verona* and in *Milan*, and seemed welcom to most part of the Nobility. Nevertheless the People moved with pity towards *Lothaire* the Son of *Hugh*, a handsome young Prince not above 14 or 15 years old, would have the Title of King to be preserved for him: And *Berenger* consented for that time the more willingly, because all the Authority was in him. The agreement made, *Hugh* returned into *Provence* with his Treasure, where he died the same year. 947.

Lewis in	Conrad in	Otho in	LOTHAIRE
France.	Transjurane	Germany &	and
	and Arles.	Lorraine.	Berenger in
			Italy.

The dispute for the Arch-Bishoprick of *Reims* between *Hugh* of *Vermandois* and *Artold* was a mighty business. It was first treated of at *Donzy* by some Prelats, who

who having not power to determine it; referr'd it to a Synodical Assembly of Gallican and German Bishops, which was held at Verdun in the middle of November. Robert Arch-Bishop of Triers presided there. Hugh appeared not, but having sent thither certain Surreptitious Letters from the Pope, which they little valued, the enjoyment of the Arch-Bishoprick was awarded to Artold, and Hugh was excluded for his contumacy, till he should appear before the General Council in the Month of August following, and had purged himself of the crimes imputed to him.

948. Hugh makes complaint to the Pope, who sent a Legat to Otho to injoin him to call a general Council of the Gallicans and Germans to determine this difference, as also to decide the quarrel between King Lewis and Hugh le Blanc. He convoked them at his Royal Palace of Ingelheim; he and King Lewis assisting there and sitting on the same Bench. The Council heard the Kings complaint, and then Artold's Petition. The King declared all the mischiefs Hugh had done him, even to the detaining him a Prisoner a whole year, and offered, if any one could reproach him that the troubles and calamities of the Kingdom were by any fault of his, to justify himself in such manner as the Council should advise, even by personal proof in the Field of Battel. Upon these complaints they wrote Letters to Hugh le Blanc and his adherents, to admonish them to return to their duty, under pain of an Anathema; and doing justice upon the Petition of Artold, they confirmed the Arch-Bishoprick to him, and excommunicated Hugh his competitor, till he duly repented.

With this, Otho assisted Lewis with good Forces, the Lorrain Bishops his Vassals took Moulson and razed it, excommunicated Thibault, who maintained the City of Laon for Hugh, and caused Hugh himself by virtue of the Legats letters to be cited to appear before the Council of Triers, to give satisfaction for the damage he had done the King and the Church. Who not appearing was excommunicated.

949. The War was not abated by this; and divers Castles were taken by the two rivals for the Arch-Bishoprick of Reims as well as by the Kings Forces, and those that belonged to Hugh.

This year hapned the death of Fulk the Good Earl of Anjou, a mighty Religious Prince and a lover of Learning; who being one day informed that the King scoffed at his going so often to Sing in the Quire, wrote only these words to him; Know, Sir, that a Prince without Learning, is a Crowned Ass.

949. The Hungarians being fallen An. 949. upon Lombardy, Berenger compounded with them for eight Bushels of Silver, and upon pretence of railing that money committed violent extortions. About that time Lotaire either out of grief to find himself despised, or by some poyson fell into a Phrensie and died without Children towards the end of the same year. Berenger immediately caused himself to be proclaimed King and was Crowned together with his eldest Son Adelbert.

950. Otho very glad of the disturbances in France, gave slight assistance to Louis, who in the necessity of his affairs, relied much upon him and often went to him, or sent his wife Gerberge. He also made cessations from time to time: In one of which he and Hugh meeting by consent at the Marne, the River between them, they patched up I know not what Peace, upon which Hugh was to surrender up to him a great Tower which he held in the City of Laon.

Peace being made on this side, Lewis takes his progress towards Aquitain to secure himself of the Fidelity of the Lords of that Country. For during these revolutions the Subjects faith was grown so wavering, that often in less then a years time, they swore obedience and fealty to three or four several Kings. Which was indeed, because they would have had none, had it been in their power.

* Ogina. 951. This year 951. Ogina * Mother to King Lewis, Aged above 45 years, went from Loon, where her Son kept her as a Prisoner, and married Hebert of Vermandois Count de Troyes, Son of that Traytor Hebert who made her Husband die in Prison. She thus satisfied her revenge to the prejudice of her honour, or perhaps made that only a cover for her incontinence.

Louis

LOUIS	Otho in	Conrad in	Berenger II.
Transmarine	Germany	Burgundy &	and
in France.	& Lorrain.	Arles.	Adelbert his
			Son in Italy.

Adeleide the Widow of Lotaire was Beautiful and Charming, she had the City of Pavia in Dowre, and besides great riches and possessions, much credit, and many Friends as well in that Country, as on this side the Mountains, being the Daughter of Rodolph II. and Sister to Conrad Kings of Burgundy. For these reasons Berenger sought to gain her for his Son; but she courageously rejected the proposition. Upon her obstinate refusal he besieges her in Pavia, took her, and sent her Prisoner to the strong Castle of Garda, whence the Lake hath borrowed its name. She notwithstanding made her escape by the help of a Priest, reduced after she was got out, to live upon such Alps as the Priest begg'd for her; Then retired to the Marquis Athon her Kinsman, who undertook to protect her in his Fortrefs of Canossa.

Presently Berenger besieges it with all his Forces. The second year of the siege and the end of their provisions drew near, when that Queen sent to implore the aid of King Otho, and to offer him with her self the Kingdom of Italy. The Love of Honour, more then Love to that Lady, drew this Prince thither: He delivered her, Married her, because he could not otherwise enjoy her, and carried her into Germany, leaving his Army with Conrad Duke of Lorrain to finish that War.

This Conrad prosecuted the War so briskly against Berenger and his Son, that both of them laying down their Arms came to a Conference with him, and thorough his persuasions went both of them into Germany to King Otho; who having treated them magnificently, and taken their Oaths and made them do homage restored to them all that Kingdom, excepting only Veronnois and Friuli, which he bestow'd upon his Brother Henry Duke of Bavaria.

The contest about the Arch-Bishoprick of Reims and some other particular Lordships, had brought King Lewis and Hugh le Blanc again to Daggers-drawing: But Hugh in fine, whatever motive prompted him, desired to confer with Queen Gerberge his wives Sister, who came to meet him; And afterwards treating with the King personally in Soissons, he made Peace about the end of March in this year 953.

This re-union perhaps pleased King Otho but little, but he found himself not in a condition to disturb it. He was too much troubled with the Civil-War made against him by his own Son Luiolf, incited by Conrad Duke of Lorrain, who made him jealous of a Son as yet in the Cradle, which his Father had by Adeleide his second wife. Otho thrust Conrad out of his Dutchy, and at length brought his Son to his duty, not without much hazard fighting and labour.

But Conrad obstinately rebellious turned every stone to be revenged. He made a League with Berenger King of Italy, as ingrateful as perfidious against Otho, and drew the Hungarians in twice; first into Lorrain An. 954. whence they over-run even to Champagne and Burgundy, and having done a world of mischief were beaten back into Italy; the second into Bavaria, where a most dreadful multitude got in together. Yet Otho fought them, and cut them all off, after Conrad had been killed in the scuffle. This was in Anno 955.

During these troubles, in the year 954. King Lewis died by a strange accident. As he was going from Loon to Reims, spurring to ride after a Wolfe which he met in his way, his Horse stumbled, and threw him so rudely on the ground that he was bruised all over. These bruises turned into a kind of Leprosy, which caused his death the 15th of October in the City of Reims, whither he would be carried, and where he lies buried in the Church of St. Remy. His Reign was 18 years, three Months, and his Age 38, or 39, years.

Of

Of five Sons which he had by *Gerberge*, there were but two remaining, *Lotaire* and *Charles*, whereof *Lotaire* the eldest was about 14 or 15 years old, and *Charles* but 15 or 16 Months.

The small Age of this last, the poverty of the Kings who had scarce any other Towns in propriety but *Reims* and *Laon*, and perhaps the interest of *Hugh le Blanc*, were the reasons why he did not share the Kingdom with his elder, as had been ever almost the Custom in the first and second Race, or Line. Since this time it was never equally divided amongst the Brothers: the eldest alone hath had the Title of King, and the cadets, or younger have only had some Lands in appennage and under an entire Subjection. And even of these the Kingly power being increased hath taken the Reversion for want of Heirs-males; which hath not a little contributed to restore the Grandeur of the Monarchy.

Lotaire,

LOTAIRE,

King XXXIII.

POPES,

AGAPET II. above a year in this Reign.	Empp. Otho in 964. S. almost 7 years.
JOHN XII. who was the first that changed his name, introduced An. 955. S. 9 years within some Months: is deposed.	DOMNUS Elect. in 972. S. 3 Months.
BENEDICT V. put in by the Romans An. 964. S. some Months.	BENEDICT VI. in 972. S. one year 3 Months.
JOHN XIII. nominated by the	BENEDICTUS VII. in 974. S. 9 years, and some Months.
	JOHN XIV. Elect. in July 849. S. one year, one Month.

Lotaire in France.	Otho in Germany & Lorrain.	Conrad in Burgundy & Arles.	Berenger and Adelbert his Son in Italy.
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THE greatest part of the power being in the hands of *Hugh*, he might have taken the Crown, had he not feared the Forces of King *Otho*, maternal Uncle to the Sons of the deceased King, and the jealousy of the other French Lords. For these reasons, Queen *Gerberge* his wives Sister, being come to him to take his Counsel, he chose rather to preserve his Authority by protecting a Widdow and a Minor, then by oppressing them. Having therefore carried *Lotaire* to *Reims*, he caused him to be Crowned the 12th of November by the Arch-Bishop *Artold*.

Upon this occasion the young King gave the Dukedoms of *Burgundy* and *Aquitain* to *Hugh le Blanc* and to *Hugh Capet* his eldest Son: who being satisfied and the Duke of *Normandy* likewise for their sakes, it was not difficult to calm the other Lords who were less considerable.

These Dukes in my opinion, were of two sorts in those times; the one held the Cities and Lands, and were become Hereditary; the other were general commands over a whole Kingdom, as well for the Militia as to do Justice, which the Kings could bestow, or take away. So there was a Duke for Lorrain which was *Bruno Arch-Bishop* of *Colen*, King *Otho's* Brother, One for France, one for *Aquitain*, and one for *Burgundy*; and *Hugh*

was such in all those three Kingdoms, by consequence he was as the Kings Lieutenant General, and in that quality might be set aside, if his great alliance and the Cities in his possession had not rendered him indestructible.

953.

France was quiet enough three years together, only *Hugh An. 955*, led the King into *Poitou* to make *William* Earl of that Country and Duke of *Aquitain* become obedient, and laid Siege to *Poitiers*. Scarcity of provisions and the terror of a Thunder-clap which tore his Tent in two, forced him to raise it; and yet the Count presuming to pursue the French upon their retreat, they turned head and put him to the rout with great slaughter of his Nobility.

Le Blanc.

The following year *Hugh*, who without a Scepter, had Reigned more then 20 years, being the Son of a King, Father of a King, Uncle to a King, and Brother in Law to three Kings, died in his City of *Paris* full of years, glory, and riches. He was surnamed the *White* * from his skin, the *Great* from his power, or perhaps his bulk; and the *Abbot*, because he held the Abbeys of *St. Denis*, *St. Germain des Prez*, and *St. Martin's of Tours*. At his death he intreated *Richard Duke of Normandy* his Son in Law, to be the Protector of his Children and Vassals.

* Harvada and Hadvada.

He had three wives, *Rotilda* Sister of *Lewis the Stammerer*, *Ethild* Daughter of *Edward King of England*, whose two Sisters were married to *Charles the Simple* and *Orbo*, and *Avida**, or *Avoye* Sister of the same *Orbo* and Queen *Gerberge*. There came no Children by the first two, but by the third he had *Hughes*, or *Hugh*, surnamed *Capet*, who was Earl of *Paris* and *Orleans*, then also Duke of *France*; *Orbo* who was Duke of *Burgundy* after the Death of *Gilbert* his Father in Law; *Eudes* or *Odon* who succeeded him; and *Henry* who likewise enjoyed it after them.

956. 57. and 58.

These four Sons not being yet in a capacity to make any noise, the eldest not above 16 years of Age, *Gerberge* governed peaceably enough, excepting some petty quarrels about the Castles belonging to the Arch-Bishoprick of *Reims* and some private contests.

The worst of it was, that it seemed most of the affairs were managed according to the pleasure and will of King *Orbo* and *Bruno* his Brother Arch-Bishop of *Colen*, and Duke or Governor of *Lorraine*, so that they became as it were the Moderators and Arbitrators of *France*.

959.

The Queen being at difference with the Children of *Hugh* and the Widdow *Avoye* her Sister, for some Castles which King *Lotaire* had taken from them in *Burgundy*, *Bruno* came into *France* and brought them to an agreement in a Parliament held at *Compiègne*. After which the Queen and her Son *Lotaire* went to keep *Easter* at *Colen* with *Bruno* who entertained them splendidly, and sent them back furnished with very brave Presents.

A while after being called to their assistance against *Robert* Earl of *Troyes*, and Count of *Chaalons* by his wife, who had surprized *Dijon*, he returned into *France* with his *Lorrainers* and regained that place. At the same time he sent some Saxon Forces to *Troyes* to restore the Bishop whom that *Robert* had thrust out thence: But *Renard* Earl of *Sens* and *Rimbauld* Arch-Bishop of the same City, friends to *Robert* gave them Battel and defeated them.

* Curle-beard, or Twist or Twine-beard.

The same year died *Alain* surnamed *Barbe-torte* * Duke of *Bretagne* and Son of Earl *Matueda*, who left two Bastards, *Hoel* and *Guerec*, and one Legitimate Child named *Drogon* then in his Cradle, whom he declared Heir. *Thibauld* Earl of *Chartres* Grand-Father by the Mother to this Child had the Tutition, and the Mother the care of his person. Now marrying again with *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, this wicked woman unhappily killed him, by causing scalding water to be thrown down upon the Infants head.

959.

The Succession begot a bloody debate in *Bretagne* which lasted 34 years. The two Bastards of *Alain* disputed it with one *Conan*, who was descended by a Daughter from King *Salomon*: he made them both perish, *Hoel* by the hands of a Souldier who assassinated him, and *Guerec*, by a poisoned Lancet wherewith a Chyrurgeon let him Blood. But himself perished at length in a Battel he lost *An. 992*, against *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou* a Capital Enemy of the Bretons. *Geofrey* the eldest of the four Sons he left succeeded him.

The Children of the Defunct *Hugh* the *White*, thorough the persuation of Arch-Bishop *Bruno*, tendred homage for their Lands to King *Lotaire*, who in retribution declared the Eldest, Duke of *France*, as his Father had been, and bestowed *Poitou* upon him; you must understand if he could conquer it, for it

was

was possessed by another very potent Earl. This is a conjecture that the Kings had not yet given entirely away their power, of bestowing Duchies and Earldoms, and that if they were Hereditary, it was only by Usurpation, not as yet by Concession.

All the new Principalities and Seignories or Lordships which were started up in the Kingdom did not trouble the King so much as that of the *Normans*, who being strangers and the Issue of those Fathers that had plagued and plundered *France* 80 years together, should yet enjoy so rich a Province. Wherefore *Bruno* who governed the affairs of the Kingdom, being excited by the persuasions of *Arnold* Earl of *Flanders*, *Baldwin* his Son, *Thibauld* Earl of *Chartres*, and *Geofrey* Earl of *Anjou*; combined to ruine Duke *Richard*. For this purpose he sent for him to come to the Royal Parliament, or General Assembly of Estates at *Amiens*, putting him in hopes, if he came thither, they would give him the Administration of the Kingdom: But it was with design to seize and send him Prisoner into *Germany*. *Richard* who was on his journey, being informed of this Combination by two unknown Cavaliers, returned whence he came and stood more upon his Guard.

He avoided likewise another Snare the King had laid for him near the River of *Epte*, to which place sending for him to come and do him homage, he meant to lay hold on him. The Duke had already passed the *Epte*, when the Scouts he had sent forth to discover what the King was doing, brought him word that all his Enemies were about the King, and were making ready to set upon him. By this he understood the meaning of the French, and withdrew in time.

Since *Berenger* and *Adelbert* had been restored to the Kingdom of *Italy* by *Orbo*, they never ceased to conspire against him, and withal cruelly vexing their Subjects, so that he had sent his Son *Luitolf* to chastise them. This young Prince had almost hunted them quite out of the Kingdom, when he was surprized by Death *An. 958*. not without suspicion of poyson, and thus left his Conquest imperfect.

Now the complaints of the Lords and Prelats, and the earnest entreaty of the Pope pressing King *Orbo*, he resolved to go himself, after he had Crowned his Son *Orbo* II. at *Aix la Chapelle*, though he were but seven years of Age.

Upon his Arrival in *Italy*, *Berenger*, his Son, and his Wife abandoned the Cities and Country, and retired each of them into a strong Fort. *Orbo* was there received with universal applause, recovered *Pavia*, was Crowned King of *Lombardy* at *Milan* by the Arch-Bishop, and thence marched to *Rome*, where he received the Imperial Crown upon *Christmase*-day by the hands of *John* XII. who had been put into the Holy Chair by the Credit and Money of his Father *Alberic* before the Age of 18 years.

This *Alberic* was the Son of *Marosiz*, who had chased King *Hugh* from *Rome*; after which he had changed the Government there, and made himself Consul that he might command in Chief with a Prefect and some Tribuns.

Now the young Pope who had earnestly desired *Orbo* to come, quickly changed his mind, and recalled *Berenger* to *Rome* as soon as *Orbo* was gone from thence to reduce the rest of those places which that Tyrant still held. *Orbo* being informed of this odd fantastical news did not give over his Conquests, then when he thought it seasonable to return to *Rome* he led his Army thither.

The young Pope being fled with *Berenger* and the Treasure of the Church, he caused his Procefs to be made, not for his Intrusion, but for Murther, Sacrilege, Adultery, Incest, Simony, and other enormous crimes. For this end he Asssembled a Council, *John* was cited before them in due form, and not appearing they deposed him, and in his place put *Leo*, who was the VIII. of that name.

This Pope to avoid the trouble the Cabals caused in Elections, gave the Emperor *Orbo* the power thenceforward to Elect the Popes and Bishops, and to give him Investiture. The Ecclesiastical History does likewise observe that this *John* XII. was called *Ostavian* before his Election, and that he was the first Pope that changed his name.

Whilst *Orbo* was passing the *Christmase* Holy-days at *Rome* with the new Pope, having quartered his Army out of the City: the Faction and money of *John* the deposed Pope, made the *Romans* rise to Attaque him Treacherously, he had notice of it time enough to prevent surprize, put himself in the head of his Army and came boldly to them. They were afraid and coming to a composition with him gave several Hostages.

B b

He

959.

957.

958.

Empp.

Roman. Porphyrogenetus having poyson'd Constantine the VIII. his Father, in November and the Empire vacant in the West.

960.

961.

962.

963.

Empp.

Nicephorus in March, Basil, and Constantine, the Sons of Romain being Minors, and Orbo I.

963.

965.

He delivered them up again some few days after upon the entreaties of *Leo*; but no sooner was he gone to besiege *Camerin*, but they revolted, drove out *Leo*, and received *John* in their City: where he exercised most revengeful cruelty upon *Leo's* Friends. He had continued it to the end, had he not been killed in the very act of enjoying a Woman. After his death the *Romans* persisting in their Rebellion Elected the Arch-Deacon *Bennet*. Immediately *Otho* returns again, reduces *Rome* to a Famine, compels *Bennet* to ask pardon in the Synod of Bishops, and causing him to be degraded of his Priest-hood, sent him Prisoner into *Germany*, where about a year after he died at *Hamburg*.

Some months thence believing *Italy* might remain in Peace, because he had taken *Berenger* and confined him to *Bamberg* in *Germany*, he returned home and marched his Army with him. After his departure some *Lombard* Counts revolted having *Adelbert* and *Guy* the Sons of *Berenger* at their head: But Duke *Burchard* whom he sent back overthrew them in a great Battel, which was fought on the Banks of the *Po*. *Guy* the most mischievous of them all was left dead upon the place, and *Adelbert* escaped with much ado.

This last having gathered some Forces together, hazards another Battel *An. 968* which loosing he died with grief. And thus with him ended the second Kingdom of *Italy*, or if you will it passed over the *German* Princes who let it moulder away and come to nothing.

After Pope *Leo VIII.* was dead, and that *John XIII.* had been set in the Chair with the consent of *Otho*, on whom *Leo* had bestowed the power of Confirming the Election of Popes: the Prefect, Consuls, Tribuns and other Magistrates of the City of *Rome*, displeased that *Otho* had greatly limited their power, which before led all *Italy* as they pleased, they put this Pope in Prison, then turned him out of *Rome*, calling to their aid *Rofroy* Count of *Campania*.

The Pope retires to *Pandolfus* Prince of *Capoua* who restored him, and *John* his Brother slew *Rofroy*. In recompence the Pope erects an Arch-Bishoprick at *Capoua*, and bestowed it on the murderer of his Enemy.

But *Otho* desiring to remedy things once for all by suppressing these Rebellions, returns to *Italy*, where he settled his Authority by severe punishments, by rewarding of friends, by creating new Counts, by good and wholesome Laws, and in fine by the conquest of *Calabria* and *Puglia*, which he wrested from the *Grecian* Empire, who had kept them hitherto.

And to compleat all he Crowned his Son *Otho* at *Milan* by the hands of the Pope, and joyned him in the Empire. This young Prince three years after, that is to say in *An. 971.* Married *Teophania* or *Tisaine* Daughter of the Emperor *Nicephorus* who was then dead.

Thus *Otho* but little inferior to *Charlemaine*, raised the Western Empire, the Title thereof ever since that time remaining as it were annexed to *Germany*, with pretences much more great and extensive then their Forces. We shall henceforth speak no more of the affairs of *Italy*, and little of *Germany*, unless where things do jointly relate to the *French*.

During these Transactions, in *Italy*, divers quarrels were troublesome to *France*, the two greatest were that about the Arch-Bishoprick of *Reims*, and the hatred of the Counts *Thibault de Chartres* and *Arnold of Flanders* against the *Normans*. The first might have been ended by restoring *Hugh of Vermandois* to his Dignity in *Reims*, *Arnold* the Arch-Bishop being dead *An. 962.* if the Queen could have suffer'd it: But far from giving her assent, she so brought it about, that the Council of *Soissons* refer'd it to the Pope who declared him Excommunicated.

The Brethren of this *Hugh* furiously Animated against *Guibuin* Bishop of *Chalons*, who in that Assembly had proved the chief obstacle against his restoration, Burnt the City.

The Earl of *Chartres* was supported by the King against the *Normans*, because he was joyned both by alliance and affection to the Interest of the Sons of *Hugh the Great*. He lost a Battel in *Normandy*, for which he received satisfaction by the conquest of *Evreux* which the King put into his hands, having obtained it by intelligence. *Richard* followed him close at the heels, and getting into the Country almost as soon as himself made terrible havoc. The Earl of *Chartres* had his revenge the very same year, carrying Fire and Sword to the very Gates of *Rouen*: but was rudely repulsed, and lost his Son in the Retreat.

Arnold surnamed the Old, the Fair and the Great, Earl of *Flanders* died in the year

year 965. The Son of *Baldwin* his Son, named *Arnold* the Young Succeeded him under the Guardianship of *Matilda* of *Saxony* his Mother. This was that *Arnold* who being come to Age, began to Fortify the Port of *Petresfa* or *Scalus*, which then belonged to the Abbey of *St. Berthin*. It is now named *Calais* Neighbour to *Portus Iccius*; in these days, as it is believed, called *Blanc Nez*, and very Famous in the *Romans* times, who from thence passed over into *Great Britain*. He thought to make good use of it against the *Normand* Pyrats, and because he could not always be on those Coasts, he gave the County of *Guines* to *Adolph* Son of *Siffroy*, who had married the Daughter of *Herniculle* Earl of *Boulogne*.

King *Lotaire* having heard of the Death of *Arnold* the Old, went immediately into the Country to receive Hommage of the Lords, and took *Arras* and *Doway*. As on the other side *William* Earl of *Pontieu*, took from that Minor *Boulogne* and *Terouenne*, and two of his Sons were Earls, each of one, of those Cities.

The same year Arch-Bishop *Bruno* being come into *France* to determine some difference between his Sister *Gerberge* and King *Lotaire* with the Children and Widdow of *Hugh*, was Siezed with a Feaver at *Compienne*, which he carried to *Reims* with him and there Died.

Some Authors give him the Title of Arch-Duke of *Lorraine*, because he commanded all the Dukes and Earls of that Kingdom. And this is the first time that I find that Title in any Authors.

There was before this time a Marquiss and Duke of the higher or *Mosellanick* *Lorrain*; which was *Gerard*, from whom it is held the *Lorrain* Princes of our days are descended. Some Genealogists derive it from *Erchinoald Mayre* of the Palace, and from the same stock they make the *Austrian* *Habsburgh-House* to spring, with that of *Zeringhen*, from whence is issued the Princes of *Baden*.

The King marry's *Emme* or *Emina* Daughter of that *Lotaire* King of *Italy* Poysoned by *Berenger II.* and the Queen *Adeleida* whom the Emperor *Otho* made his Second Wife; which strengthened the good correspondence between the two Monarchs of *France* and *Germany*.

There hapned nothing very observable during these two years, unless it were that in *An. 967.* King *Lotaire* gave his Sister *Marilda* in marriage to *Conrad* King of *Burgundy*, and for her Dowre bestowed the City and County of *Lyons*.

The Earl *Thibault* supported by the King, went and encamped before *Rouen*, from whence he could not be forced but by the help of the Infidel *Normans*, which the King of *Denmark* of Kin to *Richard* sent thither, who having made him retreat, ran to the very Gates of *Paris*.

The ignorance of those times was extream; which is the reason that for want of History, we scarcely find any thing, and must sometimes slip over whole years without mention of any occurrences.

In the year 973. Died the Emperor *Otho*, very justly surnamed the Great, founder of the *German* Empire, Subduer of the *Hungarians* and *Sclavonians*, and who found out the Method to Quell the *Italians* Pride, and Chain up their perfidious mutability.

LOTAIRE
in France.

OTH O II.
Emperor of Italy
and Germany, Aged
21 or 22 years.

CONRAD
in Burgundy.

The Reign of his Son *Otho II.* was neither so steady nor so happy as his own. *Giselbert* the Husband of *Gerberge*, afterwards Queen, had a Brother named *Regnier* Long-neck Earl of *Mons* in *Haynault*, and *Valenciennes*, who having been taken in that City by Arch-Bishop *Bruno*, had been confined to the Country of the *Venedes*; and some time after two Counts named *Garnier*, and *Raginald* or *Renold*, who were in my opinion of his Kindred, were invetted in his Lands. But his Sons *Regnier II.* and *Lambert* after the Death of *Otho*, Armed themselves with the Aid of the *French* to be restored.

966.

966.

967.
and 68.

969.

Empp.
John Zemiss, ha-
ving kill'd Ni-
cephorus, in De-
cember969.
and
Otho I.
970.
973.Empp.
John Zemiss,
and Otho II.
in May, R. 10,
years and 6.
Months.

973.

This

B b 2

Then Basilus
and
Constantine R.
50 years. In
Decemb.

975.

This begot a Bloody and most obstinate War. The two Brothers defeated and slew in a Battel, fought at a Village of *Peronne* near *Binns*, the Counts *Garnier* and *Renold*: But *Otho* II. immediately substituted *Renauld* and *Godfrey* two *Lorrain* Lords, whom he invested with the Earldoms of *Hainault* and *Valenciennes*. Now after various events the two Brothers assisted by *Charles* Brother to King *Lotaire* and *Hugh Capet*, whose Daughters they afterwards Married, got possession again of those Counties: But it was at soonest not till *An.* 983.

977.

The Emperor was highly displeased that these two Sons of a Rebel should possess such large and great Feofs in his Kingdom of *Lorraine* in despite of him; however he dissembled it, having other affairs which would not allow him time to break with King *Lotaire*.

977.

Which is more whether out of design to oblige him, or rather to put a Barr in his way, he Created *Charles* his Brother Duke of *Lorraine*, a young Prince about the Age of 23 or 24 years.

The *French* had not forgot the remembrance of their Ancient right to *Lorraine*; And the King, as Son of *Gerberge*, who of her own held very many great possessions in *Capite*, expected that *Otho* his Cousin German would restore some part to him, especially seeing he had given such sweet Morfels to the Bishops of *Liege* and *Colen*.

But not doing so, *Lotaire* undertakes to compel him. He gets unexpectedly into the Country with an Army, takes the Oaths of the *Lorrainers* in the City of *Mets*, and from thence marches directly to *Aix-la-Chapelle*. *Otho* was diverting himself there very securely with his Family, it wanted not above half an hours time to have surpris'd him: He could do no other, but only just get on Horseback and fly for his safety, leaving his Dinner at the Table, and all his precious Household Furniture in the Palace, which *Lotaire* plunder'd, and then scowred thorough all the whole Country.

978.

In revenge of this Exploit, the very same year *Otho* made a great irruption in *France* with Three-score Thousand men, sack'd all *Champagne*, and that which is called the Isle of *France* even to *Paris*, sending word to *Hugh Capet*, who being Count of that City had put himself in there, that he would have an *Alleluia* sung upon *Montmartre* by so many Clerks it should be heard at *Notre-Dame*.

* History does
not mention
his name.

Those *Rodomontado's* were not justified by the effects. His *Nephew going in a Bravado to plant his Lance in one of the Gates of *Paris*, was slain by *Gefrey Grise-gonnelle* Earl of *Anjou*; Winter which came on obliged him to retire, and *Lotaire* and *Hugh Capet* having drawn their Forces together, cut off all his Reare-Guard at his passage over the River of *Aisne*, which was overflown, and pursued him fighting to the *Ardenes*.

The *Almain Monks* of those days, as it is the Genius of men to pretend Miracles in great danger, write that *St. Udalric* Bishop of *Ausburgh*, who accompanied that Emperor in this War, went over the River *Aisne* dry-foot, leading the way before him and his whole Army who followed, the over-following Stream miraculously growing hard and firm under them, the River becoming a Bridge to it's self.

In this retreat the Earl of *Anjou* did let the *Germans* know, that the quarrel being between the two Kings, it would be better according to common right, for them to decide it singly hand to hand, then to spill the Blood of so many innocent people: But the *Germans* reply'd, that although they did not doubt the courage of their King, nevertheless they would not consent that he should expose his person singly; Confessing tacitely thereby that they did not think him so brave as the King of *France*.

978.

Otho thus roughly handled, fought an accommodation with the *French*: *Lotaire* and he conferring together in the City of *Reims*, concluded a Peace upon condition, that *Lotaire* should yield him *Lorraine* to be held in Feif of the Crown of *France*, say our Authors; for which the *French* Lords shewed a great deal of discontent.

978.

Thus the Sovereignty of that Kingdom remained in *Lotaire*, the Dutchy of the Lower *Lorraine*, which two years before had been bestowed upon *Charles* his Brother by *Otho*, reverted to his disposal: but as he must give some part to *Charles*, he agreed he should enjoy that also. Which was consented to at an enter-view between that King and *Otho* upon the River of *Kar*, the German Prince having desired

desired that conference before he undertook this expedition into *Italy* against the *Saracens*.

Charles imagining his Brother had yielded him that Dutchy but by compulsion, was so ill advised, that he might have some body to support him in it, as to render Hommage for it to *Otho*, instead of holding the Sovereignty himself as he might have done.

978.

Two years after, *Otho*, to oblige him the more, gave him likewise the Country all about *Mets*, *Toul*, *Verdon*, and *Nancy* and other Lands between the *Meuse* and the *Rhine*.

981.

Now this submission tendred by *Charles* to a Stranger, founded very ill amongst the *French*, and the Augmentation of his power certainly shock'd the designs of *Hugh Capet*, who was preparing his way to the Throne. For we must consider that *Charles* was the only obstacle, *Lotaire* having but one Son, weak both in Age and understanding, and of very small hopes.

Besides the long abode of that Prince in those Countries without coming into *France*, the too great affection he shewed for the *Germans*, who at that time were the Capital Enemies of *France*, as likewise some ren-counters with the King his Brother; one amongst the rest about the City of *Cambray*, which he defended against that King who would have plundered the Churches as he had done those of *Arras*: gave his Enemies occasion to decry him amongst the *French*.

The Emperor *Otho* II. Died in the year 982. having before declared his Son of the same name Successor of his Estates.

982.

LOTAIRE
and
LOUIS his
Son in France.

OTH O III. Emperor
and King of Germany and
Lorraine, Aged 17 years.

CONRAD
in Burgundy.

Upon the News of his Death *Lotaire* believed that *Germany* was going to be all in confusion and combustion by reason of the contests about the Guardianship of young *Otho*, who was then but seven years old: wherefore he entred *Lorraine* *An.* 983. to regain it, and took *Verdun* with *Godfrey* Earl thereof: but when he understood *Otho* was Crowned by the consent of all the *Grandeas*, he engaged no farther, but returned home to *France*.

Empp.
Basil and Con-
stant. and Otho
III. R. 20. years.
982.

Two years after he rendred up the City of *Verdun*, gave *Godfrey* his liberty, and caused his Son *Louis* to be Crowned to Reign with him. He had already married him to a Princess of *Aquitain*, named *Blanche*; And yet was at most not above 18 or 19. years of Age.

985.

It is not well known of which *Aquitain* she was; for in that Age, and the next following, the *French* comprehended *Languedoc* and *Provence* likewise under that name.

This couple were ill-matched, the Woman courageous and gallant, the Husband wanting vigour of mind, and perhaps of Body; in so much that she despised him, and carrying him into her own Country under colour that she could procure the conquest of it by the assistance and interest of her Kindred and Allies she planted him there, and the King his Father was forced to go and fetch him thence again.

986.

This was a great misfortune in the Royal Family, and a greater yet that *Lotaire* Died the 12th Day of *March* in the following year of some desperate morfel, given him by his own wife.

987.

He was a Warlike Prince, active, careful of his affairs, and worthy in fine to have commanded better Subjects. He survived little more then the 45th year of his Age, and the 33th of his Reign.

Louis

LOUIS

THE

* Faincant, Lazy, Idle, Do-nothing.

*Lazy, or Sloathful, King XXXIV.

Aged about xx Years.

POPES,

JOHN XV. Elested towards the
end of An. 985. S. 10 years, | 4 Months, and a half, whereof
16 Months, under this Reign.

LOUIS the OTHO III. CONRAD.
Do-Nothing in
France.

986.

IT was divulged that at his Death he left the Guardianship of his Son to *Hugh Capet*, who in effect was his Cousin German. How-ever it were, *Emina* not relying too much upon him, as it seems had resolved to carry him in the Month of *June* to his Grand-mother *Adeleida*, Widdow of *Otho I.* and Tutorefs of *Otho III.* A Heroick Princess who was called the Mother of Kings.

But they did not give her the time : for the 22th of the same month, the Poor Prince ended his Life in the same manner as his Father, and by the crime of *Blanche* of *Aquitain* his wife. He lieth at *St. Corneille* of *Compiene*. An Author of those times sayes that he gave his Kingdom to *Hugh Capet* ; another, that he bequeathed it to his wife, upon condition he should marry her.

He Reigned in all about three years, Eighteen or Twenty Months with his Father, and sixteen Months alone.

(With his Reign ended that of the *Carlian* or *Carlovingnian* Line, after it had lasted 236 years, and had a Succesſion of Eleven Kings* taking only those of *West-France*; for if we reckon all the others, we shall find above thirty, without speaking of all those Princes who dismembred this Kingdom, as being illued of this August blood descended by Women.)

There were sprung up three Branches of this Race, one in *Italy* by *Lotaire I.* Emperor, another in *Germany* by *Lewis* his Brother, named the *Germanick*, and a third in *West-France* by *Charles the Bald*. All three ended their Reigns with

* Or *Caroline*.
* There were two of these that were not so, to wit, *Eng-des* and *Rodolph*.

with a *Louis*, that of *Italy* by *Louis II.* great Grand-Son of *Lotaire*, that of *Germany* by *Louis* Son of *Arnold*, and that of *France* by this *Lewis* the *Faineant*.

The Princes of this Race at their Coronation, received the Sacred Unction. They were almost ever on Horse-back and in the Field, and had their wives with them. *Charles Martel* and *Pepin*, when they were at rest and peace, held their residence at *Paris* and thereabout, *Charlemain* at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the *Debonnaire* in the same place, or at *Thionville*, *Charles the Bald* at *Soissons* and at *Compiene*, *Endes* at *Paris*, *Charles the Simple* at *Reims*, *Lewis Transmarine* at *Laon*.

If we consider the causes of the ruine of this Race or Line, we shall meet with five or six principal ones. 1. The division of the main Body of the Estate into divers Kingdoms, which was necessarily followed by Discords and Civil-Warres between the Brothers. 2. The irregular Love the *Debonnaire* had for his too dear Son *Charles the Bald*. 3. The imbecillity of most part of these Princes, there not having been amongst all of them above five or six who were furnished with Sence and Courage together. 4. The ravages and inroads of the *Normans* who ransacked *France* for Four-score years together, and favoured the attempts of the great Lords. 5. The multitude of Bastard Children which *Charlemaine* had, who plaid the Sovereigns in those Countries allotted them for their subsistance. 6. And if we will believe the Clergy, the Curse of God, which fell upon those Princes, because they gave the Churches goods to their Lay-officers and their Soldiers of Fortune.

7. One may add that this Tree bearing no more good Fruit, God would pluck it up to plant another in its place, infinitely more fair and more fertile, whose duration shall be extended to the end of time, and it's renown and glory to the ends of all the Earth.

987.

End of the Second Race or Line.

The

THE THIRD
RACE OF LINE
 Of the **KINGS** of
FRANCE,
 Called the *Capetine Race*, or of the *Capets*.

First Part.

Hugh Capet, King XXXV.

POPES,

JOHN XV. *S. Eight years and
 an half during this Reign.*

996. *S. Two years eight months,
 whereof some months under this
 Reign.*

GREGORY V. *Elected in June*

HUGH CAPET, *Aged Forty four or
 Forty five years.*

* *Hugues.*

There was none of the *Carolovian* Race remaining but *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain*. This Prince was abient, of little Merit, and very ill in the minds of the *French*. *Hugh Capet* on the contrary was in the heart of the Kingdom, Powerful and Esteemed; He held the Dutchy of *Burgundy* by *Henry* his Brother, that of *Normandy* by Duke *Richard* his Nephew, and that of *France*, with the Counties of *Paris* and *Orleance* in his own hands. Besides he had a Party made; so that having Assembled the Lords in the City of *Noyon*, he prevailed to be Elected and Proclaimed King about the end of the month of *May*. From thence he went to *Reims* to receive the unction and the Crown from the hands of the Archbishop *Adalberon*, who invested him the Third of *July*; Not one of all those that were present at *Noyon*, and at that Ceremony claiming for *Charles*, but on the contrary all giving their Oaths in Writing as well as by Word of Mouth to his Enemy.

One might say, that this poor Prince had destituted, or deprived himself, by rendering himself a Stranger, and that this Estate could not suffer or admit a Head that was Vassal to another King. *Hugh* might also make use of the Testament which King

C c

Levis

987.

Lewis made in his favour : but his best Right and Title was the general consent of the French People.

987, &c.

After his being first Crowned, he never put the Crown more upon his Head during his whole life time, because it having been predicted to him by Divine Revelation, That his Race should hold the Kingdom for seven Generations, he thought to prolong that Honour one Degree more, by not wearing himself the Regal Ornaments, that so he might not be reckoned one of the seven. He did not know the number seven in Sacred Language, signifies an extent to all Ages.

You must observe, that from about the time of *Charles* the Simple, under the name of the Kingdom of France were comprehended that of *Neustria*, that of *Aquitain*, and that of *Burgundy*, at least that part of it which lies on this side the *Saon* ; and therefore when those Kings would be Crowned, they were fain to call together the Lords of all these three. For this reason perhaps it was, that the first *Capetine* Kings having joyned them all under one Title, took likewise upon them the Quality of Emperors ; unless we should say, they did so not to seem inferior to the German Kings : but either by some Treaty, or upon some other Condition to us unknown, they quitted it, and contented themselves with that of King.

987.

The same year *Geoffrey* called *Grise-Gonelle*, Earl of *Anjou*, ended his days. His Son *Fulk* surnamed *Nerra* was his Successor.

988.

Hugh Capet six months after his Coronation, desiring to have an Assistant, obtained in an Assembly of French Lords, which was held at *Orleans*, that his Son named *Robert*, should be Associated in the Throne with him. He was Crowned in the same City the first day of *January* in the year 988.

HUGH CADET, and ROBERT his Son Aged about Sixteen years.

It is to be presumed, that Prince *Charles* did not omit to present himself to have or demand the Crown : but being come too late, he was rejected by the French, so that he betook himself to Arms, to resume his pretended Right.

Amongst all the Lords of the Kingdom, there were only *Arnold* Earl of *Flanders*, and *Hebert* Earl of *Champagne*, his Wives Father, that assisted him : but the first died this year, having been ill handled by *Capet*, and *Hebert* durst not proceed to act any farther for his Son-in-Law, but under-hand.

988.

Mean time the young King *Robert* Married *Lugarde* the Widow of the Earl of *Flanders*, though she were already very aged, and he not yet above Seventeen years old.

* *Adalberon*.

Duke *Charles* had a Bastard Brother named *Arnold*, who was a Clerk in the Church of *Loan* : by his means he seized upon that City and upon the Archbishop *Ancelin-Auberon* *. This *Ancelin* was a very subtil Man, but without Faith, who to regain his liberty, pretended to be come wholly his Friend, and wrought so upon his Mind, that he made him the first of his Council.

988.

The new King knowing that *Charles* was in *Laon*, came presently to besiege him, resolved to take it by Famine. In the length of the Siege, his Men not standing carefully upon their Guard, *Charles* made a stout Sally, put them to the rout, burnt their Lodgments, and forced them to retire ; Then made himself Master of *Reims* and *Soissons*.

989.

But suffering this heat of good success to grow cool, few People declared for him, and even the Archbishop of *Reims* whom he importuned to Crown him, told him that he could not do it of his own head, and that it was a publick Business, that is to say, it required the Consent of the Lords of the Kingdom.

* *Adalger*.

It was greatly *Hugh's* interest to gain *Arnold* Bastard Brother of Duke *Charles* to his Party ; To this end he gives him the Archbishoprick of *Reims*, which was vacant by the death of *Adalberon*, having first taken an Oath from him in Writing : but six months after his being in that Town, *Charles* his Brother was introduced there, and made himself Master by means of a Priest named * *Adalger*, and in Confederacy, as was thought, with the Archbishop ; who notwithstanding, ever denied it, and remained Prisoner in the hands of *Charles*, either really or at least pretended.

990.

At the same time *William* III. Earl of *Poitou* and Duke of *Aquitain* refused to acknowledge the two Kings *Capet* and *Robert*, though he were Uncle to *Robert* by the

the Mother, openly accusing the French of Perfidiousness, and their having abandoned the Line and Blood of *Charlemaine*. Both the Kings marched that way to bring him to Obedience, and besieged *Poitiers*. He repulsed them smartly, pursues them to the *Loire* ; and there happens a bloody Engagement, but the conclusion was to the Advantage of the French.

The year ensuing this Duke made War upon the Count of *Anjou*, for *Mirebalais* and *Loudunois*, and did so roughly handle him, that in the end he was constrained to acknowledge him and hold them in Fier of him.

991.

Charles living in too great security at *Laon*, and with too much confidence in *Ancelin*, King *Hugh* gained that Traitor ; who like another *Judas*, upon *Holy-Thurs* day-night opened the Gates, and delivered the poor Prince and his Wife up to him. He sent them away Prisoners to *Senlis*, and from thence to *Orleans*, where they were shut up in a Tower.

991.

The Archbishop *Arnold* his Brother was taken with him. The Bishops of France Assembled in Council at *Reims*, made his Process as one that was guilty of Perjury, and who had broken his Faith to King *Hugh*, and therefore degraded him of his Prelature ; after which the King sent him Prisoner to *Orleans* to keep his Brother company.

992.

Gerbert a Benedictine Monk, who had been Tutor to the Emperor *Otho* III. and to King *Robert*, was chosen in his place. He was so Learned for those times, particularly in the Mathematicks, that it gave him the Reputation of a Magician amongst the ignorant.

Anno 993. *William* III. Duke of *Aquitain* made Peace with the King, and owned to hold his Lands of him. But another *William* Duke of *Gascongne* kept himself still independent. He it was who having gained a memorable Battle against a Fleet of Normans landed in *Gascongne* towards the end of this Century, and believing he obtained that Advantage by the intercession of St. *Sever*, who was said to have appeared that day on a white Horse with glittering Arms fighting against the Barbarians, put his Dukedom under the protection of that glorious Martyr, and Erected a Church and Abby over his Tomb ; round about which Edifice is built that City called St. *Sever*, Cape of *Gascongne*.

993.

Many believe, but without any certain proofs, that *Hugh Capet* confirmed the Inheritance of all the great Estates, Dutchies and Earldoms to those Lords that had usurped them ; and it is probable that they themselves had first given such as depended upon them, to their own Vassals, thereby to engage them to maintain and justify them in their Usurpations.

It is certain he annexed to the Crown, which had scarce any thing left in Propriety, the Earldom of *Paris*, the Dukedom of *France*, containing all that is between the *Loire* and *Seine*, and the Earldom of *Orleans*.

Amongst a very great number of Lords who enjoy'd of the Regal Rights, the Eight most considerable were the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, and *Gascongne*, (*Bretagne* then held of *Normandy*) the Earls of *Flanders*, of *Champagne* and *Thoulouze* ; This last was likewise Duke of *Septimania* and Marquis of *Gothia* ; the Earl of *Barcelonna* in the Marches of *Spain*, and the Earl of *Anjou* on the Frontiers of *Bretagne*, this held of the Duchy of *France*. All these Lords had a great many more besides who took upon them to be Sovereigns.

I do not speak of the Estates that were set up in the Kingdom of *Lorraine* : amongst others the two Duchy's that bare that name, to wit the higher or *Mosellanick*, which retains it to this day, and the lower which is *Brabant* ; Nor of those that were framed out of the Ruines of the Kingdom of *Arles*, and that of *Transjurane*, as the Earldom of *Burgundy*, those of *Viennois*, *Provence*, and *Savoy*, *Dauphine*, the Dukedoms of *Zerigben* and *Alman*, and divers others, because those Countries were not of *France*, but held of the Emperors of *Germany*, who were Titularies of those two Kingdoms.

The Grandees of the Kingdom thought that *Capet* ought to suffer all from them, because they had set the Crown upon his Head : His Patience and Courage, which he exercised diversly according as occasion required, kept them from running to extremity, and maintained him in his Throne.

One *Adelbert* Count de la *Marche* and *Perigord* was one of the most unruly, and concerned himself in all their Quarrels. *Fulk Nerra* had some Pretensions to the City of *Tours* ; he besieged it in his behalf. The King sent and commanded him to desist ; *Adelbert* would do nothing ; and asking him, *Who was it that made you a Count ?* He insolently replied, *Those same that made you a King*, continued the Siege, and took the Town.

993. This year was memorable for the death of *Conrad* King of *Burgundy*, *William III.* Duke of *Aquitain*, and *Hebert* Count of *Meaux* and *Troyes*. *Conrad* left his Estate to his Son *Roldolph* called the *Faineant* or *Do-nothing*, *William* left his likewise to his Son of his own name, but surnamed *Fierabras*; and the third dying without Children, to *Eudes* his Brother, Earl of *Chartres* and *Tours*: who was the first that intitled himself Earl of *Champagne*.

William IV. of that name, Earl of *Toulouse* and of *Arles*, turned Monk, and his Son *William V.* succeeded him.

After the death of the Count of *Poitou*, his Son being yet but young, found his Country in Combustion, by the Rebellion of many of his Vassals, especially *Adelbert* who besieged *Poitiers*, and made divers other Enterprizes: but in the end he met with that fate which attends the Factious, being slain at the Siege of a small Castle. *Boson* his Fathers Brother succeeded in his Dominions.

994, & 95. The Pope could not suffer their having Deposed the Archbishop *Arnold* without his Authority, which the Bishops of *France* believed to be in their own power. He therefore took this Business mightily to heart, and dispatched the Abbot *Leon* to *France*, with an order to the Prelates to Assemble in Council about that Affair, and to *Sequin* Archbishop of *Sens*, to Represent his Person amongst them.

994. *Hugh* complained, opposed it, and held good some time against this Enterprize; But a new born Royalty could not but comply and yield at last to those Orders, for fear of being quickly tumbled down again. The Council which was held at *Reims* deposed *Gerbert*, and restored *Arnold* to his See after three years imprisonment. *Gerbert* withdrew himself to his Disciple King *Otho*, who bestowed upon him the Archbishoprick of *Ravenna*, from whence some years after he was raised to the Holy Chair.

994. In the year 994. the unhappy *Charles* died in Prison at *Orleanse*. It is not said what became of his Wife, but he left two Sons, *Otho* and *Lewis*; and two Daughters, *Gerberge* and *Hermengarde*. All these Children went to the Emperor *Otho III.* The eldest enjoyed the Dutchy of the lower *Lorraine* some years, and died without Heirs. The other is not mentioned. Hereafter we shall take notice to whom his Daughters were Married.

994, and the following. King *Hugh* as well as *Pepin*, and all such Princes as set up by a new Title amongst People that are not perfectly Barbarians, was truly Religious, Devout, and a lover of the Church and Church-men, gave up all the Abbies he held, and surrendered the Right of Election to the Clergy and Monks.

By his Example those Lords that possessed Church-Lands, as their own Patrimony: not only restored them, but for Restitution of their unjust Enjoyment and Detention, founded divers Monasteries which they peopled with reformed Monks: who certainly were much less good and more interested, than the former had been.

996. He ended his Life *Anno* 996. the 29th of *August*, or according to others the 22th of *November*, aged about Fifty five years, having Reigned nine years and some months. He was buried at *St. Denis*. If he Married *Blanche*, the Widow of *Lewis* last *Carlovinian* King, he had no Children by her: but by his first Wife *Adeleide*, Daughter, according to some, of *William II.* Duke of *Aquitain*, he had a Son named *Robert*, and three Daughters, *Haduige* or *Avoze* Wife of *Renier IV.* Earl of *Monts* and of *Haynault*, *Adelain* Wife to *Renand I.* Earl of *Nevers*, and *Gisle* who Wedded *Hugh I.* Earl of *Pontieu*, to whom she brought the City of *Abbeville* in Marriage.

996. The same year 996. *Richard* surnamed *Sans Peur*, or without Fear, Duke of *Normandy*, ended his days in his Palace of *Fescamp*, aged Sixty four years, of which he had Reigned nine, and was Interred before the Portal of the Church there: His Son *Richard II.* succeeded him.

* *Mal des Ardens.* About these times, that Sacred Fire which they named the Burning * *Sickness*, and had otherwhile made great destruction, broke out and kindled again, cruelly tormenting *France*, especially for two Ages. It seized again on a sudden, and burnt the Intrails, or some other part of the Body, which fell off piece-meal. Happy were those that escaped with the loss of a Leg or an Arm. This caused many great Donatives to be given to those Saints whose help they believed they had received in the midst of their dreadful Torments: as likewise the frequent founding of Hospitals for such as were infected with this Distemper.

The Calamity, which *Anno* 994. destroyed in *Aquitain*, *Angoumois*, *Perigord*, and *Limousin*, above 40000 Persons in a few days time, wrought at least this good, that the Grandees who had troubled this Province by their private Feuds, fearing the Wrath of God, made a Solemn Oath amongst themselves, to do Justice to their Subjects,

Subjects, and for this end formed a Holy League, which drew other Provinces by their Example to do the like.)

(It was likewise in this Age that Pilgrimages to the Holy Land grew very frequent; I mean amongst the Seculars, for the Monks and Clergy-men travelled to those Holy Places from the time of King *Clovis*.)

If the Tenth have deserved the name of the Iron Age, which is commonly bestowed upon it, it must have been for the continual and very Bloody Wars, between the Western Princes, and for the terrible Devastations of the *Normans*, the *Hungarians*, and the *Saracens*, but if they called it so for the ignorance and irregularity of their Manners, it was rather in respect to the Church of *Rome*, where in truth there were horrible Disorders and Crimes, then those of *France* and *Germany*.)

It is certain that the Bishops and Abbots notwithstanding the Prohibitions of Princes and Councils bore Arms and went to the Wars; a Custom which passed into a Law and Obligation, and lasted a long time in the third Race; That several were plunged into Vanity, Luxury, and Dissolution, and lived rather like Princes of this World, then Apostles of *Jesus Christ*; That those Wars which scourged them, made them yet but more worthy of Chastisement, for the Disorders and Licentiousness they fell into; That their Manners run to ruine with their Buildings; and that as there hardly remained any Monastery or Church entire, so there was scarce any Discipline left, not even amongst the very Monks; That, in fine, many Churches were without a Pastor; for example, there was but one Bishop in all the Country of *Gascogne*, who enjoyed the Revenue of six or seven Bishopricks.

But after all these Ruines, they began, before the middle of this Century, to gather up the broken pieces or fragments, and reform the behaviour of the Clergy, as well as rebuild their Churches. *William* Duke of *Aquitain* and *Auvergne*, having founded the Monastery of *Clugny* in the year 910. and *St. Mayeule* having raised, as it were a Nursery of Religious good Men, they took some Plants from thence to stock and furnish those Abbys which the Princes re-edified. This Abbot and *Odillon* his Successor furnished at least twenty or thirty, who remained still in submission to their common Mother, and formed the Congregation of *Clugny*. As much did *William* Abbot of *St. Benigne* at *Dijon*; as likewise *Abbon de Fleury*, to some others about *Aquitain*; Subordinations which may procure much good, and perhaps much greater evils. *St. Gerard* of the Blood of the Dukes of *Lorraine*, having embraced a Monastick Life, reformed Eighteen or twenty. *Adalberon* Bishop of *Metz*, Brother to *Frederic* first Earl of *Bar*, made a Regulation in those of his Bishoprick, amongst others in that of *Gorze*, and at *St. Arnold*, from whence he expelled the Canons who were grown disorderly, to place Monks in their stead.

Abbon de Fleury going to settle his Reformation in the Monasteries of *Squires* upon the *Garonne*, which therefore was called the *Rule*, and in the Language of that Country, *La Reoule*, and near to which was built a City of that name: was knock'd down by a Sedition which the *Gasccon* Monks of that place, and the Women had raised against him.

Amongst the Bishops there were divers that were noted for their famous Intriguing and Disorders. In the Wars between the Kings, *Henry* the Bird-catcher, and *Charles* the Simple, *Hilduin* falsifying his Faith, which he owed to *Charles*, who had given him the Bishoprick of *Liege*, went and acknowledged *Henry*, and forced away the Treasures of the Church, which he distributed to that Prince and his Courtiers, to maintain him: but the face of Affairs being changed, *Charles* would not suffer him to hold that Bishoprick, but bestowed it upon the Abbot *Richer*, which was confirmed by the Pope. King *Henry* recompensed *Hilduin* with the Bishoprick of *Milan*. *Herve de Reims*, otherwise a very learned Prelate, was likewise unfaithful to *Charles* the Simple, whose Chancellor he was, and Crowned *Robert* Brother to *Eudes*: but he died within three days after, as if he had been smitten by the avenging hand of God. *Sculfe*, *Hugh*, and *Arnold* his Successors, did all cause many troubles for more than Twenty five years. The Traytor *Adalberon de Laon* delivered up Prince *Charles*, who had made him his prime Minister; and *Arnold de Reims* was contented to owe the Obligation of that Archbishoprick to his Brothers mortal Enemy, and then broke his Faith with him.

It will be difficult to cull out any so excelling in Christian Vertues, as to merit the Titles of Saints; unless we place in this Rank *Erembert* of *Toulouse*, *Gaubert* of *Cahors*, and *Turpin* of *Limoges*. I do not speak of those of *Germany*; amongst them this Age produced a sufficient number, whose Apostolical Labours and Endeavours converted the *Danes*, *Sclavonians*, *Hungarians*, and other Infidel Nations. But amongst the Monks, we find in *Burgundy* five Abbots, *Bennon*, *Odon*, *Mayeule*, *Odillon* and

Church of the Tenth Age.

Saints.

and William, the four first of Clugny, the last of St. Benigne, and in Lorrain Gerard, who are respected by the Church.

Books were become mighty scarce, the Wars had almost destroy'd them all by burning, tearing, and other such like barbarities; and as there were none but Monks who Transcribed the Copies, and that Monasteries were much deserted, the numbers of Learned Men were very small. However Herve of Reims about the beginning of this Age, *Ruthier de Liege* about the middle, and Arnold d' Orleans towards the latter end, made it appear they were not ignorant in the knowledge of Holy Scripture, and the Canons and Usages of the Church. *Aymoin* a Monk of Fleury, *Brocard* Abbot of St. Remy of Reims, and *Dudon* Dean of St. Quentin, wrote of History; and Gerbert passed for a Prodigy of Science. He had been bred young in the Monastery of *Orillac*, and going into Spain, he was by the Recommendation of *Borel* Count of *Barcelonnette* instructed in the Mathematicks, either by Bishop *Hutton*, or by some Arabian Doctors. He was afterwards Rector or School-master in the City of Reims, (and perhaps he was the first that taught it in France) where for Scholars he had Prince Robert Son of Hugh Capet, *Leoterick* Archbishop of Sens, and *Fulbert* Bishop of Chartres; After which he had also the honour to teach *Otho* III. We know how he was raised to the See of the Church of Reims by Hugh Capet, then to that of *Ravenna* by *Otho*, and at length to that of Rome by the name of *Silvester* II.

As for the Councils of the Gallican Church, the first that I find in this Century, is that of *Troisy*, Anno 909. *Troisy* is in the Diocese of *Soissons*; * and pretty near that City; Herve Archbishop of Reims was President. "Therefore fifteen Chapters, which are as to many warm Exhortations and excellent Sermons, against all the Abuses and enormous Crimes, that had * over-whelmed France, where the weak were become a prey to the stronger, where the Laws were made a snare and burthen by the violence of particular powers; for which reason God had, to the plague of War, added that of Barrenness and Famine, caused by a most horrible Drought."

Anno 921. King Charles the Simple Convoked one or Sixteen Bishops for the business of *Hilduin* whom he had thrust out of the Bishoprick of *Liege*. I neither find the Place nor the Acts.

There were three more at *Troisy*, one in 921. where *Erlebaud* Earl of *Castrice*, who had been Excommunicated by the Archbishop Herve for invading what belonged to the Church of Reims, was absolved after his death upon the intreaty of King Charles, by the same Archbishop. Another, Anno 924. wherein *Isaac* Earl of *Cambrai* having given satisfaction for some wrongs to Stephen his Bishop, was absolved and reconciled to him. The third, Anno 927. of six Bishops called by Count *Hebert* of *Vermandois*, *Munze* King *Rodolph*, where *Herluin* Earl of *Montrenil* was admitted to Penance for having Married a second Wife, his first being yet alive.

In the year 923. there was one in the Diocese of Reims, the place is not named, which ordained those that had born Arms in the Wars betwixt King Charles and King Robert, to do Penance for three whole Lents, three several years consecutively, and also fifteen days before the Feast of St. John, and fifteen days after it, fasting all the Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays during that space of time, and besides all the Saturdays throughout the whole year with Bread and Water only, unless they bought it off. The first time of this Penance in Lent, they were to stay out of the Church, and at the last to be reconciled upon Holy-Thursdays.

The Council of *Duisburgh*, Anno 928. Excommunicated the Faction Party of *Mets* who had put out the Eyes of their Bishop *Bennon*; after which King Henry the Bird-catcher severely Revenged that villanous act of theirs, and made it fall upon their own heads.

That at the Abby of *Cherlieu* in 926. and that of *Fimes* in 935. endeavoured to repair the Desolations of the Holy Places ruined by Robbers and other such wicked People.

The Debate for the Archbishoprick of Reims between *Artold**, and Hugh the Son of *Hebert* Earl of *Vermandois*, was an occasion of calling divers Councils. Hugh having been advanced to that See too young and against the Canons, was deposed, and *Artold* placed in his stead. But Anno 940. *Artold* had renounced, and made Solemn Oath not to intermeddle any more in the government of that Church. Thereupon a Council called at *Soissons* in the year 941. by Hugh and *Hebert*, destituted him, and re-established Hugh. On the contrary that of *Verdun*, Anno 947. restored him. That of *Mousson* in 948. confirmed him: and that of *Ingelheim* the same year where the Kings, *Lewis* *Transmarine* and *Otho* I. were present, Excommunicated the Bishop Hugh of *Vermandois*, and resolved to Treat Count * Hugh in the same manner, who

Councils.

* Between Soissons and Clugny.

* There were the Excommunications.

* Artold.

* Father of Hugh Capet.

who being a Rebel to his Prince had held him Prisoner a year, if he did not come and give satisfaction.

The same year that of *Treves*, where *Marin* the Popes Legat presided, confirmed the Sentence against the two *Hughes*, and thundred against the Bishops irregularly Ordained by Hugh of *Vermandois*.

Artold being dead, Anno 961. some Bishops Assembled together near *Meaux*, the year following, to contrive some Method to bring Hugh in again to that See: but considering that a small number could not undo, what had been done by a greater, and that they had notice from the Pope to clear their doubts, that he had Excommunicated him in a Council held at Rome Anno 949. they broke up without proceeding any farther.

That of Reims in 975. wherein presided Stephen Deacon to *Bennet* V. Pope, and *Adalberon* of Reims, Excommunicated *Thibault* who had usurped the See of *Amiens*.

In 983. that of Mount St. Mary in the Diocese of Reims, where *Adalberon* presided, confirmed the Decree made by that Bishop, to put Monks into the Monastery of *Mousson*, in the stead of those Canons that were there. In the foregoing Age, in many places the Canons were more desired; The Humour was changed in this.

Gerbert soliciting with heat to have Arnold de Reims his Process made, a Council was called in that same City Anno 992. where his Credit and the vehement Eloquence of Arnold d' Orleans carrying it against the Remonstrances of *Abbon* Abbot of Fleury, and the Sentiment of *Seguin* de Sens who was President, Arnold was deposed and Gerbert instaled in his See. The Pope believing it intrenched upon his Authority if he suffer'd them to undertake this without his Order, sent a Legat into France the year ensuing, who first called together some Bishops at *Mousson*, then a greater number at Reims, where *Seguin* representing the Person of the Pope, it was said that Gerbert should be deposed and Arnold restored: but this last being a Prisoner at Orleans, Gerbert disputed it, and stood his ground yet for some time; and appealed to the Pope, who grew more stubborn and stiff in favour of Arnold, and forced the King by the threatnings of a terrible Excommunication to release him and suffer him to enjoy his Bishoprick.

Robert

Robert, King XXXVI.

POPE S,

GREGORY V. About two years under this Reign.	1003. S. Five years ten Months.
SILVESTER II. Elected in March 999. S. Four years and two Months.	SERGIUS IV. Elected in Aug. 1009. S. Two years eight Months, and an half.
JOHN XVIII. Elected in May 1003. S. Five Months.	BENEDICT VIII. Elected in 1012. S. near Twelve years.
JOHN XIX. Elected in Novem.	JOHN XX. Elected in March 1024. S. Nine years eight Months.

ROBERT, King XXXVI. Aged Twenty four or
Twenty five years.

THis King compleat both in Body and Mind, of a handsome Stature, a sweet and grave Air, a composed and sage Humour, having been nurtur'd to Piety and good Learning by *Gerebert*, became very knowing for that Age, much more Religious and Zealous in the Service of God, and as Just, Charitable, and Debonnaire towards his People, as any Prince that ever wore a Crown. And indeed God favour'd his Reign with the choicest Blessing he is wont to bestow upon those Kings who are according to his own Heart, I mean with a long and happy Peace, which he enjoy'd near Thirty years, after some slight and petty Wars.)

This year 996. died *Richard I.* Duke of *Normandy*, who was past his Seventieth year; He left his Dukedom to his Son *Richard II.* surnamed the Good.

William Earl of *Poitou* and Duke of *Aquitain*, having War with *Boson II.* Earl of *Perigord* and *de la Marche*, Robert was obliged to assist him as his Kindred and Vassal. They both laid Siege to the Castle of *Belac*: but their Army wanting Provisions, because they were too numerous, could not subsist till the taking of the Place. The Chronicles of those times who are all very succinct, do not give an account of the end of that War, no more then of many other things.

Eudes Earl of *Brie* and *Champagne* prompted with great desire to have a passage over the *Seine* as he had already over the *Marne*, thereby to go commodiously from *Brie* to his County of *Chartres*, cast his Eyes upon *Melun*, and with Money gained the Vicount or *Castellaine* belonging to Earl *Bouchard*, who deliver'd it up to him.

Bouchard had been the favourite of *Hugh Capet*, who had given him that Earldom, and he was yet at this time Count Palatine for King *Robert*. Wherefore this King took in hand his defence, sent *Richard II.* Duke of *Normandy* his Cousin and good Friend, and with him besieged the place. The Battery with their * Engines having made a Breach, the Garrison surrendred upon Composition: the *Castellaine* and his Wife were both Hanged on the top of a Hill near the place.

They did not punish Gentlemen with Death for Rebellion or Felony, unless they committed Treason; but in that case they hanged them in some eminent Place, that Crime degrading them of all Nobility.

Poland

Robert, King XXXVI.

Poland was honoured with the Title of a Kingdom by the Emperor *Otho III.* who going to *Gnesne* to Visit the Sepulchre of *St. Adalbert Martyr*, gave the Regal Ornaments to Duke *Boleslaus*.

The following year Hungary had the same Advantage and Honour, but would receive it from the hands of the Pope, to whom Prince *Stephen* the Son of *Geisa*, who first embraced Christianity, sent to demand the Royal Crown.

Towards the end of January in the year 1002. the Emperor *Otho*, aged but Twenty nine years died in the City of *Rome*, or in *Paterna*, not leaving any Children. It was believed to be of Poyson; the cursed practise thereof being much in use, as I have observed in this Age, thorough all the West. *Henry II.* of that name, called the Cripple, Duke of *Bavaria* and Earl of *Bamberg*, succeeded him by an Election of the German Princes, but did not bear the Title of Emperor, at least not in Italy, till he had been Crowned by the Pope, which was Twelve years afterwards.

The degrees of Parentage wherein Marriage was prohibited, having been extended to the Seventh, besides the obstructions from Spiritual Alliance or Gossipship, caused much Broil especially amongst Princes and Grandees, who commonly are of Kin to one another, even within that degree. For so soon as a Husband or a Wife were disgusted with each other, or that any one had a mind to trouble them, they needed but to Article and make Oath they were of Kin within the degrees forbidden, and produce Witnesses upon it, (to the number of nine, as I believe) which were not wanting, or difficult to get; and thereupon the Diocesan Bishop, or an Assembly of Bishops, if there were any greater difficulty, pronounced Judgment.

Now Queen *Luigard* the first Wife of *Robert* being dead, he was advised, by Maxims of Policy, to Wed *Bertha* Sister to *Rodolph* the * Lazy King of *Burgundy*, Widow of *Eudes I.* Earl of *Chartres*, and Mother of *Eudes II.* as yet but young. She being of Kin in the fourth Degree, and besides he having held a Child with her at the Font; he thought he might prevent the inconveniency of nullity of Marriage by the Authority of the *Gallican Church*: he called therefore his Bishops together, who having heard his Reasons, were of opinion upon consideration of the publick good, that he might take her for his Wife notwithstanding the Canonical Obstructions; which was a kind of Dispensation.

Abbon who was Abbot of *Fleury*, a vehement Man, not having been able to dissuade him from this match, bestir'd himself with much heat to have it dissolved. The Pope, to whom *Robert* had made no Application, Excommunicated the Bishops that had authorized it, and the two Parties that were Contracted, if they did not separate forthwith.

The King not giving Obedience to a Sentence which appeared to him contrary to the good of his Kingdom, the Pope by an unheard-of Proceeding put the whole Nation under an Interdiction. To which the People so humbly submitted, that all the Kings Domestick Servants, excepting only two or three, forsook him, and they threw whatsoever was left at his Table to the Dogs, no body thinking it lawful to eat of that Meat he had but touched.

These Severities, and not a Monstrous Birth by his Wife, whom the Miraclemongers say was delivered of an Infant with the Neck and Feet resembling a Goose, constrained him to part from her, but that was not till two or three years after; and we find that they made a Journey to *Rome*, either to defend their Cause before the Pope, or to crave his Pardon. However it were the Marriage remained Null.

I cannot forget one memorable Example of the Sovereign Power, and the extremity Rigour of the Pope, it was *Silvester II.* *Guy* Vicount of *Limoges* was cited to *Rome* by the Bishop of *Angoulesme*, because he had detained him Prisoner in a Castle. The two Parties appeared. The Cause pleaded upon the very Easter-day, the Pope pronounced that *Guy* for Reparation of his Crime, should be tied to the Necks of two Wild-horses, and his Body thus torn and bruised, thrown on the Dung-hill, which was to be put in Execution three days after. In the mean time *Guy* was delivered up into the hands of the Bishop; but the Prelat being moved with pity pardoned him, and stealing away in the night, generously brought him thence into France again with him.

About this time *Henry* Duke of *Burgundy* Brother of *Hugh Capet*, died without Children. Now by the induction of *Giselle* his Wife, Widow of *Adelbert*, as above, King of *Italy* and Son of *Berenger II.* he left his Dukedom by Will and Testament, to *Otho-William* surnamed the *Stranger*, illie of that Woman by her first Husband, who finding himself already Earl of *Burgundy* beyond *Soane*, named *Franche-Comte*, and besides assisted by *Landry* Earl of *Nevers* his Son-in-Law, and *Brinon* Bishop

D d

Emperor *Basilus* and *Constantin*, and *Henry II.* Reigned Twenty two years and an half.

1002.

1003.
* Fainant;
Do little, or
Do nought,
or the Idle or
Lazy.

1003.

1006.

1003.

of Langres, whose Sister he had Married, took possession of all Burgundy by virtue of that Grant.

But King Robert, to whom this Dukedom belonged lawfully, as Heir to his Uncle, led a powerful Army thither, with the aid of Richard II. Duke of Normandy, suppressed the Usurpers Faction, took Auxerre by Composition, and Avalon by Battery; the Walls, as 'tis said, falling down miraculously before him; and at length forced out Otho-William and confined him beyond the Saone, where he became the Stock of the Earls of * Burgundy.

* Franche-County.

1004.

Otho Son of Prince Charles, Duke of the Lower Lorrain, being dead without ever Marrying, King Henry gave his Dukedom to Godfrey Count of Verdun, Bouillon and Ardenne, without any regard to the Sisters of the Defunct who were Married, Gerberge to Lambert Earl of Brabant, and Hermengarde to Lambert Earl of Namur. From these issued the Dukes of Brabant, and the Earls of Namur.

1005, &c.
Emperor Basilus and Const. and Henry II. Crowned by the Pope.

Baldwin Earl of Flanders already an Enemy to the Emperor, undertook the Quarrel of these Daughters. The Emperor came to the Relief of Godfrey whom he had invested with this Fief; and the King of France embraced Baldwin's Party who was his Vassal. The Emperor in vain besieged Valenciennes and then Gannet: Finally this War being made at the Charge and Expence of the Flemming, he agreed with the Emperor and restored Valenciennes.

1008.

Afterwards the Emperor desiring to make use of his Valour in the great Troubles brought upon him by the Rebellion of the German Princes, gave him that City again, and withall the Island of Walcharen being part of Zeland: whence proceeded a long and bloody Contest between the Flemmings and the Hollanders, these pretending that Zeland appertained to them, by virtue of a certain Grant which they alledged had been made to them by the Emperor Letaire Son of Lewis the Debonnaire.

1007.

I think we ought to place in the year 1007. the Marriage of Robert with Constance surnamed Blanch Daughter of William V. Earl of Arles, Provence, and Toulouse; a Beautiful Princess, but Haughty, Capricious, and Insupportable.

We must observe that the Authors of those times frequently called Provence, Aquitain, whether out of ignorance, or because of its City of Aix, Aquæ Sextiæ.

1009.

The Saracens at the instigation of the Jews in France demolish the Temple of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre; which re-ignites the Devotion of the Western Christians, and their hatred against the Jews, whom they banish or knock on the Head every where.

1009, 10,
&c.

The good King Robert addicted himself intirely to works of Piety, Charity, Mercy and Justice, re-edified old Churches, or built new ones, and fed great numbers of poor People in all the Cities throughout his Kingdom. He kept above Two hundred in his House whom he led every where; having no aversion to see them even under his Table, to touch their Ulcers, and make the Sign of the Cross over them, whereby they were oftentimes made whole.

He delighted to Sing in the Quire, and Compose Words and Notes for the Songs and Responses, in honour of God or his Saints. The Church hath preserved some of them which they make use of to this day.

This year 1012. was seen towards the farther Southern parts, a Star of an extraordinary magnitude, which seemed to dart its bright Rays into the beholders Eyes. It appeared for three months together, sometimes contracting its self, other while seeming much greater, as if it took new Fire, then again as it were quite extinguished. Anno 1003. a Comet had likewise been observed which kept near the Sun, and appeared but seldom, which was about the break of day. Eight years before, viz. Anno 995. another had been observed upon St. Laurences-day; And in 981. also another yet about Autumn. Which I take notice of to shew that these Phenomena are not so rare as to make so much noise about them.

1013.

The King having bestowed the Archbishoprick of Bourges upon Gessin his Natural Son Abbot of Fleury, the Clergy of that Church made great opposition, saying, That the Holy Canons admitted no Bastards to the Prelacy: Which occasioned many Tumults, that were not allayed till five years afterwards.

* Or Wicked.

1015.

The Earl of Sens, Raynard II. of that name, called the Bad*, using much violence against Leuterie his Archbishop and all the Clergy within his Territory, the King besieged his City and took it, deprived him of his Earldom, and rejoyned it to his Demcaiss.

The

The Burgundians having Rebell'd, and divers Lords plundering and committing Robberies in the Province by means of their Castles and Fortified places, the King went thither and pulled down and destroy'd all those Nests and Dens of Thieves.

1015.

His eldest Son whose name was Hugh, a Prince accomplish'd both in Mind and Body, giving very great hopes, though he were not yet Ten years old: He caused him to be Crowned at Compiègne on the day of Pentecost in the year 1017. and afterwards his name was put to all Acts with that of his Fathers.

1017.

ROBERT, and HUGH his Son.

The Duke of Aquitain at his return from his third, or fourth Pilgrimage to Rome (those that made most were the most esteemed) found his Country enriched with a new Treasure. The Abbot of St. John's de Angery having lighted on the Skull of a Man in a Wall, the Report was spread that it was the Head of St. John Baptist. The People of France, Lorrain, and Germany, who in those days ran with much Zeal after all sorts of Relicks, flocked thither from all parts: King Robert, the Queen, the Duke of Normandy, and a great number of other Lords, brought their Offerings thither. The Kings was a Scollop-shell of Gold which weighed Thirty pounds; an admirable Present in such times when Gold and Silver were fifty times more scarce then in our Age.

1018.

The Danes or Normans beyond Seas, having not quite forgotten their custom of Piracy, did yet sometimes make Descents in England and on the Coasts of France. They had Conquer'd a great part of England, and at last made some Kings there. This year they landed in Poitou, being perhaps informed of the great Crowds of Pilgrims that came to see the Head of St. John; and indeed they carried away a great many good Prisoners. All the Country Armed to drive them thence; The Duke of Aquitain going to attack them, twenty or thirty of his most considerable Gentlemen fell into Holes cover'd over with Branches and green Turfs which the Normans had digged about the Avenues to their Camp. This accident disheartned the rest from going on; however the Normans fearing a ruder onset, dislodg'd in the night, and got into their Vessels: but they were forced to give them what Ransom they pleased to demand for the Prisoners they had gotten.

Gefroy * Duke or Earl of Bretagne (for in those times the Dukes took indifferently the Titles of Earls) dying, his eldest Son Alain III. of that name succeeded him in his Dukedom, and Eudes his second had the Earldom of Pontieure in Partage. Alain espoused the Princess * Avoise Sister of Duke Richard; and by that means Normandy and Bretagne hitherto great Enemies, were united in Alliance and Amity.

* Gefroy.
1018.

* Or Avoise.

There was a War begun from the year 1017. between Richard Duke of Normandy and Eudes or Odon Earl of Champagne and Chartres, because Eudes would not give up the City of Dreux granted him in Dowry with Matilda the Sister of Richard, who was lately dead: so that Richard had built the Castle of Tilleret, from whence he made incursions on the Country of Dreux. Eudes put himself in a posture to surprize the Garison, having with him the Counts Valeran de Meulan, and Hugh du Mans: but he was soundly beaten and put to the rout.

1020, 21,
&c.

The War growing hotter he raised so many Enemies against the Norman Duke, that that Prince fearing to be overwhelmed, sent to Lagman or Lacime King of Sweden to assist him, and also Olaf King of Norway, who being landed in Bretagne, and having forced and sacked the City of Dole, marched towards the Chartrain Country. All France upon remembrance of their former Desolations, fell into an extream apprehension and dread, and the King bestir'd himself with so much activity to quench this Flame, that he brought the two Princes to an Agreement, and satisfied the Northern Kings, who returned again, after the Norwegian had received Baptism at Rouen, having the name of Robert given him at the Sacred Font.

1022.

The Emperor Henry and King Robert desiring cordially to take away all cause of difference between them, agreed upon an Interview at the River Menfe. Whilst the Courtiers on either side were making several Scruples about the Place, the Manner, and such like trivial Circumstances and Punctillios, and the two Princes on the contrary had it in their thoughts to outvie each other in Civility; Henry passes the River early in the morning and pleasantly surprizes Robert, who the next day repays his Visit in the same manner. Both Treated one the other Magnificently, and offered each very rich Presents to the other: but Robert took only a Book being the

D d 2

New

New-Testament, and a Reliquary or Shrine, wherein was a Tooth of the Martyr St. Vincent, which was enriched with Precious Stones : and Henry a pair of Ear-Pendants.

1024.

This last being dead at Bamberg, the German Princes elected Conrad Duke of Wormes, who could not go to Rome to receive the Imperial Crown, till the year 1027. At last the Italian Princes and Prelats hating the Teutonick Nation, who Treated them Peremptorily, ruling as it were with a Rod in hand, refused to obey, and sent into France to profer King Robert the Kingdom of Italy for his Son Hugh.

1025.
Emperor Bz-
fize and Conf.
and Conrad II.
Reigned 25
years.

Upon his refusal they Addressed themselves to William Duke of Aquitain, very well known in Rome by his frequent Pilgrimages. He hearkned to the Proposal, understood their Methods, sent some thither to sound them thoroughly, and after went himself. When he was amongst them, he found nothing of all they had promised, every one demanding of him instead of giving to him; they propounded no Conditions but such as were very ridiculous; so that finding they had a design upon his Purse, and feared his Power, he laughed at them and left them.

Emperor Con-
stantine alone
and Conrad.

The imperious and proud Humour of Queen Constance gave the King perpetual trouble and displeasures, who used all means to soften her. One day being offended and angry with a favourite of his named Hugh de Beauvais, who upheld the Husbands Spirit against her undertakings, she makes her complaint to Fulk Earl of Anjou her Cousin, intreating to Revenge her. The Count sent twelve of his own Country Gentlemen, who taking their opportunity when this Favourite was Hunting with the King, seized on him, and cruelly cut off his Head in the Kings presence, without any regard to his Intreaties.

1025.

The King was forced to put up this Affront for fear of a greater mischief, and withall to endure this Step-mother should Treat his Son King Hugh with the greatest indignity, even to the reducing him to much indigence of all things fit for him.

I find in the Life of this most Wise King an act of Clemency more then Royal. There having been discovery made of a grand Conspiracy against his Life and State, and the Authors taken, when the Lords were assembled together to Sentence them to Death, he caused those Wretches to be splendidly entertained, and the next day admitted to the Sacred Communion: then would needs have them be set free, saying, They could not put those to Death whom Jesus Christ had newly received at his * Table.

* A Criminal
is reputed to
have Pardon
if the Sovereign
admits him to his
Table.

This year William IV. Duke of Aquitain and Earl of Poitiers died, and his eldest Son William V. surnamed the Gros took the Government of his Country. The Widow Dutcheß second Wife of William IV. having Children, to gain assistance against those of the first Bed, Married Geoffrey Martel a most valiant Prince, the Son of Fulk Earl of Anjou.

1025.

The year after, Richard the Good Duke of Normandy ended his days, and for Successor had Richard III. his eldest Son.

1026.

Osbe-William Earl of Burgundy, left this World likewise, and his Son Renauld possessed his Estates.

1027.

An enraged Passion to govern Armed Baldwin, then surnamed the Frison, and afterwards the Debonnaire, against Bearded Baldwin his own Father Earl of Flanders, so that he drove him out of his Country; This unnatural Son valuing himself highly on the Alliance of King Robert, whose Daughter he had Married, but who nevertheless did not countenance his impiety. Richard III. Duke of Normandy (others affirm it was Robert) received the old banished Man and restored him to his Earldom: but he could not totally suppress the Partialities in those Countries, where some still sided with the Son, as others stood up for the Father.

1023.

The 17th of September the young King Hugh died in the Flower of his Age, be-moaned of all Europe for his rare and lovely Qualities, which had acquired him so great Reputation, that he could hardly have made it good if he had longer survived.

1028, & 29.

King Robert had three more Sons remaining, Henry, Robert, and Eudes. Some say that Eudes was the eldest of them all. However it were, the King after the Death of Hugh would have Henry Crowned: but Queen Constance by a depraved appetite had undertaken to put Robert in the Throne.

Emperor Ro-
man II. Cousin
to Conf. in
November.
Reigned Five
years six
months, and
Conrad.

The Fathers Authority and Reason carried it for Henry amongst the French Lords: and yet this Womans Obstinacy could not acquiesce, but caused many Tumults, her Husband not being able to prevent her even in his Life time, from contriving a great Conspiracy to dethrone the eldest, and place the younger in his stead.

R O-

ROBERT, and HENRY his Son Aged some Eighteen years.

Richard III. Duke of Normandy having Reigned but two years, died of Poyson by 1029.
by his Brother named Robert, who after his death enjoyed the Dukedom ob- 1028.
tained by Fratricide.

In the year 1029. and 30. there began a great War between Eudes Earl of 1029, & 30.
Champagne, Chartres and Tours, and Fulk Earl of Anjou, because Fulk fortified the
Castle of Montrichard which Eudes said did belong to the Country of Touraine. Af-
ter some Rencontres they came to a pitched Battle, each being at the head of his
Army: the loss was great on either side, but the Angevin obtained the Victory.

Though King Robert commonly permitted the liberty of Elections, yet the Bishop 1030, 31,
of Langres being dead, he by his absolute Authority substituted another, as having and the fol-
need of one wholly at his Devotion in that place, to help him in the bridling and lowing.
containing of Burgundy. The Canons having Poysoned this, he put in a second
there; which excited so great trouble amongst the Clergy of that Diocess, that he
was forced to send his Son to install the last promoted, and to secure him from their
Attempts.

Whilst Henry was in that Country, hapned a great Eclipse of the Sun, and 1033.
Robert his Father was seized with a Distemper, whereof he died the 20th of July
in the year 1033. having lived Sixty one years, of which he Reigned Forty five and
an half, that was Nine and an half with his Father, and Thirty six since his death.

He had four Children living; three Sons, Henry who had the Crown, Eudes who
contended with him for it, and Robert who was Duke of Burgundy: and one Daughter
named Adeleida, who Married Baldwin Earl of Flanders.

It was no fault of his Government that France was not compleatly happy: he
gave his Subjects what depended upon him, Justice and Peace; but had the unhap-
piness to see a Famine three times, and after that a Plague make great destruction
in his Dominions, the first in Anno 1007, the second, Anno 1010, and the third
from the year 1030, to 1033. (The first was general over all Europe, and the last
so severe in France, that many People were seen to dig up dead Carcasses for Food,
to go a hunting after little Children, and lie in wait at the corners of Woods like
Beasts of Prey, to devour Passengers. Nay there was a Man so possessed with the
covetous desire of gain, more cruel then the Famine it self, that he exposed Human
Flesh to sale in the City of Tournus: but that detestable Prodigy was by them ex-
piated in the Flames.)

Henry

Henry I. King XXXVII.

POPE S,

BENEDICT IX. *A young Boy intruded in December 1033. S. near Ten years.*

Three Anti-Popes, the same BENEDICT, SYLVESTER, and GREGORY VI. Elected after the Abdication of BENEDICT, Anno 1044. S. Two years.

CLEMENT VII. *Named by the Emperor, Anno 1046. S. Nine Months.*

DAMASUS II. *Elected in*

1048. S. Twenty three days.

LEO IX. *After Five Months vacancy, Elected in Feb. 1049. S. Five years two Months.*

VICTOR II. *Named by the Emperor, Anno 1054. S. Three years.*

STEPHANUS X. *Elected in August 1057. S. Eight Months.*

NICHOLAS II. *Elected in 1058. S. Two years six Months.*

1033.

THe first and most capital Enemy against this King was his own Mother: who continuing to the prejudice of his Fathers Declaration, and the right of Nature, to endeavour to set the Crown upon the Head of Robert her beloved Son, raised a good Party of the Grandees against him, particularly Baldwin Earl of Flanders, and Eudes Earl of Champagne, bellowing the City of Sens upon this last to engage him to her Party.

But Henry whose Resolution was above his Age, went himself, being the Twelfth, to Robert Duke of Normandy to implore his Assistance. The Duke by Motives of Fidelity, or hatred against the Champenois, aided him with all his Forces: With which having in a short time defeated the Queen's in several Rencontres, and taken the Rebels Hold, he unlinked the whole Party, and reduced her in despite of all her Projects to live quietly with him.

The War ended, he gave Robert the Cities of Chaumont and Pontoise, and the French Vexin.

1033.

It was then likewise he yielded the Dukedom of Burgundy to his Brother Robert. From whom issued the First Race of the Dukes of Burgundy of the Blood Royal.

1033, and the following.

The Earl of Champagne did not hold himself vanquish'd by the defeat of the Party: to make him lay down his Sword the King was forced to beat his Army twice, and the third time put him to a rout, and made him fly away half naked, and hide himself, before he could compel him to shake hands.

About the year 1032. or 33. Geoffrey surnamed Martel, made a cruel War upon William V. called the Gros, Duke of Guyenne and Earl of Poitou, whose Mother-in-Law, or his own Fathers second Wife he had Married; She was named Agnes Daughter of the Earl of Burgundy. The Subject of the Quarrel was the Earldom of Saintonge and the Country of Aunis, which he disputed for. The Authors do not tell us plainly by what Title he claimed; but that he vanquish'd the Duke in a great Battle near Montrenil-Bellay, took him Prisoner, and did not release him till three years end, after he had yielded up Saintonge, and paid a lusty Ransom.

1033.

Rodolph or Rouel King of Burgundy beyond the Jura and of Arles dying in the year 1033. instituted his Heir Conrad the Emperor who had Married Gisle his youngest Sister, and had by her a Son named Henry, and made no account of Eudes Earl of Champagne the Husband of Berthe his eldest Sister, because while he was living he

he would have forced him to acknowledge him for King, and had bred Factions and Stirrs in his Country.

By this Institution the Kingdom of Burgundy and Arles passing over to German Princes, was by them as it were united and joyned to the Germanic Kingdom and the Empire, who being at too great a distance have insensibly let it slip through their Fingers, and after they had lost the Possession, have likewise lost the very Title to it.

In these days lived Humbert, Surnamed White-hands, Earl of Maurienne and Savoy, Stem of the Royal House of Savoy, which at this day holds a great Rank amongst Christian Sovereigns, the Off-spring of this Humbert, having by Marriages, Successions, Conquests, and other means, assembled and joyned all the several pieces whereof that State is composed. Some Historians make this Prince to be descended from Bolon King of Provence, others from Hugh King of Italy, and some from the ancient Counts of Maxon; but Tradition, and which appears most probable, makes him the Son of one Berald of Saxony who descended from Vitekind, by the same Branch as the three Otho's Emperors, or by some other.

The Earl of Champagne not able to endure that Conrad should allow him no part of a Patrimony, of which the best share ought to be his, took his time when that Prince was employ'd in Hungary, and with his own Forces and those of his Friends, made himself Master of a great part of the Kingdom.

But Conrad at his return having led his Army into those Countries, drove Eudes Garrisons forth of all the Places he had taken, put in his own, and received Homage of all the Lords. In fine, he handled him so roughly, that all help failing, and perhaps an apprehension getting into his thoughts, that the King of France who hated him, might agree with the Emperor to strip him, he went and surrendered upon Mercy, and humbled himself before him.

Robert Duke of Normandy by force of Arms constrains the Bretons to do him Homage.

He dies the year after at Nicea in Bithynia, upon his return from a Pilgrimage to Jerusalem. At his departure he had instituted an only Son of his, but a Bastard named William to be his Heir, begotten on a Citizens Daughter of Falaise, leaving him at Paris, in the guard and protection of King Henry who had very great Obligations to him, and giving the Regency of the Country to Alain Duke of Bretagne.

William had two Paternal Uncles, Mauger Archbishop of Rouen, who was Married and had Children, and William Earl of Argues, to whom the Nobility of the Country would much rather have obey'd then to a Bastard. This was the occasion of great Troubles, and would have ruined Normandy, had the French King's Forces been but as great as his desire to regain it.

About this time the name of the Normands began to grow famous and potent in Italy, especially in Puglia and Calabria. In the year 1003, forty Adventurers of that Nation, upon the quitting the Holy Land, having acted some things there almost incredible against the Saracens, in favour of Gaimar Duke of Salerno, who was hugely tormented by them, being returned into Normandy laden with Honour and Presents, had excited other brave Men of their Country to go seek their Fortunes beyond the Mountains. The first that try'd, was a Gentleman named Drengot-Osmond, who being forced to quit the Country for killing one William Repostel in the presence of his Prince having vapoured that he had abused his Daughter, went with four more Brothers and some others of his Kindred, to offer his Service to Mello Duke of Bari, and Pandolphus Prince of Capua, who were Revolted against the Greeks. They received them with open Arms, and gave them a City and some Lands to maintain themselves. Then after these were settled, not without many hazards, Combats and Adventures, six of the Sons of Tancrede d'Anteville, a Gentleman of the Bishoprick of Constance, who had twelve all of them brave and courageous, arrived there and carried their fame to a higher pitch then the former.

Normandy was all in Fire and Blood by the particular Feuds of some Lords upheld by the Uncles of the young Duke Alain III. Duke of Bretagne, his Guardian being come to appease them, could not avoid a Mortal Poyson given him by the Factious Antagonists. Conan II. his Son but then in his Cradle succeeded him.

About these times William the Gros Duke of Aquitaine was delivered out of Prison and died the same year. Otho or Eudes his second Brother succeeded him. Two years after he inherited the Dukedom of Gascongne, taking possession thereof in the Church of St. Severin at Burdeaux according to the Custom. He had this Lordship in Right of his Mother Brice who was the Daughter of Duke Sance. Thus the House of Gascongne resolved, or dissolved into that of Poitiers or Aquitaine.

1033, & 34.
Emperor
Michael Paphla-
gonian, in
April, and
Conrad.

1034.
1035.

1035.

1036.

1036.

1003, and
the follow-
ing.

1036.

1037.

The

1037.

The Pretensions of *Eudes* Earl of *Champagne* to the Kingdom of *Burgundy* not being wholly stifled, he fell with an Army into the Kingdom of *Lorraine* which belonged to the Emperor, and took the City of *Commercy*: but as he would have attacked *Bar*, *Gatolun* Duke of *Lorraine* came and opposed him so roughly, that he defeated his Army and laid him dead upon the place. His two Sons *Thibault* and *Stephen* shared his Lands. *Thibault* had the Earldoms of *Chartres* and *Tours*, and *Stephen* those of *Troyes* or *Champagne*, and *Meaux* in *Brie*.

1038, and 39.

Geoffrey Martel, following the Passion of *Agnes* his Wife, excited the Subjects of *Eudes* Duke of *Aquitain* to rebel against him, thereby to advance his Brothers of the same Venter, *Peter-William* and *Guy* the Son of that *Agnes*: which succeeded as he wished; for *Eudes* who had no Child being slain in the year 1039, at the Siege of a little paltry Town, *Peter-William* succeeded him, and *Guy-Geoffrey* had the Earldom of *Gascogne*.

1038, and 39.

Emperor *Michael*, and *Henry III.* or according to others *II.* Son of *Conrad*, in June 1039.

1039, and the following.

The *Normans* under the Conduct of *William* surnamed *Fierabras*, the eldest of *Tancred's* Sons, were employ'd by the *Grecian* Emperor's Lieutenant, to drive the *Saracens* out of *Sicily*, upon condition they should have part of the Conquests. Whereof finding themselves frustrate by the *Greeks*, they fell upon *Puglia* or *Apulia*, which they began to take footing in. Duke *Fierabras* their General hapning to die, they chose his Brother *Dragon* in his stead, and he being likewise treacherously kill'd by the Lords of that Country, they Substituted *Onfroy* the third of those Brothers.

The *Grecian* Emperor's Lieutenant brought his Army from *Sicily* to stop their Enterprize, and fought them near the *Streams* of *Ausidus*, and not far from *Cannes*, where otherwhile *Hannibal* made so horrible a Slaughter amongst the *Romans*. The *Greek* was not more fortunate then the *Carthaginian*, he lost the Battle and so great a number of his Men, that the *Grecians* could never raise themselves again in that Country; and the power of the *Normans* increased so much, that it suppressed theirs in a few years.

* Or *Fulk*, 1039.

Foulk * Earl of *Anjou* died in the City of *Mets* in his return from the Holy Land: *Geoffrey* surnamed *Martel* his Son succeeded him. This *Foulk* being in *Jerusalem* touched with a deep Repentance for his Sins, caused himself to be drawn all naked on a Hurdle with a Rope about his Neck, and Whipt till the Blood run, crying out, Have Mercy Lord, on the Treacherous and Perjur'd *Foulk*.

1040, and 41.

The Sons of *Eudes* Earl of *Champagne* refused to do Hommage for their Lands to King *Henry*, because he had not assisted their Father against the Emperor *Conrad*. The pretence of their Felony was, that they said the Crown belonged to his Brother *Eudes*; In effect they encouraged him to set up for King. Which hath made some suspect that he was the eldest.

1041.

Henry did not give this Conspiracy time to make any progress, he besieged his Brother in a Castle whither he was retired, and having taken it, sent him under a strong Guard to *Orleans*. I do not find what became of him.

This done, he marched against *Stephen* Earl of *Brie* and *Champagne*, whom he put to a rout; and thence turns against *Galeran* Earl of *Meulan* their Allie whom he deprived of his Earldom.

On the other hand he animated *Geoffrey* called *Martel* against *Thibault*, whereupon he besieges the City of *Tours*, and whatever Agreement could be afterwards made between the King and *Thibault*, *Martel* would not give over his Enterprize.

He had kept it block'd up almost a year; *Thibault* knowing it was like to perish for want of Victuals, resolves to relieve it. *Geoffrey* going to meet him with the Chappe or Mantle of *St. Martin*, which he caused to be carried in manner of a Standard, gained the Victory, made *Thibault* a Prisoner, and afterwards reduced the Town, which since belonged to the Earls of *Anjou*.

In those times Princes caused the Relicks of some Saint Worship'd in their Countries to be carry'd for their Ensigns, or some which they had procured from other places, and likewise often took the Banners used in Churches which served as their Standards.

1039.

During the Troubles and Factions the Minority of *William* the Bastard occasioned in *Normandy*, the King took his opportunity to make them deliver up the Castle of *Tilleres*, upon pretence that the Rebels might seize upon it: and in truth he caused it to be razed, but soon after he rebuilt it, and placed a Garrison there, then stepping farther into *Normandy*, he ransacked the County of *Hiesmes*, and there burnt the little City of *Argentan*, which perhaps is the place the *Romans* called *Ara Genue*.

1040.

Soon after *William* took the Government; and because he was yet a Minor, chose himself a Guardian, it was *Rodolph de Gace* his Constable. But the Lords obey'd unwillingly because of the defect of his Birth: they had for Chief *Guy* of *Burgundy*, who being the Son of *Reynold* Earl of the *Franche Comptee*, and *Alix* Sister of the deceased *Robert*, pretended that in his Conscience the Dutchy belonged to him.

The

The Faction was so strong that they had like to ruine *William*; but being somewhat re-assured, he had recourse to King *Henry*, who having now another design then to destroy him, went and joyned Forces with him: both gave the Rebels Battle in a place called the *Valley of the Downs*, some Leagues on this side the City of *Cuen*. The King was struck down with a Lance by a Gentleman of *Constantine*, but recover'd himself again without any hurt. The Rebels were wholly cut off, *Guy* of *Burgundy* besieged and forced in *Brionne*, was devested of the Lands he held in *Normandy*, and retired to the *Franche Comte*.

The Earl of *Anjou*, who had been once in greatest favour with the King, there being I know not what coldness grown betwixt them, let fall some words, which so highly offended the King, that he undertook to chastise him; he sent therefore to the *Norman* Duke to accompany him in this Expedition, and entred upon the Earls Lands; but they were immediately reconciled.

The quarrel was still to be decided between the *Norman* and the *Angevin*, it lasted as long as the life of the latter, and Fortune was favourable sometimes to the one, sometimes to the other.

The *Norman* Duke having attained to years fit for Marriage, espoused *Matilda*, Daughter of *Baldwin*, called the *Pious*, Earl of *Flanders*, and *Alix*, or *Adeleida*, Daughter of King *Robert*. Being of kin to him, they were fain to obtain a Dispensation from the Pope, who allowed it, upon condition to build four Hospitals in four several Cities, each to maintain an hundred poor People.

The Church not being used to these Dispensations, *Mauger* Arch-Bishop of *Rouen*, Uncle to the Duke, not out of any zeal for Canonical Discipline, but because he would embroil them, that his Brother the Earl of *Arques* might make himself Duke, Excommunicated them both, The Duke having Convened the Bishops of the Province at *Lisieux*, the Popes Legat presiding, deposed him, and banished him to the Island of *Grenezay*.

The Earl of *Arques* having his Party Formed, rises up in Arms, the Duke gives him a repulse, and besieges him in the Castle of *Arques*; the King who changed sides, either according to his Interest or Humour, highly undertakes his Defence, and goes in Person to put Provisions and Relief into *Arques*. Notwithstanding this Refreshment, the Duke is bent to keep the place blocked up; so that the Earl wanting Provisions, is obliged to Capitulate, provided he may enjoy his Life without loss of Members, and some Lands for his subsistence.

The broken remnants of the party fled to the King, who being a little jealous of the prosperity of *William*, and pushed forwards by the Earls of *Anjou* and *Poitou*, enemies to the Duke, promised to turn him out of his Dutchy. He had but the design, the event was contrary: being advanced towards *Rouen*, the *Normans* cut his Vanguard in pieces, between *Escoy* and *Mortemer*; he was compell'd to face about, and after this checque to deliver up the Castle of *Tilleres* to him.

This Duke not wont to pardon any that took up Arms against him, especially his Relations by the Fathers side; most of those who had engaged for the King, or the Count d'*Arques*, went into *Puglia*, where they made a better fortune then they were like to have found, had they remained in *Normandy*.

The victorious Duke carries the War into *Anjou*, and in his passage seizes on the County of *Maine*, which Earl *Hebert* had given him by Will, in recompence for that he had defended him against the *Angevin*.

The valiant *Geoffrey Martel*, Earl of *Anjou* in the year 1047, about Eight and forty years old, quitted the World, and retired to the Abby of *St. Nicholas* of *Angers*, where he lived till An. 1061. Before his Retreat, he left his Estates to *Geoffrey* called the *Bearded*, and to *Foulke* surnamed the *Rechin*, who were the Children of his Sister *Adeleida*, and *Alberic*, Earl of *Gastines* in *Poitou*. *Geoffrey* bare the Title of Earl of *Anjou*, and dying, left it to *Foulk*.

The Emperour *Henry III.* called the *Black*, and *Henry* King of *France* had an interview this year in the Countrey of *Mefin*, where they renewed the ancient Alliance between the two Crowns.

Pope *Leo IX.* a *Lorainer* by Birth, and who had been Bishop of *Toul*, being come into *Gall*, to reconcile *Godfrey* Duke of *Lorraine* with the Emperour, and put a period to that bloody quarrel, which was betwixt that *Godfrey* supported by the Earl of *Flanders*, and the Houses of *Alsace* and *Luxemburgh*, held a Council at *Reims*, and negotiated so effectually, that he made an end of that War.

1041.
and 42.
Emp. *Constantin Monomaq.*
in June. And
Henry III.
1042.

1043;
and 44:

1041.

1046.

1047.

1048.
or 49.

1050
and the following.

At his going from *Germany* he carried some Forces into *Italy*, to oppose the *Normans*, who being grown potent did sometimes undertake upon the Countries belonging to the *Holy Chair*. These brave Adventurers conducted by *Onfroy*, did first shew their valour to him by cutting his Army to pieces, and taking him prisoner; then their Piety and Respect, by Treating him with great submission, and restoring him to his Liberty.

1053.

In recompence, he granted and gave them Title to all the Lands they had conquer'd, and likewise all such Lands as they should hereafter gain from the *Greeks* and *Saracens*; and *Onfroy* shared part of his Conquests with *Robert* surnamed *Guiscard*, which is to say the *Craffy*, and *Roger* and the rest of his Brothers.

1054.

Thibald Earl of *Chartres* taking it to heart that the King should thrust him out of the Earldom of *Tours*, and not being able to get satisfaction, went and waited on the Emperour at *Meurs*, who made him his Knight, and promised him his protection.

1055.

Emp. *Theodora*, Daughter of *Constantine*, then *Michael* VI. and *Henry* IV. Son of *Henry* II.

1057, and 58.

To prevent the seeds of Jealousie and Discord, which this Voyage might have sown between the Emperour and the King, they thought fit to set all right by a mutual Interview, at the same place where they formerly met. The King complain'd that the Governour had contraven'd to the Articles of Alliance, but he found no satisfaction; and having conceived some apprehension of an ill design upon his Person, retired by night.

The brave *Robert Guiscard* with his *Normans* having compleated the Conquest of *Calabria*, called himself Earl for two years, and after feared not to take upon him the Title of Duke.

1058.

Normandy having still in its bosom some sparks of Division, the King who thought to make advantage by it, attempted to bring it to his bow by a second Expedition, which was no more fortunate then the first, his Army having been set upon, and defeated on the Common of *Varaville*, between *Caen* and *Lisieux*, he accepted of a Peace with the Duke.

1059.

Emp. *Isaacius Comenus*, and *Henry* IV.

1059.

Anno 1059. was seen an unheard of Prodigy, a vast multitude of Snakes and other Serpents, being assembled together in a Plain near the City of *Tournay*, divided into two Bodies, who fought obstinately, till one of them being overcome and fled, left the Field all covered with their Dead, and retreated into the hollow of a great Tree, whither the Conquerours pursued them to compleat their Victory: but the Countrey people running thither with Clubs, Fire and Fagots, destroyed both the one and the other.

1060.

☞

Not long after King *Henry* finding himself broken with Labour, though he were not above 54 years of age, assembled the *Grandees* of the Kingdom, and having told them the Services he had done for the Nation, and how well he had acquitted himself of the Command of the Armies; he prayed them all in general, and every one in particular, to own *Philip* his eldest Son for his Successor, and to give him their Oaths; which having all promised, he caused him to be Anointed, and Crowned at *Reims* the 22 of May, being the Feast of *Pentecost*, by the Arch-Bishop *Gervais*, whom afterwards this young King Honoured with the Office of Chancellor.

1060.

About the end of the same year he was taken with a little Fever, of which he dyed at *Vitry* near *Paris*, having Reigned Twenty eight years and four Months after the death of his Father.

To avoid the danger of contracting a Marriage within the Degrees prohibited, he sent to seek a Wife as far as *Russia* or *Moscovia*: She was *Ann*, the Daughter of *George*, some call him *Juriscled*, King of those Countreys, by whom he had three Sons, *Philip*, *Robert*, and *Hugh*: the Eldest was then but Seven years old; *Robert* dyed in Infancy, and *Hugh* when come to age had the Earldom of *Vermandois*, and was the Stock of the Second House of that Name. For they made him Marry *Adeleida* Daughter of *Hebert*, last Earl of the First Branch of *Vermandois*, She enjoying her Fathers Lordships, though She had a Brother alive named *Eudes*, his Vassals judging him incapable to succeed, from the imbecillity of his understanding; a defect very ordinary in the *Carlovinian* Race.

Emp. *Constantine*, *Ducas*, chosen by *Michael*, who turned Monk. And *Henry* IV.

Henry left all his Three Sons under the Guardianship of *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, who had Married his Sister, and likewise entrusted him with the Regency of the Kingdom.

Queen

Queen *Ann* his Widdow retired to *Senlis*, where she was building a Church in Honour of the Martyr *St. Vincent*. Her Solitude was not so Austere, but she could listen to the Addresses of *Rodolph* Earl of *Grespy*, who was of that neighborhood. She made no difficulty to Marry him; and this Second Flame had like to have kindled a Civil War, not for the difference in their Qualities, for the *Grandees* went almost equal with their Kings; but because *Rodolph* was of Kin to the First Husband; for which reason the Bishops Excommunicated that Lord: but nothing could make him let go his hold of her, save death, which untied him from his Princess, Ann. 1066. Being a Widow, and destitute of support, she returned to end her days in her own Country.

E c 2

Philip

Philip I. King XXXVIII.

Aged Seven or Eight years.

POPES.

Vacancy of Three Months.

Alex. II. Elect 1 Octob. 1061. S. Eleven years, and near Seven Months.

Gregory VII. Son of a Carpenter, Elect in April 21. 1073. S. Twelve years, One Month.

Victor III. Elect in May 1086. S. about One year Four Months.

Vacancy Five Months.

Urban II. Elect in March 1088. S. Eleven years and Four Months.

Paschal II. Elect 12. August 1099. S. Eighteen years, and Five Months.

1060, 61, and 62.

ALL quietly gave Obedience to the Regency of Baldwin, the Gascons only refused to submit themselves, apprehending, said they, lest by that Title, he should destroy his Pupil to invade the Crown, upon pretension that he was Married to the Daughter of King Henry.

He wisely dissembled this injury; but two years after marched an Army towards the Pyreneans, giving out, it was to make War upon the Saracens in Spain; and when he had passed the Garonne, he stopp'd in the Rebels Countrey, and brought them to their Duty without striking a blow.

1062. Guy Gefroy-William Duke of Aquitain, believed that Gefroy Martel Earl of Anjou, being dead without Children, his Nephews, Sons of his Sister, had no right to Xaintonge. He would therefore seize it, and besieged Xaintes: his Army was defeated by the two Brothers near Chef-Boutonne: but the following year he got another Army, and took the Town from them.

1062, and 63. The two Brothers minded not the relieving it, they were at mortal feud amongst themselves. Foulk le Rechin, the younger of the two, gained the Lords of Touraine and Anjou, who betrayed his Brother Gefroy, and unfortunately deliver'd him up with the City of Angers.

In the mean while the Duke of Aquitain having re-conquered Saintonge, led his victorious into Spain, where he forced the City of Barbastro, at that time very rich and renowned.

The Zeal of Religion did often lead the Princes and Lords of Aquitain and Langue-doc into Spain, to succour the Christians against the Saracens, and their assistance raised, and very much supported the petty Spanish Kings.

1064. Edward, King of England, whose Christian Virtues have placed him in the number of Saints, dying without Children, left his Kingdom by Will and Testament to William the Bastard Duke of Normandy, in consideration of the good Reception and Treatment he found in the House of Robert his Father, when he was driven out of his own Countrey; as likewise because he was neer of Kin. But the English not affecting the Government of a Stranger, gave the Crown to Harold, Son of Godwin, one of the great Lords of the Kingdom.

The Bastard on his side sought from all parts the assistance of his Friends and Allies, to get himself into possession of his Right; infomuch as having got by his large promises, a powerful Army of Normans, French, Flemmings and others together, he

he landed in England, gave Battle to Harold the 14th of October, who was slain in the Fight with his chief Commanders, and left England to the discretion of the Conquerour. A Revolution thought to be prefaged by a terrible Comet, which for Fifteen days blazed with three great Rays, over-spreading almost all the Southern parts of the Heavens.

Before William past the Sea, hapned the death of Conan Duke of Bretagne; it was said he caused him to be poyson'd, because he claimed the Dutchy of Normandy, as belonging to him by his Mother, Daughter of Duke Robert. Hoel who was Married to his Sister, succeeded him.

The English ill-Treated by Williams Lieutenants and Officers, Revolted the following years, and called in the Danes to their aid, but that only increased their misery and yolk, for he took from them almost all their Lands, and even their antient Laws, introducing and imposing those of his own Countrey, as he did that Language in all Courts of Justice, and instruments of Law, withal putting such Lords as follow'd him, in possession of English Mens Estates, the greatest part of them being punished or slain.

This ended the Reign of the English in that Island, which hath notwithstanding retained their Name; but in effect hath ever since been sway'd, and is still by the Norman Blood, their Kings, and the greatest of the Countrey being descended, and holding their Rights of this William the Bastard, to whom was given the Surname of Conquerour.

Baldwin, Regent of the Kingdom of France, and Earl of Flanders, ended his days An. 1067. He had Two Sons, Baldwin, called of Monts who was Earl of Flanders, and Robert, who was Surnamed the Frison, as being Lord of that Countrey of Friesland.

It is observed that in the year 1069. Arnold Lord of Selne began to build the City of Ardres, upon the ruins of his Castle of Selne.

A War did soon break out between Baldwins two Sons, the Eldest thinking to develt the Younger, was by him beaten and slain in the field of Battle, leaving two Sons, Arnold and Baldwin very young. The Guardianship of these begot a bloody contest between Robert their Uncle, and Richilda their Mother. This Princess, supported by Gefroy Crook-Back, Duke of the lower Lorrain, defeated Roberts Army, and thrust him out of a part of his Countreys. This happy success made her so haughty towards her Subjects, that the Flemmings Flammengant forsook her, and she had none left but the Walloons and the Hennuyars. The King would have made himself Judge and Arbitrator between both parties; but Richilda coming to Paris with great Presents, gained his Counsel, and engaged him openly to take her quarrel.

The King inflamed with the heat of Youth, would needs go in person to make his first Essay in War and Arms. It proved not very successful, for he was beaten and pursued, Richilda taken and carried to St. Omers. But as he was retreating towards Montreuil, Eustace, Earl of Boulogne, who had a great Body of Reserves, took Robert, and carried him to St. Omers: He that Commanded the place, surrendered it to deliver Richilda, for which the King was enraged, that he sacked and burnt the City.

The same year Richilda, though still assisted by the French, lost another Battle; in which Eustace Earl of Boulogne being made prisoner, his Brother, Chancellor of France, and Bishop of Paris, to obtain his freedom, obliged the King to intermeddle no more in that dispute.

Nay, which was more, he made him Marry Bertha, the Daughter of Florent I. Earl of Holland, and Gertrude of Saxony, who had taken Robert for her second Husband.

By this means he was engaged to maintain the Cause for his Father-in-law, who by his assistance defeated Richilda's Army the Fourth time, and so remained Master of Flanders.

Roger, Brother of Robert Guischart, Duke of the Normans in Puglia, was by his Brother sent into Sicilia, which was possessed by the Saracens; he conquered the City of Panormus * and Messina, which opened him a way to become Master of the whole Island.

After the death of Baldwin the Regent, King Philip being arrived to the age of Adolescence, ran into many disorders and vexations with his Subjects. Whereupon Pope Gregory VII. who sought but the occasion to constitute himself the Judge and Reformer of Princes, wrote to William Duke of Aquitain, that together with the Lords, he should make him some Remonstrances, and Declare, that if he did not amend, he would Excommunicate both him and all the Subjects that obey'd him, and would place the Excommunication upon St. Peters Altar, to re-aggravate it every day.

The

1067. and the following.

1067.

1069. Emp. Roman. Diog. having Married Eudoxia, Widow of Ducas; R. Three years. And Henry IV. 1068.

1070.

1071.

Emp. Michael VII. Son of Ducas, R. Five years; and Henry IV. 1071.

* Palermo now.

1073. and 4.

1076. The death of Robert I. Duke of Burgundy; his Son being deceased before him, had left two Sons, *Hugh* and *Otho*, the first of these succeeded his Grandfather.
1077. After *William* the Conquerour had entirely subdued *England*, suppressed the Rebellion of his Son *Robert*, and quelled the *Manceaux*, he went into *Bretagne* to reduce them to his Obedience, and laid Siege to *Dol*. The Duke or Earl *Hoel* implored the Kings help, who marching in person to his assistance, made them raise their Siege.
- Emp. *Nicéph. Boton* an Urrper R. three years. And *Hen. IV.* 1076. A Peace immediately follow'd, but was broken almost as soon again upon another score; which was for that the Conquerour in the Kings Presence, having given the Dutchy of *Normandy* to his Son *Robert*, before he went to invade *England*: *Robert* would take possession of it, the Father hindered him, and the King justified the Son in his demands. This was the subject of a new War.
1077. The Father besieges his rebellious Son in the Castle of *Gerbrov* near *Beauvais*. In a Sally the Son wounds him, and turned him off from his Saddle with his Lance; but coming to know who it was by his voice, he helped him up again with Tears in his eyes; and the Father at length overcome by the sentiments of nature, and the intreaty of his Wife and Barons, gave him his pardon, and quitted the Dutchy to him, then returned into *England*.
78. and the following. * *Gozelon*. * Duke of the Lower *Lorrain*, who in favour of *Baldwin*, Earl of *Monts*, the Son of *Richilda*, had fought, and defeated *Robert* the *Frisson*, being a while after this Victory assassinated in *Antwerp*, the Emperour detained the Dutchy of the lower *Lorrain*, and gave only the Marquisate of *Antwerp* to *Godfrey* Duke of *Bouillon*, the Son of *Adde*, Sister of *Gozelon* and *Eustace*, Earl of *Boulougue*; but Twelve years after for his great Services, he gave him the said *Lorrain*.
1080. The Lords of *Touraine* and of *Maine* extremely pressing *Foulk* *Rechin* by force of Arms, to set *Gefroy* his Brother at liberty; this barbarous Man, rather then release him, chose sooner to give the County of *Gastinois* to King *Philp*, that he might maintain him in his injustice.
- Emp. *Alexis* *Comm.* R. 37 years 7 Months, and *Henry IV.* 1080. Some time after his own Son named *Gefroy* likewise, and surnamed *Martel*, moved with the miseries of his Uncle, forced his Father to set him free: but whether it were the Melancholy he had contracted, or some Drink they had given him, he could never relish the sweetness of his liberty.
- * *Apulia* *Puglia.* 1085. The famous *Robert* *Guischard*, Prince of the *Normans* in * *Puglia*, after he had gained two Naval Victories, one over the *Venetians*, and the other over the *Greeks*, died this year 1085. He had two Sons, *Boemond* and *Roger*; the eldest being then upon the coasts of *Dalmatia* with a Navy, his younger Brother seized on the Dutchie of *Ponille* * and *Calabria*; for which the Brothers were contending, till the time of the first *Croisade*, or *Holy War*, when the *French* Lords passing that way to the *Holy Land*, brought them to an agreement. Their Uncle *Roger* held *Sicily*, with the Title only of Earl.
- * *Apulia*, or *Puglia.* 1085. Upon complaints about the vexations, and ill Treatment Duke *Robert* shewed to his *Norman* Subjects; his Father the Conquerour comes over out of *England* to chastise him; but his paternal tenderness did easily admit of a reconciliation.
1085. The death of *Guy-Gefroy-William*, his Son *William VIII.* aged but 25 years succeeded him.
1086. King *Philip*, a very voluptuous Prince, being disgusted with *Berthe* his Wife, made use of the pretence of Parentage which was between them, and having proved it according to the course then in use, caused his Marriage to be dissolved by authority of the Church, though he had a Son by her named *Lewis*, about Five years old, and a Daughter named *Constance*. He banished his Divorced Wife to *Monstreuil* upon the Sea-side, where she lived a long time poorly enough.
1087. This Divorce according to Rule, and a judicial Sentence being made, he demanded the Daughter of *Roger* Earl of *Sicilia*, named *Emma*, who was conducted as far as the coasts of *Provence*: however he did not Marry her, the reason is not given.
1083. *William* the Conquerour become crazy, was under a strict regiment of Dyet at *Rouen*, to pull down his over-grown fatness, which did much incommode him. The King rallied at him, and asked when he would be up again after his Lying in: the Duke sent him word, that at his Uprising he would go and visit him with 10000 Lances instead of Candles: and indeed, as soon as he could, he got on Horseback, he destroy'd all the *French* *Vexin*, and forced and burnt *Mantes*. But he over-heated himself so much in the assaulting of that place, that it set his own Blood and Body on fire, and brought a fit of Sickness, so that he returned to *Rouen*, where he dyed in a few days.

By

By his Will he gave the Kingdom of *England* to *William* called *Rufus*, who was but his Second Son; *Normandy* to *Robert* who was eldest; and some Rents and Moneys to *Henry* the youngest of the three.

An. 1089. hapned the death of *Robert* called the *Frisson*, Earl of *Flanders*. His Son of the same name succeeded in his Earldom. Some time after he was Surnamed of *Jerusalem*, because he was present at the Siege of that City, An. 1099.

Foulk *le Rechin* extremely incontinent and changeable towards Women; but yet fuller of desire then ability, after he had turned away two, under colour of Proximity, had in An. 1089. Married *Bertrade*, the Daughter of *Simon* de *Montfort*. The appetite of this Woman, Young, Beautiful, and Gay, did not suite with the age of her Husband; she forsook him at three years end to cast her self into the Arms of King *Philip*, who was a lover of Ladies, and had not passed his 35th year. There hapned to be a Bishop (it was *Endes* of *Bayeux*) who undertoo to Marry them together, upon condition he might have the Revenue of some Churches, which the King bestowed upon him.

Bertrade was of Parentage to the King in the Fifth or Sixth Degree, and *le Rechin* her Husband in the Third or Fourth; these were therefore two obstacles: besides, if *Philip* were free, as he pretended he was, *Bertrade* was not, because her former Marriage had not been dissolved: wherefore upon the hot pursuit of *Ives*, Bishop of *Chartres*, who shewed himself a zealous Defender of the Discipline of the Canons; he was threatned with Excommunication at the Council of *Autun*, though the Pope suspended the effect or execution till the following year, that he thundred it himself in the Council of *Clermont*.

The famous quarrel between the Pope and the Emperours, which has caused so much mischief to *Christendom*, was grown very hot: it began betwixt *Gregory VII.* and *Henry VI.* The First very imperious and undertaking, the latter wicked, cruel, and irregular to the highest degree. The Pope pretended to take away from the Emperour, the investiture of Benefices, as an unjust and sacrilegious thing; but his true motive was a desire of the Empire of Italy, and to subject all Princes to his Pontifical Power, which seemed very feasible and easie, because all Europe being divided into a Hundred, and a Hundred several Dominions; the Princes were but weak, and the greatest number of them, either out of Devotion, or to avoid the Sovereignty of the more potent, submitted, and even devoted themselves to the Holy Chair, and paid him Tribute; so that had there been but three or four successive Popes, crafty enough to have cloaked this design, with at least an appearance of Sanctity, and would have taken fit opportunities of relieving the people against their Oppressors; they had made themselves sole Monarchs, as well in Temporals as in Spiritualls.

There was not that little Lord that did not Brave King *Philip*, rocked asleep within the Arms of his *Bertrade*. *Miles*, Lord of *Montlebery*, and *Guy* *Troussel* his Son, made him sweat for anguish, with their Castle of *Montlebery*, and four or five others which they held in those parts; with which they domineer'd over all the Country, and interrupted the Trade betwixt *Paris* and *Orleans*; though *Guy* Lord of *Rochefort*, Brother of *Miles*, was greatly in favour with *Philip*.

This year *Urban II.* being come into *France*, the refuge of persecuted Popes, that he might be owned the true Head of the Church (for the Emperour had dethroned him, and caused another to be elected) Assembled a Council at *Clermont* in *Anvergne*, in the Octave of *St. Martins*: wherein he made a great many Canons for the reformation of the Clergy, and especially to root out Simony, and prohibit the Marriage of Priests; and afterwards he Excommunicated King *Philip*, and *Bertrade* his Concubine.

In the same Council, upon the application and instances made by the Emperour *Alexis*, to have some assistance against the *Turks*; and upon the Remonstrances of *Peter* the Hermit, a Gentleman of *Picardy*, neer *Amiens*, who having made a voyage into the *Holy Land*, had been witness of the cruelties those Infidels did exercise upon the Christians: the Pope by a warm discourse animated all the Prelats then present, to incline the Faithful to take up Arms for the defence of *Christendom*, and go into the *East*. His Exhortations were so moving, that they made impression on all their minds; and this Zeal in a short time was spread all over Europe; an infinite number of all qualities, of all ages, and of all Sexes, Lifted and Enroll'd themselves in this Sacred Militia. The Signal was a Red Cross sowed upon the left Shoulder, and the word *Dieu le Vent*.

The *Turks* after divers irruptions, being called and taken into Pay by *Machmet*, King of *Perfia*, who was a *Saracen*, and had War with the Caliph of *Babilon*, a *Mahometan*, turned their Swords against himself, and made themselves Masters of part of his Country.

* God will have it so! Or
Diex el volt!

trey

they in An. 1048. then of Mesopotamia, Syria, Judea, and almost all Asia; and had formed five or six Kingdoms, one in Persia, one in Bithynia, one in Cilicia, one in Damas, whereon Jerusalem depended, and one in Antioch. Now subduing the Persian, they had taken up their Religion, which was the Mahometan; This Reason joyned with their natural Barbarity, inclined them to treat those Christians that inhabited Judea with all manner of cruelties; and besides, they threatened to invade the rest of Asia, and destroy the whole Eastern Empire.

These Croisades and beyond-sea Voyages, the heat whereof lasted for above two hundred years, was the ruine of the Great Lords, and multitudes of the common people. But the Popes and Kings found great advantages towards the making themselves absolute. Those, because they had the Command of these Expeditions, whereof they were the Heads; took into their protection, the Persons and Estates of such as adventured; made the use of Indulgences and Dispensations more common and current then formerly; their Legats collected, and managed the Alms and charitable Contributions that were given for the carrying on these Wars; and it was even made a fair pretence to raise the Tithes upon the Clergy.

The Kings found their reckoning likewise, because all the brave active, and hottest Spirits going into these foreign Provinces, left them a clearer stage, and more easie Government, with less opposition to attain their chiefest ends. The Lords and Grandees sold them their Estates, or Engaged and Mortgaged them to raise Moneys; or at their death they fell to Minors, or Women, from whose hands they were easie to be wrested; And in fine, France which swarmed with prodigious numbers of Men, being evacuated by these great and frequent Pblebotomies, became more gentle and submissive, and their Wills less dependant on the Laws and antient Orders of the Kingdom.

1096.

* Bouille.
* Julia.

* Maher.

1096.

In the first Expedition there adventured above 300000 Men, which were divided in several bodies. Some took their way by Germany, and Hungary; others by Sclavonia: Others again by Italy, to embark in Puglia*; these conducted home the Pope, and restored him to the Chair in despite of his Enemies. They all got into Greece, and thence passing the straight of the Hellespont, or arme St. George, arrived in Bithynia. But those who were led by Peter the Hermit, and Gautier* de Saint Sauveur being ill conducted, were almost all cut in pieces by Solymen Sultan of the Turks in Bithynia.

Amongst the Chief Commanders of these Forces, were Hugh the Great, Brother to King Philip, Robert Duke of Normandy, the Earls Raimond of Toulouse, Stephen de Chartres, Baldwin of Hainault, Hugh de St. Poll, Rotrou du Perche, William de Forez, Rambol of Orange, Baldwin of Mets, Fulke of Guisnes, Stephen d'Amale, another Stephen of Franche Comte, William of Angoulesme, Herpin de Bourges, who sold his Earldom to the King, Boemond Duke of Apulia, Tancred his Nephew, Son of Robert Guisefhard, and above two hundred other Lords of note.

* Or Godfrey.

(All these being passed into Bithynia, elected for their Chief, Godfrey* Duke of Bouillon and the lower Lorrain, Son of Eustace Earl of Boulogne. An Election so glorious for him, that all the Scepters of the Universe together, are not comparable to it.

1096.

For several nights together it was seen to rain down Stars by intervals, but thick and very small, as if some sparks had fallen from the shatter'd Orb.)

1097,
and 98.

The City of Nicea in Bithynia, was the first exploit of these Christian Adventurers; The defeat of Solymen's Army, followed with the surrender of the places in Lycania, Lycia, Cilicia and Pamphilia, the Second; and the taking of Antioch, which held them seven Months, and cost them a great deal of Blood and Trouble, the Third.

After they were got in, they went to meet Corban, or Corbaget, General of the Army to the Sultan of Persia or Babylon, fought him, and slew an hundred thousand of his Men, which weakened the power of the Turks so much, that the Sultan of Egypt, who was a Saracen, took from them Judea, and the Holy City of Jerusalem.

1099.

He kept it but a little while, the Christian Army besieged it the 9th of June, and carried it by main force the 15th of July. All the chief Commanders agreed to give it, with all its dependencies, and the Title of a Kingdom, to Godfrey of Bouillon, their Prime General; who notwithstanding, was so humble, that he would never suffer them to put the Crown upon his Head, nor give him the Title of King in a City where the King of Kings had been Treated like a Slave.

The

The Sultan of Egypt with reason apprehending, lest the Christians, after so many advantages should deprive him of his Countrey likewise, without which it is very difficult to preserve the Holy Land. Seeing them therefore much weakened, so that they had scarce 5000 Horse, and 15000 Foot left, he got together an hundred thousand Horse, and four times as many Foot, giving the Conduct of them to a Lieutenant, to cut them off. Godfrey the greatest Soldier of his age charged them so resolutely, that he put them into disorder, and slew above an hundred thousand. So great a Victory gave him all Palestine, one or two places only excepted.

This year therefore commenced the Kingdom of Jerusalem, under which were the County of Edessa, the capital City of Media, the Principality of Antioch in Celsyria, and the County of Tripoly, which was not conquer'd till many years afterwards, upon the Maritime coasts of the Phenician Syria. At that time was Caliph in Babilon, Albugebase Achamet the Son of Muquetady, the Eight and twentieth of the House of Guebase.

The Fame of this Conquest published in the West by those Princes that returned, excited such others as had not been there, to go and signalize their Names. They made therefore a Second Croisade, composed of above 300000 Men, French, Germans, and Italians. William V III. Duke of Aquitain, carried an hundred thousand, two thirds of them being his own Subjects: Hugh le Grand the Kings Brother, and the Earl of Burgundy who had been in the first Expedition, went also in this: and divers Prelats, and many illustrious Ladies would go this Voyage. Godfrey being dead the preceding year, his Brother Baldwin succeeded him in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

This Army took their way by Hungary and Thrace, and by the straight crossed over into Asia. In their passage Duke William saw the Grecian Emperour, and in too lofty Language, deny'd to pay him Hommage for those Lands he should conquer from the Infidels. The perfidious Emperour being offended in his mind, ordered them such Guides, who having haras'd, and enfeebled them, by the difficulties of the bad ways, and want of Food, made them pass over a River, where the Enemy waiting for them with advantage, kill'd above Fifty thousand in one day, the rest made their escape as they could in Cilicia. Hugh the Kings Brother went to Tarfes, where he died of his wounds.

These Voyages to the Levant renewed, and extreemly increased the hatred the Greeks had conceived against the Latins, or Western People; insomuch that those Traitors did them more mischief a great deal, then the Infidels themselves. Hereafter we shall mention no more of these Wars then what relates to our History.

But we must not forget to tell that they gave beginning to the use of Coats of Arms*. In all times every Nation bore some Figure or Symbol in their Banners or Ensigns. The Roman Legions were distinguished by the different painting of their Shields or Bucklers, and the different Lines traced or drawn upon them. Particular Men did likewise adorn their Shields with devices which made known their birth, or their brave acts, or their Wit and Humour; (Now in these Expeditions to the Holy Land, those that had such Symbols before, made them more proper for them; and those that had none, contrived, and made choice of such as might render them conspicuous and remarkable in Battle (their Armour for the Head, binding them from being known by their Faces) as well as to distinguish them from others; And likewise that those Coats of Arms might serve them as it were for Surnames; for in those days there were yet but few or none.)

Some therefore to shew they were going in these Croisades, took Crosses in their Shields, of which there was infinite variety and several sorts; others to make known they had been in the Levant, and passed the Seas, took Besants, Lions, Leopards, or Escollop Shells. Others framed their Arms of the Linings of their Mantles or Cloaks, according as they were Checkie, Varie, Diapred, Gyroned, Lozanged, Undulated, Paled. Some there were that chose rather to charge their Field with some piece of their Arms, as the Spurs, Lance, Maillets and Sword. Several chose such things as had resemblance to the Surnames people had given them, or to the Lands they held, as what they produced, how situated, or some particularities of their Castles, or such Office they bore. Some there were that chose such things as preserved the memory of their brave Feats of Arms, or some singular Adventure which had hapned to them, or theirs: and others in fine would have such as betokened their inclination, not to mention those that would needs have their Coats out of a meer fantastical Humour, and without any design.

* Scutcheons,
Cognifances,
also Armoires,
Coats.

F F

These

These glorious Marks and Badges belonged otherwhile only to the Nobility, and was not the least illustrious part of the Succession of their Noble Families. Now at this time everyone hath them, the meanest villains are the most curious herein; they have not only brought the Rebus's of the little Citizens, Merchants, Cyphers, Shop-keepers, Signs, and Artists tools and implements into their Coats, under the shadow of Crowns, Helmets, and Supporters; but likewise by a confidence not to be endured, they have made choice of the most illustrious things, and given occasion to observe, that there are no better Coats, then the Arms of a Villain or Plebeian.

From the first Croisade, William Rufus King of England, taking the opportunity of his Brother Roberts absence, had seized on the Duchy of Normandy. Sworn with this increase of Power, he promised himself to invade France, because he saw the Excommunicated King, languishing in the Arms of his Concubine, who besides, had but one lawful Son of 15 or 16 years of age, and was destitute both of Money and Friends. Nevertheless this young Prince surpassing his age, did by his Courage and Virtue defend himself so well three years together, that Rufus (was forced to leave him in Peace, and retired again into England.)

In that Countrey letting himself loose to all sorts of infamous pleasures, tyranny, and execrable wickedness, both towards God and Man, he perished in a tragical manner, being as he was Hunting shot with an Arrow, either designedly aimed at him, or by chance, which pierced his very Heart. Henry his younger Brother got into the Throne during the absence of Duke Robert, who was still in the Holy-Land.

Notwithstanding the Popes Excommunications, the King had renewed society with Bertrade, by the consent even of Foulk her Husband, being so infinitely enchanted with that Woman, that he was often seen at her Feet, there to receive all her Commands, as if he had been a Slave.

Some of the Belgick Bishops honour'd the Kings Adultery with the name of Marriage, and on their great Feasts, according to ancient custom, placed the Crown upon her Head, to shew or signify they did not hold her to be Excommunicated; but the Popes Legats denied to communicate with him, and conven'd a Council at Poitiers in July, where he was Excommunicated once more. William Duke of Aquitain, who feared the like Treatment, having committed the like fault, for he entertained a Concubine, and had forsaken his lawful Wife, affronted and abused the Prelats greatly; and perhaps his Sorrow and Repentance for it afterwards prompted him to go to the Holy Land, as we have observed.

The King constant in his Affections, solicited the Popes Favour so earnestly, that he sent some Legats to re-view the Cause.

They assembled a Council at Baugency. The King and Bertrade promised to abstain from each other till the Popes Dispensation, and thus the Council broke up without giving any Judgment. The King continued with the recommendation of the Bishops, to endeavour the obtaining a Dispensation in the Court of Rome; in the end he had it, he was Absolved in the City of Paris, and his Marriage confirmed; so efficacious is constancy, even in things not commendable. The opposition of the Bishops served only to authorize the use of Dispensations from Rome, which since have been very common in all matters and occasions.

Young Lewis, whom they named the Prince of the Kingdom, and was designed King by his Father, (it is not specified in what year) took the Government of Affairs.

PHILIP LEWIS, Surnamed the Grofs, designed King, aged 19 or 20 years.

In those times the Rights * of the French were such, that they could not legally arrest the Lords, nor punish them with death, unless it were for Treason; but only deprive them of their Lands; I mean those they held of the King. (they called them Honours.) This was it that gave them Licence to arme, to oppress the weaker, to rob and plunder, and above all, usurp the Goods of the Church.

Lewis had to do first with Bouchard Lord of Montmorency, against whom he embraced the Cause of the Monks of St. Denis, whose Lands that Lord had pillaged, and having appeared according to an assignation in the Kings Court of Justice, refused to obey the Sentence or Judgment given against him therein. He forced him by destroying and burning all his Villages, and his Castle it self, to submit to Reason.

In like manner he chastised Droco or Dreux de Monchy, and Liannet de Meun, who tyrannized, this over the Churches of Orleans, the other over those of Beaumont.

Also

Also he humbled Matthew, Count of Beaumont upon Oise, Son-in-law to Hugh Earl of Clermont in Beauvoisis, who having half of the Lands of Luzarches in Dowry, had seized upon all, and had despoiled the good Man his Father-in-law.

He durst, or would not intermeddle with the quarrel between the two Norman Brothers, Robert and Henry. The First upon his return from the Holy Land demanded the Kingdom of England of his younger Brother, who had usurped it after the death of William Rufus. The business after three years Negotiation and War, was determined in this manner; Robert An. 1107. having lost a Battle at Tinchebray in Normandy, was made prisoner by his cruel Brother, who deprived him of Sight, by placing a burning Baſon of Brass before his Eyes, whereof he dyed in Prison. Thus the whole Succession of William the Conqueror, remained in Henry the youngest of his three Sons.

In the year 1103. Lewis passed into England to King Henry, I cannot tell upon what design. Bertrade his Mother-in-law, who could willingly have sent him out of the World, solicited Henry to make him away; and this Artifice failing, she caused poison to be given him at his return into France, which put him in great hazard of his Life.

The King to rid himself of the trouble brought upon him by the Family of Montlebery, agreed upon a Marriage with Guy Tronssel, betwixt Philip his Son, and Bertrade, to whom he gave the Earldom of Mantes, on condition that Guy should deliver him the Castle of Montlebery, which he did.

At the same time, or a little after, Guy Lord of Rochefort, Uncle of Tronssel, entirely possessing the Kings Favour, contracted his Daughter Luciana, but ten years old, to Prince Lewis.

Ebles Baron de Roncey a famous Captain, who often raised Soldiers, with which he went into Spain, not so much to fight the Saracens, as to find opportunity to plunder and pillage the Churches, vexed all those of Champagne, upon complaint of the Clergy Lewis hastens to Reims; his Celerity astonished the Plunderer so much, that he laid down his Arms, and promised to forbear those Robberies.

The protection he gave to Thomas Lord of Marle, against Enguerrand de Boves his Father, was not so just. Thomas by means of his Castle of Montagu in Laonnois, committed a thousand Cruelties and Robberies, insomuch that his Father was forced to besiege him. Lewis upon the request of Thomas re-vivified the Castle, at which Enguerrand and the Lords were so enraged, that they declared they owned him no longer for their Sovereign, since he protected the wicked. They were almost ready even to give him battle; but being brought to a Conference, they kissed his Hand, and swore Service to him.

The unhappy Emperour Henry IV. against whom the Popes had stirred up first his eldest Son Conrad, then he being dead, Henry his Second Son, being taken prisoner by this unnatural Child, wrote very pathetic Letters to King Philip and Prince Louis, which begot a great deal of compassion towards him, but no help. Being got out of prison, he died in the City of Liege the Second of August, and Henry V. his Son succeeded him in his quarrel with the Pope, as well as in his Estates.

Pope Paschal II. not willing to go to this Henry, because, said he, the Germans are yet enough humbled, came into France, passed to Clugny, la Charite, Tours, Paris, and went to St. Denis, where the King and his Son paid him their Respects, by bowing down to the very ground. At Chaalons he Treated with the Ambassadors of Henry V. and held a Council at Troyes.

In this Council, whether by the zeal of the Prelats, or the suggestion of Prince Lewis, the Pope pronounced the Dissolution of his Marriage, not yet consummated with Luciana.

Guy de Rochefort discontent for the Divorce of his Daughter, retires from Court. Anseau and Stephen de Garland the Brothers exasperate Prince Lewis's Spirit against him, which they sway. Rochefort commits some hostilities at his Castle of Gournay upon Marne. Lewis besieges the place; a League is formed between Rochefort and Thibault Earl of Blois and Chartres; Lewis goes to meet the Army of these discontented Gentlemen, defeats them, and returning to the Siege takes Gournay.

King Philip quite wasted with excess of pleasures, dies at Melun the 26th of July, aged 56 years, whereof he had Reigned 48 and two Months. From thence he was carried to St. Bennets Abby on the Loire, where he had chosen his Burying place. He was a Prince of a good shape and stature, but his softness and amorous Commerce had rendered his Body unactive and heavy, and stupified his Conscience and Courage.

f f 2

H:

1096, 97,
98, and
99.

1100.

It is observed
that more
Kings perish
in Hunting
then in Wars.
1098, 99,
and 1100.

1101.

1102.

1102, 3,
and the fol-
lowing.

* Liberties
and Privi-
ledges.

1100.

1103.

1103.

1104.

1104.

1103.

1106.

Emp.
Alexis, and
Henry V.
1106.

1108.

He had had two Wives, *Berthe* the Daughter of *Florent* Earl of *Holland*, and *Bertrade* of *Simon de Montfort*. The First brought him two Children, *Lewis* who Reigned, and *Constance* who Married *Boemond* Prince of *Antioch*, An. 1106. (By *Bertrade* were born two Sons, *Philip* and *Florus* * or *Fleury*, and one Daughter named *Cecely*. The two Sons were Married, but had no Male-issue. The First was Earl of *Mantes*, *Meun* upon *Tenre*, and *Montlebery*: the Daughters first Husband was *Tancred* Prince of *Antioch*, the Second was *Ponce* * de *Toulouza* Count of *Tripoly*.

* Was he not
also called
Charles?
* Or *Pontius*.

Church of the
Eleventh age.

The Tenth, the Offerings, the Presentations, and the very Churches as we have related, had been infeoffed to the Laity by a strange abuse, whereof the Footsteps are yet to be seen in *Gascogne*. The Lords took the investiture of the Prince, and held them of him in Fief; so that they could not alienate them without his consent, and when they sold them, it was upon condition of preference for the Curate, or for the Bishop, if he would.

Now to bring them back by little and little to the Ordinaries, it had been ordained by the Councils, especially by that of *Mess* under King *Arnulf*, that the *Laicks* should not put them off of their hands, nor give them to the Monasteries, without the permission of the Diocefan Bishops or the Pope, which was since confirmed by the Council of *Rome* in the year 1078, and by that of *Melfe*, An. 1090.

When it hapned then that the Seculars would discharge their Consciences, and restore those Possessions to the Church, which their Fathers had usurped during the Wars; the Ordinaries believed they ought not to suffer the Monks should draw these to themselves, and joyned together to make them revert to the benefit of the *Hierarchicall* Order.

This was the subject of an obstinate and bloody quarrel between the Bishops and the Monks; the First held divers Assemblies to preserve their Rights. There was one amongst the rest in the Abby of *St. Denis*, about the end of the Tenth Century, where *Seguin de Sens*, venerable both for his Age and Virtue presided. The Monks perceiving the Council was going to pronounce against them, raised a furious Sedition to scatter them. *Abbon de Fleury* was accused to have been the *Boute-feu* *. How ever it were, *Seguin* was wounded with an Axe betwixt the two Shoulders; and *Arnold d'Orleans*, a particular enemy to *Abbon*, had lost his Life there, had he not fled away betimes.

* Fire-brand.

Learned Men.

As the conduct of the Prince is the Rule to all his Kingdom, the Piety of *Robert* served not a little to contain the Ecclesiasticks in their Duty, and incline them to the exercise of their Religion, and the study of good Literature. We ought certainly to reckon him the first amongst the Learned Men of this age, not so much for his quality and rank, as for his capacity, which was not little for those times; and to him we may add *Gaufrin* his bastard Brother, Arch-Bishop of *Bourges*, who amongst other Works, composed a Discourse about the causes of the shewre of Blood that had fallen An. 1017. in *Aquitain* for three days together, and had this of wonderful in it, That it could not be wiped or rubbed off from any Flesh, Cloaths or Stones, but out of Wood the spots might be easily taken away, and leave no stain behind. Amongst other persons of erudition, those that most excell'd, were * *Foulk* and *Yves*, Bishops of *Chartres*, *Leoderick* of *Sens*, *Gervais de Reims*, Chancelour of *France*, *Beranger* Arch-Deacon of *Angers*, *Hildebert du Mans* his Disciple and Admirer, and *Gefroy de Vendosme* (these two passed very far in the other age) *Lanfranc* Abbot of *St. Stephens* at *Caen*, *Durand* Bishop of *Liege*, and the Monks, *Sigebert* of *Gembours*, *Glaber* of *Clugny*, and *Helgaud de Fleury*, who all three labour'd in History.

* Or *Fulk*.

Saints.

We must take notice besides those most eminent Servants of God, *Odillon*, whom we have already mentioned, and *Hugh*, both Abbots of *Clugny*, who being favoured by Heaven, were in great credit with the Princes of this world; of *Thierry* Bishop of *Orleans*, *Burchard de Vienne*, *Bruno de Toul*, all three in the beginning of this Century: and in the latter part of it, *Austinde d'Auch*, *Hugh de Grenoble*, *Arnold de Soissons*, and *Maurille de Rouen*. Add to these Prelats *Brune* who was Institutor of that most austere Order of the *Chartreux*; and *Robert* Abbot of *Moleme*, who was Institutor or Founder of the *Cisteaux*. For *Robert d'Arbrefer* he is not yet in the Catalogue of Saints.

Heretics.

France was not exempted from Heresies; In the year 1000, there started up a Phanatique Peasant, named *Leutard*, in the Burrough of *Kerrou*, within the Bishoprick of *Chabalons*, who broke down the Images, Preached that they ought not to pay Tithes, and maintained, that the Prophets had not always spoke those things that were good; he was followed by an innumerable multitude of the Populace, who believed

ved him to be inspired of God: his Bishop (it was *Guibin* *) having easily convinced him, and afterwards disabused those ignorant people; the unhappy wretch, in despair to see himself forsaken, cast himself into a Well, his Head foremost.

Some years afterwards came from *Italy* I know not what Woman, infected with the dotage of the *Manicheans*, which she inspired into a couple of the most Noble, and most Learned Clergy-men of *Orleans*, and those into several other people of several conditions. King *Robert* who made his Residence in that City, being informed hereof, assembled a Council, An. 1017, to convince them; but not able to disinfatuate them, they kindled a fire in a neighbouring Field to burn them, if they persisted in those Follies. These obstinate Zealots far from dreading those Flames, ran to them, Thirteen were burnt; Ten whereof were Canons of *St. Croix*.

The same severity was practised towards all of that Sect that could be discovered in any place, especially at *Toulouze* An. 1022. But the remainders or Seeds of those ashes, or (as some say) the frequent Commerce the *French*, who travelled to the *Levant*, had with the *Bulgarians*, who were *Manicheans*, soon after raised up this *Phrensie* again in *Languedoc* and *Gascogne*.

The error of the Sacramentaries was more subtil, and therefore did not make so great a progress. *Job. Scot. Erigene*, and other half Learned, and too subtil Wits, disputing about the incomprehensible Mystery of the Holy Sacrament, according to the notions and terms of humane Philosophy, had raised doubts and difficulties in the minds of Men, touching the real presence of the Body of *JESUS CHRIST* in the *Holy Eucharist*. We may believe that even in the Tenth age, some scruples had been made by people contending herein, since there were miracles wrought to prove it.

But the First that durst openly say contrary to the belief of all former ages, that the Holy Sacrament was but the Figure of the Body of our Lord, was *Berenger*, Arch-Deacon of *Angers*, Treasurer and * Super-intendant of *St. Martin de Tours*. As he was one of the most Learned Men of his time, and had such charms in his Discourse and Entertainment, that he was followed by vast numbers of Disciples, for which reason his adversaries said he was a Magician: he drew to his party *Bruno* Bishop of *Angers*, and very many others, who spread his Doctrine thorough *France*, *Italy* and *Germany*. *Durandus* Bishop of *Liege*, and *Adelman* his Rector, afterwards Bishop of *Bresse*, stopt the current of it by their Writings; and King *Henry* by his Authority: so that he kept close and quiet for some years. At the end whereof moving the question afresh, Pope *Leo IX.* condemned it in the Council of *Rome*, and in that of *Vercel*, both in An. 1050. In the last they ordered *Scots* Book to be burned, which was the Well from whence he had drawn his error. Five years afterwards *Hildebrand* Legat from Pope *Vicior II.* being sent into *France* to reform the Clergy, convened a Council at *Tours*, where he compell'd him to abjure his Error, and subscribe his Retraction.

* Or Schöb-
master.

For all this he desisted not from his former ways, they were fain to cite him before the Council which was held at *Rome*, An. 1059. where he was ordered to burn *Scots* his Book with his own hand, and Sign to a Confession of Faith composed by Cardinal *Humbert*: but as soon as he was at liberty he renews the Dispute, which lasted till the year 1079. when *Gregory VII.* having summon'd him before another Council in *Rome*, managed this turbulent Spirit so well, that he owned and confessed both from his Heart and Tongue, the substantial Conversion of the Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of *JESUS CHRIST*.

Being returned into *France*, he took up the Habit of *St. Bennet* for his penance, and retired into the Priory of *St. Cosmo*, which is in an Island of the *Loire*, about two Leagues from *Tours*, whither he drew several Cannons of *St. Martins*, who were enchanted with the sweetness of his Conversation. He passed the rest of his days there with great austerity, and died very Religiously, An. 1091. aged above Fourscore years.

What care soever was used to reform the disorders, and take away the Weeds and Darnel out of the Church, yet they could never pluck up the most spreading and fruitful root of Simony. I shall give you a little taste of it. In a Council which the Legat *Hildebrand* held at *Lions*, An. 1055. there were 45 Bishops, and 23 other Prelats, who without any other accusation but their own Consciences, publicly avowed this crime, and renounced their Benefices: An example very common as to the fault, but singular for the repentance.

I do not know any times wherein so many Churches and Abbeys were built, as in these days. King *Robert* himself founded above 20. There was not one Lord but valued



valued himself in so doing. The most wicked affected the Title of *Founders*; whilst they ruined the Churches on the one hand, they built on the other, and made their Sacrilegious Offerings to God of those things they had ravished from the poor, and needy.

The fancy that reigned in Mens minds at the beginning of this Century is most remarkable, which was to pull down old Churches to build new, nay, even the fairest and noblest, to erect others after their own mode.

This change of material Walls, seemed to be a sign of that change was made in those times in the whole Face, and if we may say so, the Body of the *Gallican Church*. From the Eighth Century the Popes had found out means to diminish the Authority of Metropolitans, obliging them by a Decree in Council, held at *Mentz* by *St. Boniface*, necessarily to receive the Pall at *Rome*, and subject themselves Canonically to obey the *Roman Church* in all points. A Profession since changed into an Oath of Fidelity, under *Gregory VII.* They had likewise attributed to themselves, exclusively to all others, the Right of Separating, or Dissolving the Spiritual Marriage which a Bishop contracteth with his Church, and to give him the liberty of Marrying with another, they had enlarged their Patriarchal Jurisdiction over all the West, by necessitating the Bishops to have confirmation from them, for which they paid certain rates, which in time were converted into what they call *Annates*; in admitting the appellations of Priests, and in taking cognizance of things that belong only to Bishops.

Nay, much more, they had as it were annihilated the Provincial Councils, in taking away their Sovereignty by a cassation of their Judgments; insomuch as those Assemblies were in the end laid aside as useless, yielding no other satisfaction to such as resorted thither, but the displeasure of having their Sentences oftentimes reversed at *Rome*, without any proofs, or any reasons brought before them. *Gregory II.* made it a Rule of common Right, *That none should be so bold as to condemn any that appealed to the Holy See.*

But they never made a greater breach in the liberties of the *Gallican Church*, then when they introduced the Belief, that no Councils could be called without their Authority; and after they had made divers attempts to set up perpetual Vicars in *Gall*, found out the way to have their Legats admitted and received. To this purpose they first made use of a Canon of the Council of *Sardique*, which gave them power to send Legats into the Provinces, to review any Process of the Deposition of Bishops, where complaint was made. After they had accustomed the *French Prelats* to suffer the Legats in such Cases, they gained by little and little another Point, during the weakness of their Princes, which was to send a Legat whether there were any such Process, or Appeal, or not; and finally when they had received the Yoak, *Alexandre II.* settled it for a maxime, that the Pope ought to have the whole Government of all the Churches.

Of these Legats, some of them had the whole Kingdom under their jurisdiction, others a part only. They came with Authority to Depose Bishops, or the Metropolitan himself, when they pleased; to Assemble Councils in their District, to preside with the Metropolitan, and precede him, to make Canons, to send to the Pope the decision of such things to which the Bishops would not consent; as likewise all Acts of the Council, which he disposed of at his Will; and it is to be observed that their Suffrage counterpoised those of all the Bishops; and often, by their sole Authority, they judged of the Elections of Bishops, of Benefices, of the Excommunications of Laics, and other such like: so that those Assemblies formerly so Holy and Sovereign for the Discipline, having now no more power, were to speak properly, rather Councils to assert the Will of the Pope, then lawful and free Councils.

Now after *Alexandre II.* had ordained, that the Bishops of those Provinces, whether the Legation extended, should be at the charges for their subsistence, and defray their expences; and that *Gregory VII.* had added to the Oath the Bishops take when they receive the Pall, that they would Treat them Honourably at their going, and upon their return, and would furnish them with all necessities; the profit of those employments was not less great then the Honour and Dignity. So that the desire of gain made them court these employments with great earnestness; and the Popes bestowed them as rewards upon their creatures. There was nothing but going and coming of Legats, and as soon as one had cramm'd his Purse, immediately another came in his place. Insomuch as the Bishops and Clergy extremely tired, and

and impoverished by these perpetual exhaustings, did not look upon these Legations any longer as a remedy, but as a disease. In effect, it became so importunate and vexatious, that at length they were forced to consider of some moderation, and not to receive any more Legats, but upon very important occasions.

We should never have done if we quoted all the Councils that were assembled in this Century. We find a great number in the Epistles of *Tves de Chartres*, *Gregory VII.* and *Gefroy de Vendosme*. I will likewise set down some, *An. 1003.* The Bishops of *France* approved the Marriage of King *Robert* with *Berthe*; and the year after, being constrained by the *Anathemas* from *Rome*, they revoked their Sentence, and Excommunicated the King.

Glaber relates that many were celebrated in *Italy*, and in *Gall*, about certain usages of no great importance; as to consider, whether they should Fast on the days between the *Ascension* and *Pentecost*; permit the *Benedictines* to Sing the *Te Deum* on the *Lent Sundays*; and celebrate the Feast of the *Annunciation* the 25th of *March*, or else the 18th of *December*, as the *Spaniards* did, according to the Decree of their Tenth Council of *Toledo*. The decisions were, That those Fasts should be all abolished, excepting upon *Whitsuntide Eve*; the *Benedictines* maintained in their Singing the *Te Deum* in *Lent*; and the Festival of the *Annunciation* be observed in *March*.

King *Robert* convened several Councils, particularly one about the year 1017. at *Orleans*, to extirpate the Heresy of the *Manicheans*, which sprung up apace in that City; another in the same place *An. 1029.* for the Dedication of *St. Agnes Church*, which he had built there. The same year was held one at *Limoges*, *Gauzelin de Bourges* presiding, about the contest started, Whether they must give *St. Martial*, the Bishop of *Limoges*, the Title of Apostle, as the *Limosins* would have it, or only that of Confessor, as some others maintained. These frivolous questions did all of them attribute the Foundations of their Churches to the Apostles or Disciples of *Jesus Christ*, and to that end invented Fables, and perverted all History.

This Council had not power enough to determine this question, it was again debated with great contention in that of *Bourges*, *An. 1033* in the second of *Limoges*, and that of *Beauvais*, which were held in the year 1034. and withal, they consulted the Holy Chair herein, where it was decided, that *St. Martial* ought to be revered as an Apostle.

In this second Council of *Limoges*, complaint being made concerning Absolutions granted to such as being Excommunicated, addressed themselves to the Pope; it was said, *That none could receive Penance or Absolution from the Pope, if he were not sent thither by his Bishop.*

The same *Glaber* writes, that the same year 1034. there were divers Councils in the Provinces of *France*, particularly in *Guyenne*, for the reformation of Manners, which all people most earnestly desired, thereby to appease the wrath of God, who had sorely afflicted *France* with Famine. Amongst divers Decrees, there was one which Ordained upon pain of Excommunication, abstinence from Wine upon Fridays, and Flesh upon Saturdays, unless Sickness, or some great Festival hapned upon those days. *Gerard* the Bishop of *Cambray* rejected this Decree as a Novelty, contrary to the Orders and Rules of the Church, and which had no Foundation, but I know not what Revelation.

These Assemblies labour'd likewise to secure what belonged to the Church from the Rapine and Thefts of some Lords, and restore the Discipline, for which some Canons were made in the Second of *Limoges*. That of *Beauvais* was held Fifteen days after that of *Bourges*. Pope *Leo IX.* being come into *France*, Convened one at *Reims*, towards Autumn, *An. 1049.* *Victor II.* One at *Toulouze*, *An. 1056.* To extirpate abuses, and especially Simony, which is more difficult to be taken from the Church, then their Riches which is the cause of it.

King *Henry* desiring to have his Son *Philip* Crowned, Assembled the Prelats and Lords of the Kingdom at *Paris*, *An. 1059.* or 60. *Amat*, Bishop of *Oleron*, Legat from *Rome* in *Aquitania Tertia*, and *Narbonensis* held divers; Two in *Gascogne*, One wherein he Excommunicated such as detained any Goods belonging to the Church; another wherein he Dissolved the Marriage of *Centulle*, Viscount of *Bearn*; and another also at the Burrough of *Deols* in *Berry*, with *Hugh*, Legat and Arch-Bishop of *Lyon*, about the affairs of that Abby. The same having the



the Popes Legation in the lesser *Bretagne*, Convened one *An. 1079.* in that Province, to take some course against the abuses of false penances, that is to say, their imposing of slight penances for great crimes.

About the end of the year 1080. there were three, One at *Lyons*, where *Hugh, de Die*, the Popes Legat caused the Sentence to be confirmed, whereby *Manasser*, Arch-Bishop of *Reims* had been deposed; One at *Avignon*, where he consecrated another *Hugh*, Bishop of *Grenoble*, and the Third at *Meaux*, in which *Ursion de Soissons* was deposed, and *Arnold* a Monk of *St. Medard* intalled in his place.

The year following the same *Hugh*, and *Richard*, Abbot of *Marseille*, Cardinals, called one at *Poitiers*; *Amat d' Oleron* Legat in *Aquitain* came likewise thither. They provisionally ordained a Divorce of *William* Earl of *Poitiers* from his Wife, because of their consanguinity.

That of *Toulouze* in *An. 1090.* was Convened by the Legats of *Urban II.* Some Rules were there made concerning Causes Ecclesiastical, and the Bishop of that City purged himself of certain things imposed upon him.

The most famous of all was the Council of *Clermont*, *An. 1095.* where the same Pope with great zeal Preached up the First *Croisade*; and to obtain the assistance of the Holy Virgin towards those that should undertake the Expedition, ordained the Clergy to recite the Office, or *Heures* * of our Lady, which the *Chartreux* and Hermits instituted by *Peter Damianus*, had already received amongst them. There was one more at *Tours* the year following, to prepare them to that expedition of the Holy Land.

The last year of this Century they had one likewise at *Poitiers*, whereat *John* and *Benedict*, Cardinal Legats presided; King *Philip* was here struck with an Anathema, for having retaken *Bertrade*; and the Kingdom of *France* put under an interdiction. The precedent year, there had been one held at *Autun*, and the following, there was also one at *Baugency* for the same business.

The prohibition of Marriages, even to the seventh Degree, extremely embarrass'd the Eleventh and Twelfth Century; and as that rigour was excessive, the Princes broke thorough without much scruple, and afterwards became obstinate against Excommunications, with so much the more Reason and Pretence, as having the opinions of many great Lawyers, who reckoned these Degrees after another manner than the Church-men; so that it served for little else but a specious colour for such as were dissatisfied with their Wives, to procure their Divorce.

The custom practised in the Church of *Jerusalem*, where because of the too great confluence, the Laity communicated only under the species of Bread, introduced it self by little and little, into the Western Church; and there is some appearance that the Canon of the Council of *Clermont* was favourable to it, ordaining, *That those that communicated should take the two species separately* (this was to avoid that abuse of the Greeks, who soaked or dipped the Bread in the Wine) *Unless in case of necessity, or by PRECAUTION*, That is to say, if there were danger of spilling the Chalice, as when the multitude and throng of Communicants was * too great.

There was like a change in the Government of some Churches; the Sees of *Gascogne*, which had been vacant above two ages, were filled; the Bishopricks of *Arras* and *Cambray*, both which had been Governed by one Pastor since Saint *Vaast*, began each to have their own, after the death of *Gerard II.* who held them both; and *Manasser* was the first Bishop of *Cambray*, *An. 1095.*

The same thing was attempted for *Noyon* and *Tournay*, which had been joyned since *St. Medard*: but King *Philip* opposing, they remained so united till the year 1146. When *Simon* the Son of *Hugh the Great* being Bishop thereof, they were divided. *Anselme* a Monk of *Soissons*, and Abbot of *St. Vincent de Laon*, was the first that held the See of *Tournay*.

An. 1179 *Gregory VII.* by his Bulls gave, or as others say, confirmed to the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons* the Primacy of the four *Lyonnoises* only, being perhaps perswaded, as some others, that *Lyons* was in antient times the capital City and first Church of the *Galls*. The Arch-Bishop of *Tours* was the first who submitted, but those of *Sens* and *Rouen* opposed it with all their might: and although this establishment had been maintained in the Council of *Clermont*, and since by judgment contradictory, which was given in the Court of *Rome*, *Anno 1099.* they had much ado to submit themselves; and it was, as I believe, during this Contest that he of *Rouen* began, out of emulation, to take up the Title of *Primate of Normandy*.

* Prayers for certain Hours.

* They permitted then in that case to communicate under one species.

The Abbot *Odillon* being excited by divers Revelations to ease the Souls that were in Torments after Death, ordained the Monks of his Congregation of *Clugny* to make a Commemoration every year the day after *All-Saints*, in their Prayers and Divine Service; which the Universal Church received soon after.

About the end of his Age three famous Religious Orders had their Birth; That of the *Chartreux* *Anno 1086.* by *Bruno* Canon of *Reims*, and *St. Hugh* Bishop of *Grenoble*, who were the first that retired into the horrid Solitude of the *Chartreuse* in *Dauphine*, which gave name to this Order. That of *St. Anthony* at *Vienne*, in the same Country, by a Gentleman named *Gaston*, who devoted his Person and Estate to the assistance of those that were seized with the Dilemper called *St. Anthony's Fire*, and came to implore the intercession of that Saint at *Vienne*, where they had his Corps, brought thither from *Constantinople* by *Jocelin* Count d' *Albon*, in the time of King *Lotaire* Son of *Louis Transmarine*. This *Gaston* got together some Companions, who at first were of the Laity, but soon after they became Friars under the Rules of *St. Augustin*, and planted their Congregation in several Provinces.

In the year 1098. *Robert* Abbot of *Molesme* instituted the Order of the *Cisterciens*, being as it were a younger Sprig of that of *St. Bennet*, and became so potent that for more then Twenty years it governed almost all *Europe* both in Spirituals and Temporals.

We must not omit how *Robert*, Native of the Village d' *Arbrefel* in the Diocess of *Rennes*, founded the Order of *Fontevault*, whose Monasteries are double, of Men and Women, living according to the Rule and wearing the Habit of *St. Bennet*. This *Robert* was at first Archdeacon of *Rennes*, then had a particular Mission from Pope *Urban II.* to Preach to the People. Finding he was every where followed by an infinite multitude of either Sex, he built Cells for them in the Woods of *Fontevault* three Leagues from *Saumur* on the Confines of *Poitou*; and then shutting up the Women apart (this was perhaps after the good Advice of *Gefroy de Vendosme*) he made a large Monastery, which produced many others; in each of them the Abbess Commands, and she of *Fontevault* is the General of the whole Order.

About the year 1048. began a famous Dispute between the *Benedictine* Monks of *St. Denis* in *France*, and those of *St. Himmeran* of *Ratisbonne*, these having given out a report that they had the Body of *St. Denis* the *Areopagite*, and that it was bestow'd upon them by King *Arnold*. They held a famous Assembly at *St. Denis* upon it, where the Contenders of either side, having fasted and pray'd, the Shrine of this Saint was opened; and there his Corps was found intire, excepting one Arm which Pope *Stephanus III.* had carried to *Rome*. Those of *Ratisbonne* would not yield for all this; but always maintained their Supposition.

The great Zeal People then had for Reliques, prompted such as hold nothing so Sacred as Money, to go for some to *Jerusalem* and the East, to steal Reliques wherever they could come at them, and oftentimes likewise to suppose and bring Counterfeit ones to make Merchandize: and the great Lords gave dear Prices for them, not only out of Devotion, but also to enrich their Towns and Castles, by the affluence of those People that came to behold them.

G g

Lewis

Lewis the Gros, King XXXIX.

POPES,

PASCAL II. *Nine years six Months during this Reign.*

GELASIUS II. *Elected in January 1118. S. One year.*

CALISTUS II. *Elected in Feb. 1119. S. Ten years, ten Months.*

HONORIUS II. *Elected in Decem. 1124. S. Five years, one Month and an half.*

INNOCENT II. *Elected in Feb. 1130. S. Thirteen years seven Months, whereof Seven years seven Months during this Reign.*

LEWIS the GROSS, King XXXIX. *Aged about Twenty seven years.*

1108.

THis Prince no less Massive of Body than his Father, but brave, active, vigilant, exposing himself boldly to all Labours and all Dangers, had undertaken to suppress the Pilferings and Licentiousness of the Lords. They had made several Leagues against him; and at that time there was one, whereof Guy Earl of Rochefort was the chief Promoter; and, this perhaps, had hindered him from being Crowned in his Fathers life time.

The fear of this League obliged him to hasten his Coronation, so that five days after the Death of Philip he was Anointed and Crowned at Orleans by Gislebert Archbishop of Sens, assisted by all his Suffragants. He would not have it performed at Reims, because Rodolph who was chosen Archbishop by the Clergy, and confirmed by the Pope, had not his approbation, for which reason he disturbed him in the enjoyment, and Rodolph thereupon had put the City under an Interdiction.

1109.

The War raised by Guy de Rochefort and his Friends, lasted still. The new King besieged Chevreuse and other little Castles which the other party defended well. Mean time Guy died, and Hugh surnamed de Crescy, his second Son, succeeded to the Animosity of his Father.

* See before Fol.

Hugh Lord Puiset in Beauce, mighty famous for his Robberies, was of the League. Eudes Earl of Corbeil, Grandson to Earl Bouchard*, having refused to joyn with the Male-contents, Crescy, though his Brother by the Mother, made him Prisoner, and shut him up in the Castle of la Ferte-Baudouin. The King set him free soon after, taking the place, partly by Intelligence.

1109.

1110, &c.

At the same time the King had War with Henry King of England and Duke of Normandy. The Subject was, that that Prince did not keep the Promise he made upon his doing Hommage for Normandy, to pull down the Castle of Gisors, built on this side the Epte, a River which served as a Boundary between the Territories of the French and the Normans.

The Difference put to Discussion between the Deputies of the one and other side, and the Parties not able to agree the Fact; King Lewis offer'd to prove it by Combat Body to Body. Some idle Jefters said, the two Kings had best fight upon the Bridge which shook and was ready to fall. Henry having refused this Challenge, they

they came to a Battle, the English lost it, and their broken Remains fled to Meulan.

Robert Earl of Flanders pursuing them too rashly, was wounded to Death. His Son Baldwin surnamed * a la Hache succeeded him.

* Of the Hatchet.

Under the favour of this War, the Male-contents drew Philip the Kings Brother to their Party: The power and greatness of Amaury de Montfort his Uncle by the Mother, the credit of his Mother Queen Bertrade and of Foulk Earl of Anjou, afterwards King of Jerusalem, his Brother heightened his courage. He had two strong Holds, Mantes and Montlebery; the King besieged Mantes, and forced it to surrender.

For that of Montlebery, the better to keep it, they would have given it to Hugh de Crescy with a Daughter of Amaury's in Marriage: but the King prevented it, and restored it to Milon Vicount de Troyes who had some right to it.

He after this attack'd le Puiset in favour of Thibault Earl of Chartres, who was mightily molested by Hugh, Lord of that Castle, and took the place together with the Lord, whom he kept under a good strong Guard in Cujil-Landon.

This War begot another. Thibault would build a Fort on the limits of the Country of Puiset: the King obstructing him, he maintain'd he had promised him leave to do it: and therefore did him wrong, which he offer'd to prove by Combat, proposing his Chamberlain for Champion, in his own stead, he being yet too young. The King on his part appointed his Grand Seneschal Anseau de Garlande: but the Champions could find no Court or Judge in the Kingdom, who would secure them the field of Battle. Perhaps the King might underhand obstruct it.

The Earl therefore declares War against the King with the Assistance of Henry King of England, his Mothers Brother, and the Duke of Bretagne; for according to the Customs of those times the Lords thought they might do it, when they apprehended there was a denial of Justice. With him joyned the Lords, Hugh de Crescy, Guy de Rochefort returned from the Holy Land, Lancelin de Dammartin, Payen de Mont-Jeay, Rodolph de Beaugency, Milon Vicount de Troyes, and Eudes Earl of Corbeil.

To tell it in gros, the King received a great deal of trouble, and made them suffer so much too, that he brought most of them to their Duty one after another. Eudes being dead during these Transactions, he Treated with Hugh de Puiset who was to inherit that Earldom, and making him resign his Right provided he would give him his liberty, put himself in possession of that place, of great importance at that juncture.

Some time after Hugh having re-fortified le Puiset, and committing a thousand Insolencies upon the Neighbouring Countries, he besieged him in that place: but the Champenois having the rest that were in League together for him, failed not to come to relieve it. Two great Battles were fought, one to the Kings disadvantage, the other to his advantage; after that they talked of an Accommodation, and Hugh obtained his Pardon.

1112, &c.

Milon Vicount de Troyes whom the King had re-settled in Montlebery, had withdrawn himself from the rest of the Leagued Party, Crescy not being able to draw him in again surprized him by Treachery; and after he had led him about to divers Castles bound and fetter'd, not knowing where to secure him so, but the King would deliver him, nor how to let him go but he would take his Revenge, he caused him to be Strangled in the night, and thrown out of a Window at the Castle of Gomet. He would have had it believ'd that he had broken his Neck, endeavouring to make his escape; but the Crime was discover'd; and the King with great diligence besieged the Castle of Gomet. The wretched Murderer being condemned to justify himself by Duel in the Court of Amaury de Montfort, had not the courage to expose himself to that hazard; and therefore finding himself Convicted, he came and cast himself at the Kings Feet, gave up his Lands to him, and put on the Habit of a Monk as his Penance.

Hugh du Puiset being Revolted the third time, the King again besieged that Castle, razed it, and then turned that Rebel out of all his Estate. This unfortunate Man having in a Sally killed Anseau de Garlande Grand Seneschal and Favourite to the King, and not daring to remain any longer in the Country, went a while after to the Holy Land, which in those times was the Refuge of Banish'd and Condemned People, as it was likewise of true Penitents.

1116.

Thomas de Marle Lord of Coucy had been Excommunicated and Degraded of his Nobility Anno 1114. by the Popes Legat in the Council of Beauvais, for the Sacrilege and Robberies he committed upon the Churches, and the People belonging to the Bishopricks of Reims, Laon and Amiens. That Sentence had inflamed his

1119.

Rage to do yet worse, even to the setting Fire to the City of *Laon*, and the Noble Church of *Notre-Dame*, (I believe it was that of *Lieffe*) to Maltacre the Bishop *Galderic*, and cut off that Finger whereon he wore the Episcopal Ring. The King who flew about every where with incredible Celerity, ran that way before this Robber had seized the Tower of *Laon*, forced and razed his Castles of *Crecy* and *Nogent*, and brought him to Reason.

1116, & 17. He quelled likewise another puny Tyrannet named *Adam*, that ravaged all the Neighbourhood of *Amiens*. He had gotten possession of the City Tower which was very strong, and gave a great deal of trouble: but the King having begirt it for two years, gained it and razed it.

About Ten or Eleven years afterwards *Thomus* draws the King again upon him, by the like Deportment, so that he went and besieged his Castle of *Coucy*. It hapned that making their approaches, *Rodolph* Count de *Vermandois* met him, wounded him, and took him Prisoner. He was carried to *Laon* where he died miserably of his Wounds.

* Firebrand. 1117. Henry King of England was the *Boute-feu**, and Support of all these Revolts: King *Lewis* in Retaliation had stirred up against him his Nephew *William* Son of the Deceased Duke *Robert*, whom he admitted to do Hommage for the Dukedom of *Normandy*, and gave him the Castle and City of *Gisors*, the first occasion of the Quarrel. This Nephew being thus supported, put his Uncle to so much trouble that he was fain to make a Peace with *Lewis*, promising to leave all the Rebels to his Mercy.

1118. * *Archambaud* Lord of *Bourbon* being dead, *Hemon* his Brother surnamed *Vaire-Vache*, under pretence of claiming his Share detained the whole Possession to the prejudice of the Son, and Treated his Subjects, especially the Clergy very Tyrannically. The King assigns him to plead his Right before the Parliament. Upon his refusal to appear, he went in Person to compel him, and besieged his Castle of *Germigny*. *Hemon* dreading his Wroth, came and craved his Pardon: he received him to Mercy, and took both him and his Nephew along with him, to bring them to an agreement of all their Disputes.

The Quarrel between the Emperor and Pope concerning the right of Investitures, being burst out anew with more heat then ever. *Pascal* II. being Pope, the Emperor *Henry V.* had seized both upon him and all his Cardinals, and constrained him to allow him the privilege of nominating two Bishopricks. Afterwards that Pope being at liberty annull'd that Treaty in the Council of *Latran*, and Excommunicated the Emperor.

Emperor *Foh. Comnenius*, Son of *Alexis* in *Aug.* Reigned Twenty four years nine Months; and *Henry V.* still. 1118. In this year 1118. *Galasius* was elected in the room of *Pascal*, or *Paschalis*, but he sought not the approbation of the Emperor, who being displeased at that neglect or contempt, caused one *Maurice Burdin* to be chosen, a *Limosin* by Birth, and Archbishop of *Braga* in *Portugal*, to whom they gave the name of *Gregory*.

1119. *Galasius* being then driven from *Rome* took his way into *France*, to hold a Council there, as he did in the City of *Vienne*: but he died the same year in the Abby of *Clugny*.

1119. The Cardinals that had followed him elected *Gny* Archbishop of *Vienne*, who took the name of *Calixtus* II. He was the Brother of *Stephen* Earl of *Burgundy*, and Uncle of *Adele* or *Alix* Queen of *France*, who was the Daughter of his Sister and of *Humbert* Earl of *Morienne*: and this consideration did fortifie the Holy See with great Alliances against the Emperor.

1119. The whole Kingdom of *France* having taken his part, he came from *Vienne* to *Toulouze*, where he held a Council. Thence he went to *Reims* where he called another, in which divers Canons were made to take away Simony, the Investiture of Benefices from Laicks, Concubines from Priests, and the selling of Sacraments. The King was present, the Emperor *Henry* would not be there, and having refused to part with the right of Investitures, was Excommunicated.

There was almost the same contest and difference betwixt the Popes and the Kings of *France*; These pretending the Election and Provisions of the Popes were not sufficient without their consent. So that it had begot great troubles in the Churches of *Bourges*, *Reims*, *Beauvais* and others. But the Popes durst not shock these Kings so rudely. It was good Policy not to make so many Enemies at once, to keep *France* in reserve as a Refuge against the Emperors; and bring down the *Germans* first, because they troubled them most.

The Peace between the two Kings *Lewis* and *Henry*, was of no long duration. The Friends of the late Duke *Robert* and *William* his Son declared for *Lewis*, and the Earls

Earls of *Anjou* and of *Flanders* served him zealously: as *Thibald* Earl of *Champagne* served *Henry* who was his Uncle.

Baldwin Earl of *Flanders* being wounded upon an assault of the little Castle of *Bures* in *Caux*, did so inflame his Wound with his Debauches, that he died of it at *Amale*. *Charles* surnamed the Good, Son of his Sister and *Canut* King of *Denmark*, succeeded him in the Earldom of *Flanders*, and maintain'd himself there courageously, notwithstanding that *Clemence* of *Burgundy* Mother of *Baldwin*, who was again Married to *Godfrey* Earl of *Louvain*, endeavoured to make it fall into the hands of a Bastard of *Flanders* named *William* of *Tpres* who had Married her Niece.

After a world of Ravages, Firings, Sieges, Surprizes, and Plunderings of Places; after two great Battles fought betwixt the two Kings, one in the Plain of *Beneville* near *Noyon* on *Andelle*, where the *French* had the worst, the other near *Breuil* where the success was doubtful: Pope *Calixtus*, as the common Father, being come expressly to *Gisors*, brought them to agree, by persuading them to restore what places they had taken to each other. Thus the Dutchy remained to *Henry*; who gave it to his eldest Son *William*, surnamed *Adelin**, in wrong of *William* his Nephew.

This Peace did not put an end to his grief and troubles; For a few weeks after he lost his three Sons, and with them above Three hundred Gentlemen, the flower of his Nobility and his best Captains. It was a strange misfortune. They being Embarked at *Harfleur* to go into *England*, their Seamen who were drunk, split the Ship as they were getting out of Harbor. And at the same time his Nephew's Friends and Partisans stirred up new Disturbances in *Normandy*, and re-engaged the King of *France* to uphold them. Which renewed the Desolations of that Province.

In Anno 1119. died *Alain* surnamed *Fergeant* Duke of *Bretagne* Son of *Hoel*, who departed this Life Anno 1084. His Son *Conan* surnamed the *Gris* or *Ermengard* succeeded him.

This *Alain*, if we believe the Historian of *Bretagne*, prescribed certain Forms and Rules for the doing Justice in his Country, where before it was administered very confusedly. For he established a *Seneschal* at *Renes*, to whom he would have all Persons to resort, unless those of the County of *Nantes* who had one likewise; and began to hold an Assembly or Parliament, which judged of Appeals from the *Seneschals* of *Rennes* and *Nantes*, for in Matters Criminal there lay no Appeal. There were no certain and fixed Officers, no more then any certain times for sitting. They afterwards made a President in the absence of the Chancellor and a Master of Requests.

The death of *Hugh* III. of that name Duke of *Burgundy*, to whom succeeded *Odon* his eldest Son, who Married *Mary* the Daughter of *Thibault* Earl of *Champagne*.

The War grew hotter in *Normandy* betwixt the *French* and King *Henry*, and was carried on with various success. But *Henry* found nothing more troublesome then his Domestick Officers and Servants, who had framed a Conspiracy against his Life. He could confide in no body, he trembled at the approach of all that came near him, he died a thousand times a day for fear they would Murther him, and in the night shifted Beds five or six times, and changed his Guards, not thinking he was safe in any place, believing there were none but Enemies about him.

The Emperor reconciled himself with the Pope, and laid down the Investitures: But his Wrath still boiling in him, would needs discharge it self upon *France*.

He had Married *Matilda*, Daughter of the *English* King, for that reason, as likewise for the Resentment he conceived because *Lewis* had protected Pope *Calixtus*, he raised a very great Army to destroy and lay that City of *Reims* flat with the ground, where *Calixtus* had held the Council against him. *Lewis* on his side resolved to draw all the Forces of his whole Kingdom together, even to the very Priests and Friars, so that in a short time he had 200000 Men out of the Isle of *France*, *Champagne* and *Picardy* only. The Emperor having information of these prodigious Levies, found it safer for him not to come into the Country of *Messin*, but retire.

At his return Triumphant *Lewis* brings back the Martyrs Holy Standard, (called the *Oriflamme*) and deposits it again in *St. Denis*, whence he had taken it, rendred Solemn Thanks to those Glorious Saints, carried their Shrines upon his Shoulders, which had been taken down and exposed on the high Altar during all the time of the War, and made or confirmed several Grants to that Abby, especially the Fair of *Lendit* out of the City, for they had one already within.

Upon this occasion we may observe the difference there was between the Forces of France and the Kings. For when he made a War for himself, he could have only the People of those Countries properly in his own possession, and they served but unwillingly; but when it was the Kingdoms Cause or Concern, all the Forces of France were in action, every Lord came in Person, and brought all his Subjects along with him.

1125. The Emperor Henry being dead, the Princes of Germany brought in Lotaire * Duke of Saxony; who likewise retaining the Kingdom of Burgundy as united to the Empire, Renold Duke of Burgundy refused to acknowledge him. For which he would have deprived him of his Earldom, and have bestowed it upon Bertold Duke of Zeringhen; and this begot a bloody War between these two Houses, who fought till the time of Frederick I. who Married Beatrix the Daughter of Renold.

1126. This year 1126. the King received the Complaints made by the Bishop of Clermont concerning the Usurpations and Tyrannies of Robert Earl d' Auvergne, and going thither in Person forced the Earl, notwithstanding the Rocks and Castles of his High-Lands or Mountains, to submit to Reason.

Five or six years after, the repeated Violences of the same Earl engaged him to make a second Expedition and besiege Montferrand. The Duke of Aquitain came to relieve his Vassal; but having from the height of a Mountain taken a view of the great Strength and Forces the King had with him, he sent to offer him all Obedience, and brought the Earl as far as Orleans to demand Pardon, and submit to all that should be enjoined him.

1126. Death of William VIII. Duke of Aquitain Aged Fifty six years. He left his Possessions to William IX. his Son, who was the last Duke of those Countries. The Father had Married Emma only Daughter of William Earl of Arles and Toulouse, and Brother of Raimond de Saint Gilles. By her he pretended to the Earldom of Toulouse: but Raimond de Saint Gilles said his Brother had sold it to him, before he went to the Holy Land. It caused a War between William Duke of Aquitain, and Alphonso Son of Raimond, and afterwards again between Queen * Elionor and the same Alphonso.

1127. Whilst Charles, most justly surnamed the Good, prudently governing Flanders, relieving the Poor, protecting the Clergy, and doing Justice to all; a Family in Bruges abounding in Riches and in numbers of Men, but of Servile Race, taking offence for that he had commanded them to open their Granaries in the time of Famine, and withall being instigated by the Bastard William of Ypres, plotted the Death of this Prince; So that one Morning before day-light whilst he was at Prayers in St. Donats Church at Bruges, these Villains Murder'd him at the foot of the Altar.

The horror of the Fact, and intreaties of the Nobility of the Country, made the King take Horse immediately to revenge this Parricide. He besieged the wretched Authors in the Church, and having taken them, punished the two principal very severely. For one, after they had put out his Eyes and cut off his Nose, was bound to a Wheel planted very high, where they pierced him with an infinite number of Arrows and Darts thorough every part of his Body. The other was hanged on a Gallows with a Dog tied on his Head whom they beat continually that he might tear his Head in pieces. All the rest who fled into the Steeple were cast down from the top to the bottom, and dashed against the Ground.

This done he adjudged the Earldom of Normandy Son to Duke Robert as being the nearest, or next Heir, without any regard to Baldwin Earl of Hainault, and to William of Ypre, who pretended a Right. The last obstinately struggling to carry it by force, the King handled him so roughly, that he took from him the City of Ypre, and all the Lands he held in Flanders.

1128. As little gained Stephen Brother to the Earl of Champagne, who was Earl of Boulogne, by his Wife, though the King of England his Uncle supported him in this design, not so much to advance him, as out of hatred to the King of France, and a fear of the growing greatness of his Nephew William. The King finding that with the Assistance of the Earl of Hainault and Godfrey of Namurs Forces, he had besieged Ypres, led his Army into that Country again, gave them Chace and secured the Country to William.

However the Covetousness of this Prince vexing his new Subjects with Imposts he wanted not, and selling of Offices; the principal Cities revolted, and invited in Thierry Earl of Alsatia whom they owned for their Prince; and in truth he was of the Blood of their Counts by the Female side. The King therefore made a third March towards those Quarters, and advanced as far as Artois, to serve William: but not

not finding things disposed so as he expected, he came his ways back again.

William did not lose Courage for all this; He gave Battle near Alost to Thierry, and put him to the rout: but pursuing his Victory, he received a Wound in his Arm, which being ill-dress'd caused his Death; and after that all the Disturbances raised in Normandy by his Partisans wholly ceased.

In this Kings Reign there were four Brothers, private Gentlemen of the Family of the Garlands, Anseau William, Stephen, and Giselbert, who had the greatest share in the favour of the King, in his Council, and Offices. Anseau had that of Grand Seneschal or Dapifer, which he held in Fief of the Earl of Anjou, who was the Lord Suzerain: (for in those times Offices and Dignities were granted in Fief, and even the Contributions or Offerings, and other Revenues proceeding from the Charity and Devotion of the Faithful.) Stephen who was Archdeacon of Paris was provided with that of Chancellor, and Giselbert with that of Butler. Now Anseau being slain at the Siege of Puisset, Anno 1118. the King bestowed his Office upon William; and he being dead about the year 1120. Stephen desired it rather for himself, then for his younger Brother Giselbert.

This was a Monster, that never any Reason, nor any Example could justify, a Soldiering-Priest, making profession to spill Human Blood. And indeed all good People had him in horror, but his Ambition, and the flattery of Courtiers, who lay the fairest Colours upon the foulest Facts, stopp'd his Ears, that he might not hear the just Reproaches of his Brethren, nor the checks of his Conscience. His Pride ascended to that height to shock Queen Alix, who had Spirit enough not to endure it, and it was perhaps for that reason that he would surrender his Office to Amaury de Montfort who was Married to his Niece the Daughter and Heiress of Anseau.

The King not thinking that convenient, he dared to take up Arms against him, and made a League with the King of England, Thibault Earl of Champagne, and other of his Masters Enemies, plainly demonstrating thereby, that in his former Services his aim was not the good of the Kingdom, but his own Grandeur. The King vigorously assaulted the Castle of Livry which they had fortified; they shot at him, and he was wounded in the Thigh with an Arrow. The smart of his Wound redoubling his Anger, he forced the Castle and razed it; In fine, he continued to make so hot a War upon them, that Stephen was constrained to renounce the Office of Seneschal. But the Party being strong, he thought fit to leave him that of Chancellor.

Great toil and labour, more then number of years, making Lewis old, he found it fitting the better to secure the Kingdom to his Family, to have his eldest Son Philip Crowned. Which was performed in the City of Reims the 14th of April, being Easter-day, in presence of Henry King of England his Vassal.

LEWIS the Gros, and PHILIP his Son.

Henry likewise having no Children by his second Wife, caused his Daughter Matilda Widow of the Emperor Henry to be acknowledged and accepted of as Heiress to his Crown and Dominions, and Re-Married her to Geoffrey surnamed Plantagenet Son and future Successor to Fulk Earl of Anjou. The Party was good, and besides he made it his choice thereby to divide this House of Anjou, which had given him so much trouble, from the King of France's Party, and joyn it to his Interest.

King Lewis who had defended the Churches and protected the Clergy, changed his Language towards the end of his Reign, because they carried themselves too haughtily towards him, and would not suffer he should meddle with the nomination of Benefices, nor lay his hand upon their Revenues. He turned some out of their Sees, and seized their Lands. Stephen Bishop of Paris, and Henry Archbishop of Sens adventur'd to Excommunicate him: but the Pope Honorius annulled their Censures.

Pope Innocent II. Successor to Honorius, was no sooner elected, but makes himself General of an Army, to compel Roger Duke of Puglia, to resign that Country to him, which he pretended (I know not wherefore) to belong to the Holy See. In the beginning he overcomes Roger and blocks him up in the Castle of Galesazzo; but his Son William hastning thither, disingages his Father, cuts the Popes Army in pieces, and takes him Prisoner. Now although he set him immediately at liberty again, nevertheless the report of his Captivity being carried to Rome, caused them to elect another Pope, who took the name of Anacletus.

Innocent not daring therefore return to Rome, held a Council at Pisa, where he Excommunicated Anacletus. From thence he came into France, where he called another

at Clermont in Auvergne. His Cause had some difficulties; the King assembled the Prelats of his Kingdom at Estampes to know which Party they must take. St. Bernard Abbot de Clervaux strongly maintained Innocents, after his example every one embraced it. Nevertheless Girard Bishop of Angoulême's advice, to whom Anacletus had restored the Legation of Aquitain that had been taken from him; had so much influence upon William Duke of Aquitain, that he declared himself for this Anti-Pope, and persisted a year and an half in that Schism, vexing those Church-men extremely who would needs side with Innocent.

1131. One day being the Fifth of October, as the young King Philip was riding thorough some Street of the Suburbs of Paris, a Hog thrusts himself betwixt his Hories Legs, who slownd and curveted in such a manner as threw him on the Ground, and then ran over his Body; wherewith being much bruised, he died the same night.

To Comfort the King for this loss and the great and sensible grief it was to him, and in some measure repair it, he was Counsell'd to let his other Son named as himself Lewis be Crowned. He carried him to Reims, where the Twenty fifth of the same Month he was Anointed and Crowned by Pope Innocent, who then held a Council there against the Anti-Pope Peter Laon.

It seems it was at this Coronation that they reduced the Pairs or Peers, who were hereafter to be assistant at those Ceremonies to the number of Twelve, Six Ecclesiasticks, and Six of the Laity, who were chosen from amongst all the Lords and Prelats of that Quality. They did not however take away from the other Pairs their Prerogative of not being judged by any but their Pairs in matters Feodal, as well Civil as Criminal.

Of these Twelve Pairies are remaining only the six Ecclesiasticks, five of the Lay ones having been re-united to the Crown by Confiscation, Marriage, or otherwise, and the sixth, which is that of Flanders, torn from them by the Emperor Charles V.

LEWIS the Gros the Father.

LEWIS the Young his Son called the Pious or Debonnair, Aged about 20 years.

1132. Thierry of Alsatia remaining Master and Possessor of the Earldom of Flanders, was admitted to render Hommage to the King who received him, because it would not have been in his power to drive him out, and besides he was his Kinsman.

Geoffrey Plantagenet was come to be Earl of Anjou, Fulk his Father being returned to the Holy Land to take possession of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, to which he was called by King Baldwin his Father-in-Law. He pressed King Henry his Wives Father very earnestly to give him Places and Money for advancement of Succession; which begot such a divorce between them, that Geoffrey besieged and burnt Beaumont, and Henry had carried his Daughter back into England, had she not been in Child-bed.

When she was up again, she fell into Dispute with her Father, and parted very much discontented from him; which gave him so much jealousy and anguish, that being taken ill of a slow Fever and a Loosness, he died the First day of December, having Reigned Thirty five years.

1136, &c. His Succession no more then his Life was without great Troubles. That Stephen Earl of Boulogne of whom we have spoken, his Sister Adela's Son, being in England, seized on that Kingdom, and maintain'd himself in it as long as he lived; Not content with that, he likewise disputed for Normandy, and almost totally dispossessed Matilda and Geoffrey her Husband. The unhappy Province dividing it self in favour of both Parties was ravaged by both, and the King of France favouring sometimes the one, sometimes the other, kept it still in a Flame.

* St. Fago, or St. Jacques.
1136.

William IX. Duke of Guyenne touched with Compunction, resolved to go in Pilgrimage to St. James's in Galicia. Before he went he made his Will and Testament, wherein he ordained that his eldest Daughter named Alianor should Marry the young King Lewis, and should bring him all his Lordships in Dowry; For his only Son was dead: but he had yet another Daughter called Alix-Pernelle. In his Journey he fell sick and died having confirmed his Will.

His Corps was conveyed to St. James's in Galicia and interred in the Church; and yet the Legend-makers do not stick to say, That he feigned only that he was dead, and stealing away so privately that his own Secretary knew not of it, he went and turned Hermit in a Grotto or Cave near Florence, where he macerated his Body by terrible Pennance, and that it was he who instituted the Order of the Guillemins*.

* Or Willermians.

Of

Of the same Fabrick is the Tale they make of the Emperor Henry V. saying, That to do the greater Pennance for his Faults, he caused it to be reported that he was dead, and retired to Angers, where he ended his days serving the Hospital, but before he died, discovered himself to his Confessor, and was known by Matilda his Wife, who was again Married to Geoffrey Earl of Anjou.

King Lewis was likewise fallen Sick of a Diarrhea, which took him upon his return from his last Warlike Expedition, in which he had razed the Castle of St. Brieux on the Loire, the Lord thereof using to rob the Merchants.

William's last Will and Testament being brought to him, he accepted of the Match, bestowed a gallant Equipage upon his Son, and ordered a Train of many Lords and above Five hundred Gentlemen, with whom he went to Bourdeaux, where Elienor Resided, and there Espoused her in presence of the Lords of Gasconny, Saintonge, and Poitou, then brought her to Poitiers towards the middle of July.

In that City he heard of the Death of the King his Father, which hapned at Paris the First day of August, the Thirtieth of his Reign, and the Fifty eighth of his Age. His Body was carried to the Church of St. Denis.

1137.

Before this Prince Violence reigned, Majesty and Justice were trampled under foot; the People, Merchants, Clergy, Widows and Orphans were exposed to Rapine and Plunder; The Lords and Gentlemen had all of them Castles from whence they sallied out to Rob upon the High-ways, upon Rivers, and the defenceless Countries. As soon as he could ride on Horseback he buckled on his Armour, running wherever the Oppressed cried out to him for help, and fighting Personally as a private Soldier, so that having brought many of these Tyrants to Reason, he began to settle things again in order and security.

He had by his Wife Alix Daughter of Humbert Earl of Savoy Seven Children yet living, Six Sons and one Daughter. The Sons were Lewis who Reigned, Henry who was a Monk at Clervaux then Bishop of Beauvais, Hugh of whom we know nothing but his Name, Robert who for his share had the Earldom of Dreux, from whom sprung the Branch of the Earls of that name, Peter who Married Isabella Daughter and Heiress of Renaud Lord of Courtenay, whence came the Branch of Courtenay, whereof there are yet some younger Brothers or Cadets. Philip who was Archdeacon of Paris, and being elected Bishop, had so much modesty that he yielded it to Peter Lombard called the Master of Sentences; whose Book hath served as a foundation of School-Divinity. The Daughter was called Constance, she was Married first to Eustace Earl of Boulogne by whom she had no Children, her second Marriage was with Raymond V. Earl of Toulouse.

As for Scholastick Learning, it is fit we observe that towards the end of the Reign of Lewis the Gros, a Philosopher named John Rousselin, and after him the famous Peter Abelard his Disciple both Bretons, introduced in the Schools certain Notions and certain Expressions, with a Sophistical manner of Arguing, drawn from Philosophy and applied to Theology, which hath intangled it with Questions subtil and dangerous, and which savour more of the Metaphisicks then of the Holy Scripture. The great Wits of those times, having nothing better to apply themselves to, there being none that taught the true Sciences, nor good Literature, fell all into these Ergotries.

Hh

Lewis

Lewis called the Young, King XL.

POPE S,

INNOCENT II. S. Six years
under this Reign.

CELESTINE II. Elected in
Sept. 1143. S. Five Months and
an half.

LUCIUS II. Elected in March
1144. S. Eleven Months and an
half.

ANASTASIUS IV. Elected in
July 1153. S. One year and five
Months.

ADRIAN IV. Elected in Dec.
1154. S. Four years and near eight
Months.

ALEX. III. Elected in Sept. 1159.
S. almost Twenty two years.

LEWIS called the Young, during his Fathers Lifetime, and the
Pious, King XL. Aged Nineteen or Twenty years.

1137. **A**fter Lewis the Young had taken possession of Guyenne, he brought his new
Spouse to Paris, where he laboured with his Council to establish the publick
Safety, and that Justice, which some petty Tyrants began to disturb afresh,
Ransoming the Common People and Merchants.

The Cities to defend themselves from these Oppressions had framed Communities,
that is to say, created Popular Magistrates, with power to Assemble the Citizens and
Arm them. For this end they must have the Kings Letters Patents, which he granted
willingly, with many fair Priviledges thereby to oppose them against the over-
grown power of the Lords. Some Citizens of Orleans making use of this power, to
the prejudice of the Regal Authority, and running into Mutinies, he repress'd them
as he past that way, and brought them to their Duty again.

1138. As he was Sovereign Lord of Normandy, he was obliged to concern himself in the
Dispute between Gefroy Plantagenet Husband to Matilda, and Stephen Earl of Blois
and Boulogne, who disputed it between them. At first he took part with Gefroy, in-
vested him in the Dutchy and received Hommage from him, and in Recompence Gefroy
gave him the Normand Vexin: but when Stephen who was come over from England,
had got some advantage upon Gefroy, Lewis changing his Party, puts his Son Eustace
into possession, aged not above Fourteen or Fifteen years, and gave his Sister Constance
in Marriage to him.

The Schism in the Roman Church was extinguished by the Death of Anacletus, and after
by the Cession of Victor, whom the Cardinals of Anacletus had elected Pope.

The Emperor Lotaire II. deceased in a thatched Cabbin, the Tbird of December Anno
1138. After four Months Interregnum, Conra dill. of that name was elected.

1139. Roger having made himself Master of the Dutchy of Puglia by the Death of Duke Rey-
nold Feudatary to the Holy See had taken Pope Innocent Prisoner who made War upon him
without Mercy ever since he got into the Papacy: Now having him in his own hands he obliged
him partly by force, partly by his good Usage and Respect to confirm the Title of King of Sicily

to him, which Anacletus the Anti-Pope had already bestowed upon him. Thus began the
Kingdom of Sicily, which besides the Island likewise comprehended Puglia and Calabria,
that is to say, what we now call the Kingdom of Naples.

Thierry of Alfania goes into the Holy Land with great numbers of the Nobility, to
the relief of Fulk King of Jerusalem his Wives Father, and leaves the Administration
of his Earldom of Flanders in the hands of Sibylla his Wife.

Stephen returned into England is vanquish'd and taken by Robert Earl of Gloucester
Bastard Brother to Matilda. William of Ipres a brave Soldier, who had taken
Sanctuary in that Country, found a way to make this Robert Prisoner, the sole Coun-
sellor and Support of Matilda: so that to get him again the releases Stephen: but
during the time he was under Restraint, Gefroy recover'd a great part of Normandy.

This year Alfonso I. Duke of Portugal having obtained a most famous Victory over
five petty Moorish Kings or Generals, was saluted and proclaimed King by his Army. Five
years after, he renders his Estates Tributary to the Holy Chair, to pay down four Ounces of
Gold annually, Anno 1078. he puts it wholly under the protection of the Pope, and increases
the Tribute unto two Marks of Gold; upon which Condition Alexander II. confirmed the
Title of King to him.

This Alfonso was the Son of one Henry, who going into Spain about the year 1039. to
seek his Fortunes, Married Trefa Daughter of Alfonso VI. King of Castile, and hid
for Dowry the Earldom of Portugal, formerly gained by him from the Moors. The most
exact Genealogists assure us that this King Henry was of the French Blood, being Son, say
they, of another Henry, who was Son of Robert Duke of Burgundy, Son of King Robert.

We do not find during these years any Stirs or Troubles in the King of Frances Ter-
ritories; unless it were some Contentions amongst the Divines. Peter Abelard, dis-
puting with too much subtilty concerning the Trinity and other Misteries of Faith,
had given occasion to accuse him of Novelty and Error, for which he was condemned
by the Popes Legat. Afterwards the Archbishop of Sens gave him leave to explain
and make good his Propositions against St. Bernard. But being come for that purpose
to the Council of Sens, he would or durst not dispute there, but appeal'd to the Pope.
Being on his way towards Rome to pursue his Appeal, he stopt at the Abby of Clugny,
and there led a holy Life in the Habit of St. Bennet, which he had long before taken
upon him.

"These Prosecutions were carried on by the Zeal of St. Bernard Abbot of Cler-
vaux, a Burgundian Gentleman, who had raised himself to so high an Esteem for se-
veral years before amongst the Clergy, the Nobility and Common People, that
there hapned no Cause in Matters Ecclesiastical, no considerable Contest, no im-
portant Enterprize, wherein his Judgment was not required, together with his
Counsel and Mediation. To shew us, that the Wife and Virtuous have a more na-
tural Empire, then that which proceeds from Power, or the Institution of Man.

The Clergy of Bourges had elected for their Archbishop one Peter de la Chastre a
Person of singular Learning and Piety: The King whether he did not like him, or de-
sired that Benefice for another, refused to give his consent. Peter would therefore
have desisted: but Pope Innocent enjoyned him to perform his Duty; which the
King obstructing, it bred a great deal of trouble, and grew to that height, that the
Pope Excommunicated the King, and put the King under an Interdiction.

Thibault Earl of Champagne, a Lord of great Authority, as well for his Power
as his Vertues, having intermeddled somewhat too much about this business, of-
fended the King; whose anger was yet more inflamed upon another occasion, which was
this.

Rodolph de Vermandois, who was in effect the first Prince of the Blood (but in those
days that Title was not known, those Princes being considered only according to the
dignity of their Lands) caused his Marriage with Gerbete Cousin German to Thibault
to be dissolved, upon pretence of Parentage, that he might have Alix-Fernille the
Sister of Queen * Alienor for his Wife. The Pope at the instigation of * Thibault
Excommunicated Rodolph, and interdicted the Bishops that had pronounced the
Divorce.

Lewis lays all upon Thibault and enters his Lands in Hostile manner; Thibault has
recourse to the Pope, who to deliver him from that War which oppress'd him, takes
off the Excommunication; but as soon as that was over he thunders it a second time,
and then the King more exasperated then before, turns his Army into Champagne;
They take Vitry by force, putting all to the Sword and setting Fire on the Church,
wherein three hundred poor innocent People were burnt who were got in to secure
themselves.

Emperor Fo-
Comnenus, and
Conrad III.
elected in
May after the
death of Lo-
taire II. Reign-
ed near Thir-
teen years.

1139.

1139.

1140.

C.

1141.

1141, & 42.

* Or Eleanor.

* Or Thibault.

Emperor Ma-
nuel the Son
of John e-
lected in A-
pril, Reigned
Thirty eight
years, and
Conrad III.

1143, and
1144.

At the recital of this Cruelty the Kings Bowels yearned, and his Conscience was mightily troubled. He mourned and dispairst; St. Bernard had much ado to persuade him that he might obtain Mercy from God upon his Repentance. In this Condition it was easie to persuade him to restore the Archbishop of Bourges to his See, and procure a Peace for the Earl.

1143, and
1144.

(Fulk King of Jerusalem being dead) Anno 1142. the Government being in the hands of Melisenda his Widow, his youngest Son Baldwin, (and the Christians of that Country worse then the Turks; their Affairs ran all into confusion: so that) Sanguin Sultan of Assyria tore the Principality of Edessa from them, one of the four Members of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

The King had before Vow'd a Voyage to the Holy-Land, these sad Tidings moved both him and the other French Princes to carry them Relief. St. Bernard the Oracle of those times being consulted with herein, refers the business to the Pope, who sent him orders to Preach the Croisade over all Christendom.

1146.

(Beginning with France, he Conven'd a National Council at Chartres, by whom he was chosen for Generalissimo of that Expedition: but he refused the Sword and was content to be the Trumpet only. He proclaim'd it every where with so much fervour, so great assurance of good success, and as they believed, with so many Miracles, that the Cities and Villages became Deserts, every one lifting themselves for this Service.)

1147.

The Emperor Conrad and the King were the first that took the Badge of the Cross with an infinite number of Nobility. Each of these Princes had a Legat from the Pope in his Army. Conrad led threecore thousand Horse, he went away first and arrived at Constantinople about the end of March in the year 1147.

1147.

The King staid some while in France after him, to receive Pope Eugenius who by the Revolted Romans was forced to quit that Country. He set forwards a fortnight after Whitsontide in the same year, and having marched thorough Hungary and Thrace passed the Bosphorus; so that the following Lent in Anno 1148. he got into Syria whilst on the other hand his Naval Force was put to Sea to meet him there.

1147.

By Advice of his Parliament held at Estampes, he left the Regency of the Kingdom to Rodolph Earl of Vermandois, and Suger Abbot of St. Denis who was in great Credit at Court, even from the time of Lewis the Fat. (Before his departure he went according to the usual Custom into St. Denis Church to receive his Staff and Scrip, the Badges of Pilgrimage, and the Standard de L'Oriflamme on the Altar of the Holy Martyrs.)

"It is fit we should tell you the Kings of France of the Second Race display'd at the head of their Armies St. Martins Cope or Mantle: But Capet and his Line, after their great Devotion to St. Denis made use of the Banner belonging to his Church, which they called Oriflamme.) It had wont to be carried or born by the Count de Vexin-Francois who was Hommager to the Church of St. Denis: After the Kings had possession of this County they appointed some Person of great Merit and illustrious Birth to carry it.

There is not that wicked or mean Artifice and Treachery but the perfidious Manuel Emperor of Greece put in practise to destroy both the Emperors and the Kings Armies. Against the first he had his will, by Poysoning their Meal, he was to furnish them withall with Lime and Plaster, and appointing such Guides, as having led them a long way about, which made them waste all their Provisions, at last delivered them half dead, and languishing into the hands of the Turks, who cut them all in pieces, so that there was not a tenth part of them escaped.

1148.

The King being likewise gotten into Asia, found the Emperor Conrad at Nicea where he comforted him in the best manner he could. Then he marched along by the Sea-side and ran the same hazard as the other had done, however he saved himself, more by good fortune then prudence. He won a Battle at his passage over the Meander: but reaped little benefit: for after that, not standing upon his Guard, he received a notable check in a narrow Pass through the Mountains. At last he arriv'd at Antioch, whereof Raimond Uncle to the Queen his Wife then held the Principality.

1148.

This Raimond did all he could to oblige him to employ his Forces for the enlarging the limits of his Principality. The King refusing it because he would continue his march towards Jerusalem, he resolv'd to be reveng'd, and to this purpose persuades the Queen, to demand to be Divorc'd from him, as being of Consanguinity within the third or fourth Degree. This Princess being Fickle and Amorous, and having but a mean Esteem for her Husband, was easily over-sway'd by her Uncle: The King

King could find no other remedy to avoid this scandal, then by taking her away in the night time out of Antioch, and sending her before him to Jerusalem.

Now the Emperor Conrad after he had been at Constantinople to refresh himself was come to Jerusalem to pay his Devotions. (The King and he holding a Council together with the Lords in that Holy City, resolv'd to besiege Damascus. This Enterprize had no better success then all the rest, by reason of the horrid treachery of the Christians of those Countries. So these two Princes detesting their wickedness, which outvied the Malice and abominable Vices of the very Infidels, thought of nothing but their return again.)

The Emperor having made Alliance with the Greeks against Roger King of Sicily, was by them brought back into Italy. Soon after the King being Embarqu'd in his Fleet met the Navy belonging to those Traitors, who lay in wait for him. Whilst they were engaged, or as some Authors tell us, were carrying him away Prisoner, by good fortune arrives the Fleet of Roger King of Sicily their capital Enemy, commanded by his Lieutenant, who made them quit their Prize, having burnt, taken, and sunk a great many of their vessels.

Alfonso Earl of Toulouse Third Son of Raimond de Saint Gilles, had also made that Voyage about the same time as the King, but went all the way by Sea, and landed at the Port of Ptolemais. He got not far into the Country before he died, having been basely Poyson'd, though it could not be known who had committed the Execrable Deed. His Son Raimond was his Succellor.

"During the time of this Expedition, St. Bernard was wholly employ'd in Languedoc in opposing one Henry a certain Monk that had cast off his Frock, a Disciple of Peter de Bruys, who Preached with much applause, but with little integrity of Life as it was said of him, almost the same Opinions as the Zuinglians and the Calvinists Preached in these latter Ages.

"A certain Wealthy Citizen of Lyons named Valdo, did likewise about Ten or twelve years after this Preach the same things in Lyonnois and the neighbouring Provinces. They called such as were Followers of Henry and Peter de Bruys, Henricians, and Petro-Bruysians, and those Valdo, Poor of Lyons or Vandois. There were some Remnants of these last in the Valleys of Dauphine and Savoy, when Luther began to appear.

In the year 1148. hapned the death of Conan the Gros Duke of Bretagne; Endon Earl of Ponticure, who was Married to Berthe his Daughter, seized on the Duchy, to the prejudice of Hoel, whom the Duke Conan had disowned for his Son. From hence broke forth a War between these two Princes; which two or three years afterwards was complicated with another much longer, which lasted Thirteen or fourteen years at times between the same Endon and Conan III. surnamed the Little his own Son, who would needs enjoy the Dukedom, because it came by his Mothers side. This bad Son having recourse to Henry King of England for assistance, used his Father roughly, and also compell'd the Nantois who took Hoels part, to forsake him: we do not know what became of him at last.

The ill success of the Foreign Expedition, which had made so many Widows and Orphans, ruin'd so many good Families, and unpeopled so many Countries, bred grievous Murmurings and Reproaches against the Reputation of St. Bernard, who seemed to promise them a quite contrary Event. So that when the Pope would, two years after, have had him Preach up another Croisade, and obliged him to go personally to the Holy-Land, to draw the greater numbers after him: the Monks of Cîteaux broke all those Measures, fearing a second misfortune, which might have proved greater then the first.

The King at his return to France finding the War continued still between King Stephen and Matilda, joyned his Army with Eustace Son of Stephen to besiege the Castle d' Arques. Gefroy the Husband of Matilda and his Son Henry to whom the year before he had resigned the Duchy, marched to the Relief. The two Armies being within sight, the Lords on either side undertook an Accommodation, and manag'd it so that the King (who without doubt found himself to be the weaker) agreed to receive Prince Henry upon Hommage; who by this means was the Twelfth Duke of Normandy.

Towards the end of the year Gefroy ended his days at the Castle du Loir, leaving three Sons, Henry, Gefroy, and William. He ordained that forthwith Henry should quietly

quietly enjoy the Mothers Estates, to wit *England* and *Normandy*; That *Gefroy* should have the Paternal, that is *Anjou*, *Touraine*, and *Maine*, with the Castles of *Loudun*, *Chinon*, and *Mirebeau*; and *William* the Earldom of *Mortain*.

1151. Not long after died *Eustace* Earl of *Boulogne*: his Death was a means to restore *Englands* Peace, for as much as *Stephen* his Father seeing himself Childless, was overpersuaded (it was not though till two years after) to consent that when he died the Kingdom should return to *Henry*.

This Prince, as *English* Authors tell us, would have resumed the County of *Tou-louze* in right of his Wife: but Earl *Raimond* gained so much upon him by Marrying his Sister *Constance* the Widow of Earl *Eustace* newly dead, that he confirmed to him the possession thereof.

1152. The following year 1152. hapned the death of *Thibault* Count Palatine of *Champagne*, surnamed the *Liberal*, the Father of the Council, and Guardian of the Poor and Orphans; a Man of great Justice, who notwithstanding was almost in continual War with the Kings. He had four Sons, and five Daughters. The Sons were *Henry* Earl of *Troyes* or *Champagne*, *Thibault* Earl of *Blais* and *Chartres*, *Stephen* Earl of *Sancerre*, *Henry* Archbishop of *Sens*, afterwards of *Reims*.

"This year also died the Emperor *Conrad*, to whom for want of Male Issue by Election succeeded *Frederick* I. surnamed *Barbarossa* Duke of *Alman* or *Schwabe* his Sister Son.

"If I do not mistake, it was under this *Frederick* that the *French* began to give the *Germans* the name of *Allemands*, or *Almans*, because this Prince being Duke of the *Almans*, had ever both in his Train, and in all Offices more of those People then of any other Country. The *Italians* even in those days called then * *Tudeschi*, as they do still.

* *Teutonici*.

Death ravishd from the King his two ablest Councillors, which were *Siger* Abbot of *St. Denis* the Fifteenth of *January*, and *Rodolph* Earl of *Vermandois*, the last Prince of the second Royal Branch of that name. He having no Children, and his Sister being Married to *Philip* Son of *Thierry* Earl of *Flanders*, the King who cherished this *Philip*, lett him the possession of *Vermandois*; the Subject of a Quarrel in the Reign following.

1152. Whether it were jealousy or scruple of Conscience, the King eagerly pursued the Separation from his Wife, and obtain'd it by Sentence of the Prelats of his Kingdom whom he had called together at *Baugency*.

Immediately proceeding with integrity, he withdrew his Garrisons from *Aquitain* to leave her that Country in freedom, and gave her liberty to go whether she pleased, keeping the two little Daughters he had by her with him. This Woman burning with Love and Ambition, Married some Months after *Henry* Duke of *Normandy* and Presumptive King of *England*, a Prince both young, hot, and Red-Haired, very able to satisfy her Desires.

As soon as * *Alienor* was Divorced, *Lewis* sent to demand *Constance-Elizabeth* Daughter of *Alonso* King of *Castile*, by *Hugh* Archbishop of *Sens*, who performed the Ceremony of that Marriage at *Orleans*, and there Crowned the new Queen; the Archbishop of *Reims* protesting in vain that this Right belonged to him only.

Lewis not able to endure his Vassal should go equal with him, nor *Henry* who had so many great Lordships, suffer a Sovereign above him, it was impossible they should continue good Friends. This last being assigned to appear in Parliament, refused to come. *Lewis* to punish him besieged and took the City of *Vernon*, but *Henry* submitting out of some apprehension he yet had of King *Stephen*, the Lords reconciled him with *Lewis*, who restored the place to him.

King *Stephen* the Usurper of the *English* Crown being dead, *Henry* gets into possession of that Kingdom, according to the former agreement betwixt them.

It was not permitted the Kings of *France*, says *Yves de Chartres*, to Wed any Bastards. Now there went a report that *Constance* was such: wherefore King *Lewis* two years after his Marriage would satisfy himself herein, and under the pretence of going on Pilgrimage to *St. Jago* in *Galicia*, took her Fathers Court in his way, the most magnificent Prince of those times, who received and entertained him most Royally at *Burgos*, and took away that suspicion he had conceived.

Divers do in this year 1154. reckon the Death of *Roger* I. King of *Scilly*, one of the most Warlike and Potent Princes of this Age. He raised the reputation and fame of the *Normans* to its highest pitch, in so much as after him, it did ever decline.

He

Emperor *Manuel* and *Frederick* *Barbarossa* in Feb. Reigned Thirty six years.

1154.

1154.

He had a Son named *William*, and a Daughter called *Constance*, the Son Reigned, but with so much Injustice, Avarice, and Tyranny, that he deserved the surname of Wicked or Bad. He prided himself most in filling his Coopers, and draining his Subjects to the very last Penny. *Constance* being an old Maid Married the Emperor *Henry* VI. in the year 1186.

Gefroy Earl of *Gien* on the *Loire* knowing himself too weak to oppose *William* Earl of *Nevers*, who made a rude War upon him, allied himself with *Stephen* de *Champagne* Count of *Sancerre*, and gave his Daughter to him, and for Dowry his Earldom, to the Exclusion of his Son *Herve*. The Son thus disinherited by his Father without any fault committed, implored the Kings Justice, who goes in Person and besieges *Gien*, takes it upon Composition and settles him there.

When *Henry* was possess'd of *England*, *Gefroy* his Brother demands *Anjou*, *Touraine*, and *Maine*, according to their Fathers Will: but far from giving these, he takes *Loudun*, *Chinon*, and *Mirebeau* from him; so that he had been left without any thing, had it not been his good Fortune to be chosen by the *Nantois* for their Earl, who having forsaken *Hoel*, stood in need of a Prince to defend them against the Assaults of *Conan*.

The Enmities between King *Lewis* and *Henry* being ready to break forth, the Lords found out a way to prevent it yet a while, by the Alliance of *Henry's* eldest Son of the same name, with *Margaret* Daughter of *Lewis* by his second Wife, though both of them were Children and had scarce left off their Bibs. The Girl was put into the Father-in-Law's hands, and *Lewis* promis'd to bestow in Dowry with her *Gisors* and other places in the *Normand Vexin*; which in the interim were trusted to the keeping of the Grand Master of the Knights-Templars, to be deliver'd up to *Henry* when the Marriage should be Consummate.

"The Emperor *Frederick* composd the Difference between *Bertold* of *Zerigheim* and *Renault* about the Earldom of *Burgundy*, in such a manner that he dismembred or cut off from it the little Country of *Nufland* which is beyond *Mount-Jou*, and the Cities of *Geneva*, *Lausanna*, and *Sion* to give them to *Bertold*, leaving the remainder to *Renault*, whose Daughter and Heiress named *Beatrice* he Married. After which keeping open Court with great Pomp at *Besancon*, he received Hommage of all the Lords and Prelats belonging to the Earldom of *Burgundy* and the Kingdom of *Arles*; who notwithstanding regarded not his Sovereignty, but only to obtain a better Title to their usurpations.

Those that were common Friends to both endeavour'd to procure an Interview between him and the King of *France*, and agreed upon the time and place: but the King stung with Jealousie at the Grandeur of that young Prince, or having some suspicion he would design upon his Person, would go attended with a great number of Soldiers; which caused *Frederick* to withdraw very much dissatisfied.

Gefroy Earl of *Nantes* being dead without Children, *Conan* Earl of *Renes* or of *Little Bretagne*, seized on the City of *Nantes*. King *Henry* Brother of *Gefroy* pretending it belonged to him by Succession, undertakes to recover it by force of Arms. *Conan* being hardly press'd, buys his Peace by giving him his Daughter, and Heiress, (named *Constance*) for his Third Son, by name *Gefroy*, the same as his Uncle deceased.

After the Death of Pope *Adrian*, the greater number of the Cardinals elected the Cardinal *Rowland* a *Siennois*, who was named *Alexander* III. But the *Roman* People and two Cardinals only gave their Votes for Cardinal *Octavian* a *Roman*, who took the name of *Victor*. The Right of either side was dubious: for on the one hand the Decrees of some Popes had refer'd the Election to the Cardinals only, and on the other the *Roman* People pretended they had the better Title, and had most commonly maintain'd themselves in possession of it, alledging the Popes could not deprive them of a Right born with the Church its self, and practis'd in the times of the Apostles.

King *Lewis* relying upon the Judgment of the *Gallican* Church, whom he Asssembled for this purpose at *Estampes*, adhered to *Alexander*. All the West followed his Example, excepting the Emperor *Frederick*, who with his *Almans*, and what Partisans he had in *Italy*, fiercely rejected him, because he was Install'd without his Approbation.

King *Henry* besides the Kingdom of *England*, held the Dutchy of *Normandy*, (which had then a part of *Bretagne* holding of it) the Country of *Maine*, *Anjou*, *Tou-*

1155.

1159.

1158.

1159.

1160.

1160.

1160. *Touraine*, and the Province of *Aquitain*. His Ambition upheld by this great increase of Power, made him revive afresh the Right his Wife had to the County of *Toulouze*. For this end, having made Alliance with *Raimond* Prince of *Arragon* and Earl of *Barcelona*, he raised a great Army of *Aquitains* and * *Routiers*, amongst whom was *Malcolme* King of *Scotland*; enter'd upon *Languedoc*, took *Moissac*, *Cahors*, and some other places.

* Old Soldiers experience'd.
1160, & 61. The jealousy *Lewis* had of his growing Greatness, moving him at least as much as the Prayers and Intreaties of Earl *Raimond* his Brother-in-Law, caused him to march that way, and cast himself into *Toulouze*, but he had so few with him, that it was in the power of *Henry* to have forced that City, had not the scruple of falling upon his Sovereign deterr'd him from it. After which they were reconcil'd: but *Henry* would not let fall his claim and hold of the Earldom of *Toulouze*, till he bestow'd his Daughter *Jane* Widow of *William* II. King of *Sicily*, on Earl *Raimond*.

"In these days the curfed Crew of *Routiers* and *Cottereaux* began to make themselves known by their Cruelties and Robberies; we cannot tell certainly why they were so called; but they were a kind of Soldiers and Adventurers coming from divers parts, as from *Arragon*, *Navarre*, *Biscay*, and *Brabant*, who wandred over all Countries, and would be hired by any one that offer'd to take them, provided they might be allow'd all manner of Licence. The *Cottereaux* were most of them Foot-Soldiers, the *Routiers* served on Horseback.

In the mean while Pope *Alexander* fearing the Emperor, after he had pull'd down the Pride of the *Milannois*, might come to *Rome*, did not judge himself a fit match, and so retired into *France*, where he remained above three years.

1161. This year he held a Council at *Clermont*, in which he did not forbear to thunder against *Victor*, *Frederick*, and all their Adherents.

1161. The most Potent and most Factious Family in all *France* was the House of *Champagne*: *Lewis* to divide them from the *English* and gain them to himself, takes *Alix* for his third Wife who was youngest Sister to the four Brothers *Champenois*; for *Constance* his second Wife was dead, Anno 1159. and for the two Daughters of his first Bed he gave one to *Henry* the eldest of the four Brothers Earl of *Troyes*, and the other to *Thibault* the second Earl of *Blain*.

1162. Pope *Alexander* came to *Torey* on the River *Loire*, where the two Kings *Lewis* and *Henry* received him with extream submission: Both of them alighted, and each taking one of the Reins of his Horses Bridle, conducted him to the House prepared for him.

1162. A second time the Emperor came into the County of *Burgundy* bringing his *Victor* with him, and a second time some endeavoured to procure a Conference betwixt him and the King, to determine that Difference which made the Schism, by the Judgment of a Council. They agreed upon the place of Interview to be at *Avignon*, as being the Frontier of either Prince, whither the King by Oath obliged himself to bring *Alexander*. But that Pope refusing to go there, saying he could be judged by none, it broke off the Conference, and put the King in very great danger. For the *Almans* having reproached him that he kept not his word, plotted to way-lay him, and had taken him Prisoner, had not the King of *England* caused his Army to advance to disengage him. Thence follow'd a cruel War between the Emperor and *Alexander*, which horribly tormented *Italy*, and out of which the Emperor could not withdraw himself but by the means of a shameful submission, craving Pardon of the Pope, and suffering him to set his Foot upon his Throat. Which hapned in Anno 1177. in the City of *Venice*.

1163. Anno 1163. *Alexander* assisted at the Council of *Tours* Asssembled by his order; and there he thunders once more against *Victor* and *Frederick*. He caused some Decrees likewise to be made against the Hereticks who had spread themselves over all the Province of *Languedoc*.

"There were especially of two sorts. The one Ignorant, and withall addicted to Lewdness and Villanies, their Errors gross and filthy, and these were a kind of *Manicheans*. The others more Learned, less irregular, and very far from such filthiness, held almost the same Doctrines as the *Calvinists*, and were properly *Henricians* and *Vandois*. The People who could not distinguish them, gave them alike names, that is to say, called them *Cathares*, *Patarins*, *Boulgres* or *Bulgares*, *Ada-*

"*Adamites*, *Cataphrygians*, *Publicans*, *Gazarens*, *Lollards*, *Turlupins*, and other such like Nick-names.

Death of *Edo* III. Duke of *Burgundy*, to whom succeeded *Hugh* III. his Son.

There being Peace between the two Kings, *Lewis* employs himself in doing Justice and suppressing Disorders. The Inhabitants of *Vezelay* having made a Corporation, would have shaken off the Abbot who was their Lord, protected by the Earl of *Nevers*: He compell'd them and their Earl to ask Pardon and break their Corporation. The same year he went in Person to fight the Earl of *Clermont*, the Earl *du Puy*, and the Vicount *de Polignac*, Lords of *Auvergne*, who denied to forbear plundering of Churches, overthrew them and brought them Prisoners to *Paris*; where having detained them a long while, he releas'd them upon giving their Oaths and Hostages.

In like manner he punished the Earl of *Chaulons* with the loss of his County, because he had pillag'd the Abby of *Clugny* and kill'd above five hundred, some Monks, some Servants. However the Daughter of this Man re-entred upon her Patrimony.

Thomas Becket Chancellor of *England*, elected Archbishop of *Canterbury* Anno 1163. soon lost the good favour of King *Henry*, for divers causes; and particularly for stickling too fiercely in maintaining the Privileges of the Clergy: Being banished the Kingdom he retired himself in *France* in the Abby of *Pontigny* of the Diocess of *Sens*, whence he gave much trouble to his King, and suffer'd not a little himself during six years.

"Death of *Victor* the Anti-Pope, in whose stead the Cardinals of his Party elected *Guy de Creme* who named himself *Paschal*, and was confirmed by *Frederick*. But *Alexander* III. recalled by the *Romans*, left *France* the year following and returned to *Rome* to put an end to that Schism.

In the year 1165. *Lewis* had a Son born, whom he believed Heaven had sent him in return of his Prayers. For this reason he was surnamed * *Dieu-Donne*, i. e. Gift of God, or God-Gift, and after for his brave Acts the Conqueror, which *Paul Emilius* has rendered by Interpretation *Augustus*, and is followed in the same by all the Modern Historians.

The Life of *Conan* the Little, Duke of *Bretagne* which had been ever full of trouble, ended Anno 1166. to make room for *Gefroy* of *Normandy* his Son-in-Law. This Prince being yet but Fifteen years of Age, remained together with his Darchy under the Guardianship of the King his Father for some time, after which being at liberty, he begins a War against him, because he would make him do Hommage for his Dukedom; a Duty he required by virtue of a Treaty made by *Charles* the Simple with *Rollo* Duke of *Normandy*.

Thierry of *Alfatia* Earl of *Flanders* dies at *Gravelin*, *Philip* his Son governs after him.

The Feud was renewed between the two Kings upon several occasions; one was the Earl *d'Anvergne*, whom *Lewis* as Sovereign Lord took into his protection and safeguard against *Henry* to whom the Earl was a Vassal holding of him in *Aquitain*; the other, the support he gave to *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. The War thereupon breaks forth, and lasted for two years; however it was carried on but slowly, and so, as the Respect either of them had for Pope *Alexander's* Mediation, brought them to an Agreement for some time.

These two Princes having Confer'd together at *Saint Germain en Laye*, concluded the Peace betwixt them; and there the King of *England's* Sons rendred Hommage to *Lewis* for those Lands their Father assured to them by advance of Inheritance; *Henry* of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, the County of *Anjou*, and the Office of Grand Seneschal, joyned thereto from the time of *Grifgonnelle*, as also the Earldoms *du Maine* and *de Touraine*; and the second named *Richard*, of the Dukedom of *Aquitain*; as for the third (which was * *Gefroy*) he had *Bretagne* by his Wife, and ow'd Hommage to none but the Duke of *Normandy*.

The Kings Intercession obtained of *Henry*, that *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury* might return into *England*: but he continuing to act with the same heat, four Gentlemen of *Henry's* Court out of Complaisance as mean as detestable, having plotted and contrived to deliver their King of him, entred the Church at *Canterbury* where that Holy Prelat was reading Service, (it was on the *Christmas* Holy-days) and Murther'd him at the foot of the Altar.

1171. Though the King disown'd this Murther, and shewed an extream grief: nevertheless having given cause to commit it, if perhaps he did not command it, the Pope made a mighty business of it, from which he could not get clear without submitting to great Pennance and such Reparations and Satisfaction as was ordained by his Legats. The Holy Archbishop revered as a Martyr, was Canonized the following year, and the frequent Miracles wrought on his Tomb, attested his Holiness.

1173. Every year almost there was some Rupture, then a Peace or Truce, between the two Kings, either concerning their own proper Interests, or that of their Friends and Vassals. Lewis had this advantage, that being the Sovereign Lord, he had a right of hearing the Complaints of Henry's Vassals, and of making himself his Judge.

1173. He had stirred up many in Aquitaine and Normandy: but this year he Armed his own Children against him. The eldest with Margaret his Wife, being gone to Visit him, and having staid some time in that Court, had a fancy put into his Head that since he was Crowned he ought to Reign, and to demand of his Father the enjoyment either of the Kingdom of England, or the Dukedom of Normandy.

With this disposition, and fretted for that his Father had taken some young People from about him who gave him such like ill Counsels, he stole away one Night from him, and came and cast himself into the Arms of the King.

Immediately all the young Nobility follows him, Queen Alienor favours him, his two Brothers, Richard Duke of Aquitaine and Gefroy of Britagne joyns with him; and those whole Provinces follow their Motions. The King of France takes them into his protection, William King of Scotland declares for them and attacks England, whither at the same time went some French Forces under the Command of Robert Earl of Leicester.

1174. It seemed therefore as if the unhappy Father must needs be overwhelm'd on a suddain: but he overthrew all the Enemies. Lewis having taken Verneuil au Perche, durst not hold it, and retreated before him. The Earl of Leicester is defeated in England, and all those that followed him either slain or taken, then all the Kingdom reduced in less then Thirty days by old Henry, who went thither presently after this defeat.

1175. The following year whilst he was doing Pennance at St. Thomas Becket's Tomb, William King of Scotland his most capital Enemy loses a Battle against his Lieutenants, and was taken Prisoner. The Fleet of young Henry is dispersed and disabled by Tempest; King Lewis who had carried Philip Earl of Flanders with him, is rudely repulsed from Rouen; so that finding Henry who was come over-Seas again to Relieve this City, made ready to give him Battle, he hearkens to a Truce for some Months.

1175. Whilst that lasted old Henry going into Poitou, and subduing Richard the worst of his three Rebellious Sons who held that Country, all the others returned to their Obedience; and he enters upon a Treaty of Peace with Lewis; who gave him * Alice his Daughter for his Son Richard, and put her into his hands to compleat the Marriage when she should be Age for it.

1177. The two Kings now grown old were weary of so many Wars and Disturbances; Either of them had cause to fear, the one the activity of his three most valiant Sons, the other the weakness of his only Heir as yet too young; so that they confirmed the Peace by new Oaths, promised mutual friendship against all others, and took up a resolution to go jointly into Languedoc to extirpate those Hereticks, already mentioned by us. But they thought it more convenient first to send the Popes Legat thither with three or four other Prelats to endeavour to reclaim them by Exhortations and Anathema's which converted and brought back a great many, and kept the rest within bounds for sometime.

These Hereticks were all called Albigenis, because they propagated most in those Countries, under the protection of Roger Earl of Alby who much favoured them.

1178. During the Calm of this Peace, Lewis who was extream feeble with Age, using the same provident foresight as his Predecessors, resolved to have his Son Philip Crowned: but it hapning that this young Prince fell ill upon an affright for having lost his way in a Wood as he was Hunting, this Ceremony was fain to be put off, which was not performed till the year following.

In the mean time Peoples Devotion increasing towards the Reliques of St. Thomas of Canterbury, from the example of King Henry, who of his Persecutor was become his Adorer: King Lewis passes into England, prayed on his Tomb, and left very rich Tokens of his Piety there behind.

1179. In fine Prince Philip was Anointed and Crowned at Reims on All Saints day by William Archbishop of that City and Cardinal, Brother to the Queen his Mother; The Duke

Duke of Normandy and Philip Earl of Flanders, both Pairs or Peers, assisting at that Ceremony, and holding the Crown upon his Head.

Soon after Philip Earl of Flanders faithful and affectionate to King Lewis, procured the Marriage of his Niece Isabella-Alix Daughter of his Sister and of William Earl of Hainault, with the new King who was his God-son; and treating her as his own Daughter because he had no Children, he gives her in favour of this Marriage the County of Artois, and the County all along the River of Lys.

Hardly was the joy of this Festival over, when King Lewis died of the Palsy in the City of Paris the 18th or 20th of September, Aged, as many tell us, near Seventy years, but according to my Computation not above Sixty three or Sixty four, whereof he had Reigned Forty three. His Corps lies in St. Denis.

He was not very happy in his grand Designs, and too effeminate or mild in Affairs that required vigour; but as Pious, Charitable, Good, Just, Liberal, and Valiant as any Prince in his Time. He can be taxed but for two faults, the one against Prudence for Divorcing his Wife; the other against the Laws of Nature, having supported the Rebellion of Henry's Children against their Father.

He had three Wives, Alienor or Eleanor of Aquitaine, Constance of Spain, and Alix or Alice of Champagne. By the first he had two Daughters Mary and Alix, who Married the two Brothers, Henry Earl of Champagne and * Thibault Earl of Chartres and Blois. By the second came Margaret Married first with Henry the young King of England, and then with Bela III. King of Hungary. By the third he had two Daughters, Alix who was betrothed to Richard of England, afterwards Married to William Earl of Pontieu, Agnes Married to Comnenus the Son of Emanuel of Constantinople; and a Son named Philip who Reigned.

1180.

1180.

* Or Thibault.

I i 2

Philip

Philip II. King XLI.

POPE S,

ALEX. III. One year under this Reign.

LUCIUS III. Elected 29 Aug. 1181. S. Four years three Months.

URBAN III. Elected in Decemb. 1185. S. One year and near Eleven Months.

GREGORY VIII. Elected in Octob. 1187. S. a little less than two Months.

CLEMENT III. Elected in

January 1188. S. Three years three Months.

CELESTINE III. Elected in April 1191. S. Six years nine Months.

INNOCENT III. Elected in January 1198. S. Eighteen years six Months nine days.

HONORIUS III. Elected in July 1216. S. Ten years eight Months, whereof seven during this Reign.

PHILIP II. Surnamed the Conqueror, or Augustus, King XLI. Aged Fifteen years.

Emperor Alex. II. Son of Manuel in Octob. Reigned Two years, and Frederic I. 1180.

Even in the Life-time of Lewis the Young, Affairs began to be governed in the name of Philip, and by the Administration and Care, as I believe, of Philip Earl of Flanders, who was his Guardian, his Governor, and his God-father.

The Methods of Piety and Justice his Father and Grand-father had taken to strengthen their Authority, had much advanced them in their Design; He was therefore Councell'd to pursue them. Wherefore immediately undertaking the Protection of the Church, he with a high hand went and reduced Ebles Lord of Charenton in Berry, Imbert Lord of Beaujeu in Lyonnais, and Guy Earl of Chaalons upon Soane, who oppress'd the Ecclesiasticks.

At the same time he began to let the Grandees of the Kingdom know how he could order and reduce them, for he dissolv'd a powerful League which they had formed against him, perhaps out of the jealousy they had conceiv'd of the greatness of the Earl of Flanders, and forced the Earl of Sancerre, who was the first that declar'd himself, to fly to his Mercy.

After the Death of his Father, desiring to Sanctifie his new Reign, he publish'd an Edict against such as utter those horrible Blasphemies compos'd or made up of the Name and Body or Members of the Son of God, condemning them to pay a certain Pecuniary Mult, if they were People of Quality, and to be thrown into the Water if they were meaner People.

Prompted with the same Zeal, he caus'd strict search to be made after all those that were accus'd of Heresie, and sent them to the Fire; expell'd all the Jews within his Territories and Confiscated their Estates, suffering them to carry away only the Price of their Household-Goods.

His

Philip II. Surnamed Augustus, King XLI.

His Piety appear'd no less in the expulsion of Comedians, Juglers, and Jesters or Buffoons, whom he turn'd out of his Court; as People that serve only to flatter Vice, encourage Sloath, and fill idle Heads with vain Chimera's which perverts them, and puts their Hearts into those irregular Motions and Passions as Wisdom and true Religion commands us so much to suppress and mortifie. Princes were wont to bestow great Presents on those People, and reward them with their richest Clothes; But he, being perswaded, says Rigord his Historian, *That to give to * Players was to Sacrifice to the Devil;* chose rather according to the Example of that Holy Emperor Henry I. to make a Vow he would henceforth employ his Money towards the maintenance of the Poor.

Anno 1183. he encompassed the Park *du bois de Vincennes* with a Wall, and stock'd it with Deer which the King of England sent over to him.

The same year Henry, the young King of England, died in the Castle of Martel in Quercy; Perhaps by the just Punishment of Heaven, for having been so often, as he was at this time, in Rebellion against his Father.

"Every private or particular Lord having usurped a Right of making War upon one another after either had sent his defiance, there followed Murthers and continual Spoils and Plunderings; For which the Bishops and some of the wisest Lords of the Kingdom had endeavour'd to find a Remedy, from the year 1044. having ordained the Truce or Peace of God, for those Disputes and Contests betwixt particular Men during certain times in the year, and certain days of the week, with most severe Punishments against the Intringers, even to the killing them in the very Churches, which served as a Sanctuary to all other the most enormous Criminals. William the Conqueror had Establish'd this Law in England and in Normandy, Anno 1080. Raimond Berenger Earl of Barcelona in his Country Anno 1060. the Council of Clermont had confirm'd it Anno 1096. and that of Rome Anno 1102.

"Now as these Truces were but ill observ'd, and Languedoc and a part of Guyenne, principally upon occasion of that War betwixt the King of Arragon and Raimond Earl of Toulouse, were most miserably tormented with Factions, Murthers, and Robberies: a certain Carpenter named Durand, who seem'd a plain simple Fellow, found the Remedy against these Calamities, and a Means to enrich himself. He asserted that God had appeared to him in the City *du Puy* in Auvergne, commanding him to proclaim Peace, and for proof of his Mission had given him a certain Image of the Virgin which he shew'd. So that upon his Veracity, the Grandees, the Prelats and the Gentry being Assembled at *Puy* on the day of the Feast of the Assumption, agreed amongst themselves by Oath upon the Holy Evangelists, to lay down all Animosities, and the remembrance of former Injuries, and made a Holy League to reconcile Mens Spirits, and entertain Love and Peace, which they nam'd the *Peace of God*. Those who were of it, wore the Stamp of this Image of our Lady in Pewter upon their Breasts, and Capuches, or Hoods of white Linnen on their Heads which this Carpenter fold to them. Which had such power over their Minds, and had made such Impression, that a Man with those Badges was not only in security, but likewise in Veneration amongst his most mortal Enemies.

Whether the three Princes of Champagne, Brothers to the Queen Mother, had gotten the upper hand at Court, and put the King out of conceit with the Earl of Flanders, or for some other cause; the King summon'd him to surrender up *Vermandois*, which Louis the VII. had given him only, as was pretended, for a certain time. The Earl being very Potent would maintain the possession, call'd the *Somme* with a great Army and came as far as *Senlis*. But upon tidings of the Kings march, he turns back the way he came and went and besieged *Corbie*; from whence he decamp'd again immediately for the same cause. The King not being able to overtake him, besieges *Boves*, the two Armies drew near to engage. Some Mediators put a stop to their impetuous haste, and made up the Peace; The Earl yielded all *Vermandois*, excepting *Peronne* and *Saint Quentin*, which they let him enjoy during Life.

To this Agreement the King call'd all the Bishops, Abbots, Earls and Barons, that served in his Army, with their Under-Vassals. And such was then the Fights of the French.

The Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the Prior of the Hospital of St. John's, deputed on the behalf of the Christians from the Holy-Land, brought the Keys of the Holy City to King Philip, imploring his assistance, and representing to him the extrem danger it was reduced unto. Whereupon having held a great Assembly of Prelats and Lords at Paris, he enjoynd them to Preach the Cross or Croisade, and to publish it every where: and in the mean time sent at his own Expence a considerable Relief of Horse and Foot into that Country.

* Histrionet.

Emperor Alex. who strangled Alex. Reigned Three years, and Frederic I.

1183.

1183.

1184.

1184.

The

1184.

The Complaints of the Clergy of *Burgundy* whom Duke *Odo* had plundered, and the Lord *de Vergy*, whose Cattle that Prince besieged, engaged the King to march that way, and besiege *Chapillon* on the *Seine*, the strongest Bulwark belonging to that Rebel. Who finding his Fort taken by Assault, came humbly to submit to his Commands, promised to pay 30000 Livres for Reparation to the Clergy, and gave up four Castles; which however were soon after put into his possession again; without doubt because they had some need of him.

1183, & 84.

In *Berry* there were several Bands of Robbers that wasted the Country: they were named *Cottereaux*, and were believed to be tainted with the Heresie that spread in *Languedoc*, because they aimed chiefly to do mischief to the Churchmen: the *Berriers* getting together with the help of some Men sent them by the King, cut them in pieces, killing seven thousand upon the place.

Emperor *Isaac Angelus*, having kill'd *Andronicus*, R. Nine years nine Months, and *Frederic*.

1185.

The vast Multitudes of people that flocked to *Paris*, the Kings Train encreasing with his Authority, made the Streets so dirty and narrow that there was no going in them. The King sent therefore for the Citizens and their Provost, and enjoined them to remedy it, which they did by paving it with Stone at their own expences.

I find about this time, that one Girard de Poilli, who managed the Exchequer brought in thither of his own proper Moneys or Fund, Eleven thousand Mark in Silver. It is to be imagin'd that he had gotten them by the King: but however we may say, that this Example will be singular, and that we shall never meet a Chequer-man will follow his Example. What ever can be done, that sort of People will sooner go to the Gibet, then be brought to make Requisition.

1185.

Margaret of France Widow of Henry the Young King of England, is Re-Married to *Bela III.* King of Hungary.

* Eleanor.
* Arthus, or
Arthur.

1185.

Gefroy Duke of *Brittany* and Brother of that Henry, being come to wait on the King who tenderly lov'd him, died of a Distemper at *Champeaux*, and was Interr'd at *Noître-Dames* in *Paris*. He had one Daughter named * *Alienor*; and one Son only, aged but three years. The *Bretons* would give him the name of * *Arthus*, in memory of that famous King whom the Romancers make to be the Author of the Knights of the round Table, and many high feats of Arms. He remained under the Guardianship of his Mother, and the Protection of the King, in despite of all the Efforts of Henry, and Richard his Son, who made several Attempts to seize upon his Person that they might get *Brittany* into their possession. The Widow *Constance* afterwards Married *Guy* Lord of *Tbouars*.

The memory of Gefroy is still very famous amongst the Bretons, because of that Law he made in his Parliament or Estates General, which was called the Assize of Count Gefroy; Whereby it was ordained that in the Families of Barons and Knights, the Estates should not be shared or equally divided as heretofore; but that the eldest should reap the whole Succession, and bestow such part upon the younger as himself and the rest of his Kindred should think fit. This hath since been thus proportion'd, the Thirds amongst all the younger Children, during Life to the Males, and Inheritance to the Female. In time, the rest of the Gentry, not to yield in Quality to the Barons, would needs be comprehended herein likewise.

1186.

Towards the end of the year 1186. a War was raised between King Philip and Henry of England, for two causes; One was, that Richard refused to do Hommage to the King for his County of *Poitou*, grounded perhaps on this, that it held immediately of the Dutchy of *Aquitain*. The other, Henry deserr'd to surrender *Gisors* and other places of the *Vexin*, which *Louis VII.* had given in Dowry to *Margaret* who had no Children by young Henry. Philip sets upon him towards *Berry*, took *Iffondun*, and besieged the Castle-Rouel. The King of England and his Son came to its Relief, and sent to bid Battle: but the two Armies being ranged, Henry's heart failed him, he talks of an Agreement, promises Satisfaction to Philip, and leaves him *Iffondun* for his Expences in that War.

1187.

The Fifth of September, *Lewis* the first born Son of Philip, came into the World, for which the City of *Paris* expressed so much Joy, that they made the whole week but one Holy-day, keeping all darkness at a distance by the infinite numbers of Flambeaux every where.

Saladin King of Syria and Egypt, who from a low Birth was raised to that high power, not without great desert, after his having obtained many Victories over the Christians, at last tears the Holy City of Jerusalem from them, whereof *Guy* de *Luzignan* was then King (it was taken the Second day of October) and all the Holy-Land, excepting only Tyre, Tripoly, Antioch, and some strong Holds.

Thus at the end of Eighty eight years, Ended the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which Title after

after it had ambitionly passed through the Houses of divers Princes, does at this day make us part of the Catholick Kings.

At this dreadful news which arrived towards the end of the year 1187. all the Faithful made a great moan: never was any sorrow so great or so universal. The Kings Philip and Henry being sensibly touched, Conferr'd together at *Gisors* and *Trie*, and resolved to take up the Cross with great numbers of Princes, Lords and Prelats to recover those Holy Places out of the hands of the Infidels. In remembrance whereof they erected a Cross in the Field, where they had resolved upon this Croisade, and mutually promised to leave all Disputes in the same posture they then were, till after their return from this holy Expedition.

The Month of *March* following Philip Assembles a Parliament at *Paris*, where it was resolv'd by Advice of the Bishops and Barons, to take the Tenths of all Goods, Movables and Immovables of all Persons, as well Ecclesiasticks as of the Laity, excepting only the Monks of *Cîteaux*, the *Chartreux de Fontevault*, and the Spittles belonging to the poor Leprous People. This Impost was called the *Saladine Tithe*.

Whilst they were preparing with great cheerfulness and courage for this Expedition, Richard for a not what little Injury received of *Alfonso* Earl of *Tboulouze*, renew'd the old Pretention of his Mother *Alienor* to that County, and endeavoured to recover it by the Sword. Philip to disengage his Brother-in-Law and make a Diversion, falls into *Berry*, takes all the places the English were possessed of, drove out old Henry who was got thither with an Army, and pursued him as far as *Normandy*.

Winter brought them to a Truce. In the mean time Richard falls out with his Father, and threw himself into the Arms of Philip. His discontent proceeded from his Fathers delay in giving him *Alix* of France betroathed to him. Some believe the old Man cast other looks upon her, then he ought towards his Sons Wife, and besides by compleating this Marriage, he had been obliged, according to the Contract; to let his be Crowned, and give him the Title of King.

The Physitian Rigord in the History of Philip relates, That being at Argenteuil, when the Moon was at Full, and the Night very clear, a little before day-break, the Prior of that Monastery, and several of the Monks saw that Planet descend in a Moment to the Earth, where having rested some time, it went slowly up again and took its former place.

The following Spring Philip takes the Field, Conquers all the Countrey of *Mayne* and the City of *Mans*, *Touraine* and the City of *Tours*, himself having, as by Miracle found a Foard in the *Loire* which he discover'd to his Army.

At the same time John surnamed *Without-Land*, the Third Son of Henry, likewise takes up Arms against his Father, who not knowing which way to turn himself, leaves *Chinon* and advances towards King Philip humbly to desire a Peace: Philip grants it, and reconciles him to Richard, upon condition that one of them should accompany him to the Holy-Land.

But Henry as unfortunate in War as he was unfortunate in his Children, overcome with shame and sorrow, dies three days after he was returned to *Chinon*. Richard succeeds him: and then Philip his Brother-in-Law generously restores to him all he had Conquer'd of his, excepting *Iffondun* and the Fiefs he held in *Auvergne*, settling *Gisors* and all the *Vexin* for his Wives Portion.

The two Princes thus united in a Friendship which appeared to be very cordial, and so firm that one would imagine nothing could untie or shake it, fitted themselves for their Expedition to the Holy-Land, appointed the Rendezvous for their Armies at *Vezelay*, and took Shipping, Richard at *Marseilles*, and Philip at *Genoa*. Both of them landed in *Sicily*; but Philip not so happily as Richard, a furious Tempest having forced him to throw over-board part of his Horses and his Equipage.

Before their departure, Philip with the leave and by the agreement of all his Barons left the Guardianship of his Son and the Government of the Kingdom to the Queen his Mother *Alix de Champagne*, and to *William* Cardinal-Archbishop of *Reims* Brother to that Queen. But fearing they might abuse it, he left an Authentick Order in Writing Signed by the Great Officers belonging to the Crown, which limited their Power and prescribed their Lesson in many cases. Amongst others he would have them bestow vacant Benefices of the Regalia by the Advice of Brother *Bernard*, who was a devout Hermit living in the *Bois de Vincennes*, and that during his absence, no Tailles should be levied by any Lords upon their Lands, nor in case he should happen to dye, by the Regents during the Minority of his Son.

He likewise ordered the Sheriffs of *Paris*, that they should take care to enclose it with Walls and Towers. There were no Ditches made, the Enclosure on the left hand of the River upwards hath been often enlarged and altdred. The Burghers of other

other Cities by their example, were ambitious to Wall their Towns and make Ramparts for defence.

"William the Good King of Sicily, Son of William the Wicked or Bad, being dead without Children Anno 1189. He had an Aunt the Daughter of King Roger, named Constance, who being almost Thirty years of Age, not a Nun as some have falsely maintained, who had Married Anno 1186. Henry Son of the Emperor Frederic. This young Prince was raised to the Empire this year 1190. The Emperor his Father having drowned himself while he was bathing in the little River of Serre between Antioch and Nicea, as he was leading great succours into the Holy Land. Now Constance pretended to succeed his Nephew: but Tancred his Bastard Brother had excluded him, and seized on the Kingdom.

Emperor Isaac Angelus, and Henry VI. Son of Frederic I. Reigned seven years, about the end of 1190.

1190. It was he that received the two Kings at Messina, where they landed in the Month of March, and sojourn'd there above six Months. During their stay Richard had great Contests with Tancred, concerning the Articles of his Sister Jane's Dowry, Widow of King William. He was often like to come to blows about it, and had thoughts of forcing the Town of Messina. In fine Philips Mediation procur'd him 60000 Ounces of Gold from Tancred, whereof he had a third for his pains.

1190. Now Tancred, whether it were true, or whether by a Diabolical Artifice, shew'd Richard some Letters, which he affirmed to have been written to him by Philip, wherein that King profer'd him all his Forces to attaque Richard and seize upon him in the night, if he would at the same time fall upon him likewise. Richard believed the Letters to be real, and made a great stir about it. Thus the two Kings were mightily exasperated against each other; Richard for the design contrived against his Life: Philip for the reproach against his Honour.

1191. Towards the end of the Winter Richard makes known to Philip that he cannot Wed his Sister for certain Reasons, which he will not discover, (perhaps it was because old Henry his Father had kept her too long) and declares to him he had betrothed Berengaria Daughter of Garcias King of Navar, and that his Mother Alienor was bringing her thither to Consummate the Marriage.

Philip was not Transported, but wisely suppressing his Anger, left him to his liberty of quitting his Sister, provided he would surrender those Lands he had given him for her Dowry, and would at the first conveniency go along with him to the Holy-Land. Also he consented to a Truce for those Countries during all the time they should remain abroad. Richard accepted of the Truce willingly, but refused to go so soon. These were the chief causes that changed the mutual affection of these young Kings into a cruel hatred.

1191. James d' Avesnes with some Flemish Forces and the remainders of the Emperor Frederic's had already besieged the City of Acre* (it was otherwhile called Ptolemais) very considerable for its Port and its strong Walls. King Philip parted from Messina in the beginning of March, and landed near this place, took his Quarters about the Town, raised his Batteries and made a wide breach.

1191. In the mean time Richard putting to Sea, was driven by Tempest on the Coasts of the Island of Cyprus, It was then in the possession of one Isaac* a Grecian Prince, who having abused and pillag'd his weather-beaten Soldiers, whereas he ought to have relieved them, provoked his just wrath, in so much that he seizes on that Kingdom, and carried away an immense quantity of rich Plunder together with the said Isaac and his Wife, both of them bound in Chains of Gold.

1191. He got not to Acre till two Months after Philip; and far from promoting the taking thereof, he retarded it by the continual disagreement between them. The Siege lasted five Months in all, and caused a great many Princes and brave Men to perish there.

In the end the City surrendered upon Composition, importing that the Besieged should obtain of Saladine the release of all the Christian Prisoners in his hands, and the true Crofs which he had taken in Jerusalem, for which their Limbs and Lives were to be Security till performed, at the Mercy and discretion of the Conquerors. They were therefore, together with all the Spoil, equally shared betwixt the two Kings; and as Saladine would not perform the first of these two Conditions, and the second was not in his power, because the true Crofs was not to be found, Richard too passionate and cholerick put seven thousand of them to the edge of the Sword who were his Prisoners, and reserved not above two or three hundred of the Principal.

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In this Siege were slain a great number of People of quality, Rotron Earl of Perche, Thibault Earl of Blois, Great Seneschal and Uncle to the King, and Alberic Clement Lord du Mez his Marechal, Son of another Clement who had executed the same Office.

"Our Kings of France in those times had but one, and these Clements were the first who raised or improved this Office by their favour, and extended it to the Soldiery, whereas before them, it had nothing to do but with such as belonged to the Kings Stables.

The contagious distempers destroy'd yet more of their Men, then the Sword. Philip d' Alsace Earl of Flanders, ended his days in the Month of June. He had no Children, but only one Sister whom he had Married to Baldwin Earl of Haynault, from whom were sprung two, Elizabeth who was Married to King Philip, and a Son of the same Name as the Father.

King Philip being likewise seized with a long fit of Sickness, which was suspected to proceed from some ill morfel, because his Nails and Hair fell off, resolved to return into France: but to remove the jealousy Richard might conceive at his departure, he made Oath he would not in the least meddle with his Lands till forty days after he were certain of his being returned into France.

He likewise left with him near Six hundred Horse, and Ten thousand Foot, with their inainance for their three years, under the Conduct of Hugh III. Duke of Burgundy. After that, having taken leave of his Lords, he puts to Sea; and being Convoy'd by three Gallies only, which the Genoeze furnished him withal, landed in Puglia. When he had somewhat recover'd his Health, he sets forward on his journey with a small number of followers, visited the Sepulchre of the Apostles at Rome, and having received the Popes Blessing, parted from thence, and arrived in France in the Month of December. He pass'd his Christmase Holy-days at Fontaine* Eblaud, and from thence came to his dear City of Paris.

After his departure, all the Forces put themselves under the Command of Richard, who did so many prodigious acts of valour, that they surpass the belief, as well as the ordinary strength of Mankind. In a word, he had regained the Holy-City, if the jealousy of Hugh, Duke of Burgundy, had not obstructed his progress.

And indeed he had a design in his Head of forming a great Kingdom in those Countries and that none might dispute the Title with him of King of Jerusalem, he purchas'd it of Guy de Luzignan, giving him in exchange for it, the Kingdom of Cyprus, which the House of Luzignan held, till the year 1473. as we shall observe in its due place.

(We find frequently enough in History, the apparitions of Meteors in the Air, representing Battles, Firing, and as it were engaging one another: but this year a most wonderful thing, some were seen to descend upon Earth near the City of Nogent in Perche, and fought in the Fields, to the great terror of the Inhabitants of that Country.)

In the mean time Philip being returned into France, remembered very well, that Philip d' Alsace Earl of Flanders, had promised upon his Marriage with Queen Elizabeth his Niece, Daughter of the Earl of Hainault, to give him after his death, the County of Artois. He consider'd likewise, that to the Queen belonged some part of the inheritance of the said Uncle. To this end therefore he goes very well attended into Flanders, and forced him to give up all the Countrey of Artois, with the homage of the Counties of Boulogne, Ghisnes, and St. Pol, which till then had ever held of the Earls of Flanders, and extended as far as Neuf-Fosse. This was the first leaven of that mortal hatred, and obstinate feud and wars, between the Flemming and French.

Now the misunderstanding that was between Richard and the Duke of Burgundy, the perpetual jealousy that King lay under, left Philip in his absence should seize upon his Lands, and withal the indisposition of his Body, which had been twice or thrice sorely shaken with Sickness during his stay in that Countrey, would not let him remain any longer in the East. Of a sudden he grew so impatient to return, that he sacrificed all the fruits of his heroick Valour to that longing and pressing desire. For on condition of a three years truce, he renders to Saladine all those Places he had Taken or Fortified in this last Expedition.

Some few days before Hugh Duke of Burgundy died of a fit of Sickness, to whom Odo, or Endes III. his Son succeeded.

After Richard had left what Forces he had yet remaining, and such places as the Eastern Christians had still in Syria, with Henry Earl of Champagne his Nephew, he embarked the 10th of October with little attendance; and because he durst not pass thorough the territories of the King of France, his declared Enemy, he went and landed

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landed near *Aquileia* to pass thorough *Germany*. But the Lords of those Countreys, especially *Leopoldus* Duke of *Austria*, whom he had highly offended at the Siege of *Acre* or *Acon*, caused him to be so narrowly watched, that notwithstanding he went disguised, and travelled thorough unfrequented Roads, he fell into the hands of that Duke. He delivered him basely up to the Emperour *Henry*, who kept him prisoner fourteen Months.

When *Philip* heard of his Captivity, he dispatched Messengers into *Germany* to negotiate with the Emperour to detain him as long as possibly he could. Some Months after he sends to declare a War against him, incites under hand his Brother *John*, a Prince without Honour or Faith, to seize upon the Kingdom of *England*; and heat the sametime falling into *Normandy*, takes *Gisors*, and some places in *Vexin*. Some reckon this last event in *Anno* 1192. and by consequence before the imprisonment of *Richard*.

However it were, in the month of *February* *Anno* 1193. he took the Town of *Evreux* which he gave to *John*, keeping the Castle himself, and went to besiege *Rouen*, but lost his labour there.

Queen *Elizabeth* his Wife had been dead about two years, he demanded in Marriage the Princess *Isenburge* * Sister of *Canut* King of *Denmark*, a beautiful and chaste Princess, but one that had some secret defect. And indeed the first night of the Nuptials, they being Married at *Amiens*, in the beginning of the month of *August*, he took such an aversion that he would never touch her.

He kept her notwithstanding some time; and afterwards growing weary of that unnecessary Expence, he so contrived it, that the Arch-Bishop of *Reims* the Popes Legat with some *French* Bishops, gave sentence of Divorce or Separation. He did it upon the testimony of some Lords whom he produc'd, who asserted they were of kindred within the Fifth and Sixth Degree. In effect *Isenburge* and *Philip*, had both of them for Great, Great, Great, Great Grand-Father *Jaroslav*, or *Jarislod*, King of *Russia*. This *Jaroslav* was Father of *Ann*, who was the Wife of King *Henry* I. and of *Jaroslav* II. whose Son was *Vlodimer*, that had a Daughter named *Isenburge*, wife of King *Canut* IV. This *Canut* begot *Voldemar*; and from *Voldemar* came *Canut* V. and our *Isenburge*.

Richard having in fine got himself out of Captivity, in despite of all the obstacles *Philip* had made use of, endeavour'd to revenge himself by force of Arms: but having drained himself of Moneys to pay his Ransom, his Exploits did not answer his Resentments.

During two years, the two Kings reciprocally destroy'd eithers Countreys with Fire and Sword, demolished a great many places, and then made a Peace about the end of the year 1195. restoring on either side what they had taken from each other, unless it were the *Vexin* which remained to *Philip*.

It hapned in this War, that as *Philip* was passing by *Blain*, the *English* who had laid themselves in Ambuscade, took all his Baggage, amongst which (as the Grand Seigneur does to this day) he made them carry all the Titles, or Papers belonging to the Crown. Thus they were all destroy'd or lost, to the great damage of the Kings affairs, and the *French* History. He caused Copies to be collected where ever they could meet with them, to compleat and furnish the Treasury of his Charters or Papet-Office.

In the Month of *March* of the year 1196. the great overflow or inundations of Waters, especially the *Seine*, were so terrible and frightful, that *Paris*, and the Isle of *France* feared a second Deluge. We take notice of it, because it was the greatest of any wherof the Histories of *France* make mention.

The Peace betwixt the two Kings lasted hardly six Months. *Philip* commences the War against *Richard* for two reasons: One, because he had built a Fort in the Island d' *Andely* on the *Seine*. And the other, because he had taken the Castle of *Vierzon* in *Berry*, from the Lord to whom it belonged, who claimed Justice of the King their Sovereign Lord.

The next year *Baldwin* XI. Earl of *Flanders*, grudging in his heart that *Philip* had taken from him, the half of his Succession left by his Uncle, Leagued himself with *Richard* against him; as did likewise *Renault*, Son of the Count of *Dammartin*, notwithstanding *Philip* had assisted him in getting the Heirefs, and the Earldom of *Boulogne*.

Amongst all the events of this War, which amounted only to Burnings and Plunderings, is to be observed what hapned to *Philip de Dreux* Bishop of *Beauvais*, Cousin-german to the King. This Bishop being taken in the War Armed and Fighting, by

by some of *Richard*'s Soldiers, was detained a long time in an uneasy prison. The Pope would interpose his recommendation to *Richard* for his deliverance, and in his Letters he call'd this Bishop *His most dear Son*. But *Richard* having sent word back, in what posture and manner he was taken; and having sent his coat of Maille all Bloody, with order to him that carry'd it, to ask him, *Behold Holy Father, whether this be the Coat of your Son?* The Pope had nothing to reply, but that the Treatment they shewed to that Prelat was just, since he had quitted the Militia of *Jesus Christ*, to follow that of the World.

Death of the Emperour *Henry*. As he had manifested himself as rude an enemy to the Popes as his Predecessors; and besides, was very odious for his cruelties; *Innocent* III. strongly opposed the Election of *Philip* his Brother, excommunicating all his Adherents, and stood up for *Otho*, Son of the Duke of *Saxony*, and a Sister of *Richards*, who was Crowned at *Aix la Chapelle*: so that there was a Schism in that Empire, which had often occasioned one in the Church. The King of *England*, the Earl of *Flanders*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Coleu* supported *Otho*, and King *Philip* on the contrary made a League with his Rival.

The same year died in the City of *Acre*, or *Acon*, the generous *Henry*, Earl of *Champagne*, Titular King of *Jerusalem*; his Nephew *Thibault*, or *Theobald* III. of that Name, Earl of *Blain*, inherited those Lands he had in *France*, in prejudice of his Uncles two Daughters. The eldest was named *Alix*, and was Queen of *Cyprus*, and by her was born a Daughter of the same Name, whom we shall find making War against *Thibault* IV. The Second was called *Philippa*, who was Married to *Erard de Brienne*.

These bloody and obstinate Wars, the particulars whereof cannot be brought within the compass of an Abridgement, caused much mischief in *France*: but the greatest was, that *Philip* grew extremely covetous, and became too greedy in heaping up Treasure, under pretence of the necessity of raising and maintaining great numbers of standing Forces; which are truly very proper to make Conquests, and new Acquisitions; but sometimes become oppressiv to the Subjects, and destructive to the Laws of the Land.

As he was the First of the Kings of *France* that kept Men in pay, and would have Soldiers always ready, to employ them in what he pleased; he set himself likewise upon making great exactions upon the People, ransoming or taxing the Churches, and recalling the *Jews*, who were the introducers of Usury and Imposts. But, however he was very frugal, and retrencht himself as much as possible, knowing and considering that a King who hath great designs, ought not to consume the substance of his Subjects in vain and pompous expences.

At the end of two years War, the Pope by his intercession, procured a Five years truce between the two Kings: during which, *Richard* as covetous of Money as he was proud, having intelligence that a Gentleman of *Limousin* had found a vast Treasure, and carried it into the Castle of *Chalus*, he went presently and besieged him: he was wounded there with a Cross-bow; and his debauchery having envenom'd his wound, he died of it the Eleventh day of *April*, in this year 1199.

He had introduc'd the use of Cross-bows in *France*; before that time, Sword-men were so generous and brave, that they would not owe their Victory but to their Lances or Swords: they abhor'd those treacherous weapons, wherewith a coward sheltered or conceal'd, may kill a valiant Man at a distance, and thorough a hole.

He had no Children, therefore the Kingdom of *England* and the Duchy of *Normandy*, belonged of right to young *Arthur* Duke of *Bretagne*, as being the Son of *Gefroy* his Brother, elder then *John*, without Land: but *John* having seized the Money, gained *Richards* Forces, and stept into the Throne.

In the mean while the Earl of *Flanders* with his Allies, regained the Cities of *Aire*, and *St. Omers*. It hapned that the Kings party took his Brother *Philip*, Earl of *Namur*, and *Peter*, Bishop Elect of *Cambray*. The King refusing to release this last, the Popes Legat puts the Kingdom of *France* under a prohibition; so that after three Months time he was constrained to set him free.

The day of the *Ascension*, in the year 1200. Peace was concluded at a solemn Conference between the two Kings, between *Vernon* and *Andeley*. It was warranted by Twelve Barons on either part, who made oath to take up Arms against him that should break it: and moreover, confirmed by the Marriage of *Blanche*, Daughter of *Alfonso* VIII. King of *Castille*, and *Alienor*, Sister to King *John*, with *Lewis* the eldest Son of *Philip*; to whom King *John*, in favour of this Alliance, yielded up all the Lands and Places which the *French* had taken from him.

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* Or *Ingen-
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name her *Bo-
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*Alexis Ange-
lus*, and
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Duke of *Sax-
ony*, R. 21
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Each had a care to secure his Partisans, *John* was oblig'd to receive his Nephew *Arthur* into favour, who did homage to him for his Dutchy of *Bretagne*, but yet remained with *Philip*. Reciprocally *Philip* pardon'd *Renald* Earl of *Boulagne*, and some while after Treated the Marriage between his Son of his own name, whom he had by his Queen *Agnes*, and that Earls Daughter.

Since the repudiation of *Ifemburge* of *Denmark*, King *Philip* had kept her in a Convent at *Soissons*; and at three years end, that is, *Anno* 1196, he had espoused *Mary-Agnes*, Daughter of *Bertold*, Duke of *Merania* and *Dalmatia*. Pope *Celestine* III. upon the complaints of King *Canut*, Brother of the Divorc'd Lady, had Commissioned in the year 1198. two Legats to take cognisance of this Affair, who had assembled a grand Council at *Paris*, of the Bishops and Abbots of the Kingdom: but all those Prelats, being partly terrify'd, and some corrupted, durst give no Sentence, and the Legats were suspected to favour the Cause of *Agnes*. Afterwards the Holy Father more importunately desired to do Justice, had sent two more; One of them in the month of *Decemb.* in the year 1199. having called the Prelats of *France* to *Dijon*, notwithstanding the Appeal interjected by *Philip* to the Pope, pronounced Sentence of prohibition upon all the Kingdom, in presence, and by consent of all the Bishops; and nevertheless that he might have leisure enough to get away into some place of safety, he was willing it should not be publish'd till twenty days after *Christmasts*.

He had reason to fear *Philip's* anger. In effect, it burst out with fury against all his Subjects; against the Ecclesiasticks first whom he believ'd to be all accomplices in this injury: for he drove the Bishops from their Sees, cast the Canons out of their Churches, put the Curats from their Parishes, and confiscated and plundered all their Goods; Then against the Laity, vexing and loading the Citizens with new Imposts, and unheard of Exactions, tiercing, or thirthing the Gentry, that was, taking away Thirds of their Revenues, and of all their Goods, which had never been heard of in *France*.

The Interdiction lasted Seven Months: during this time, *Philip* solicited the Pope so earnestly, that he gave order to his Legats to take it off, upon condition he should take *Ifemburge* again, and in six Months, six Weeks, six Days, and six Hours, he would have the Cafe of her Divorce decided by his two Legats, and the Prelats of the Kingdom; the Friends and Relations of that Princess being assigned to defend her.

The Assembly was held at *Soissons*, by *Ifemburge's* choice, King *Canut* sent the ablest people in his Kingdom to sollicite and plead her Cause. After twelve days juggling and proceeding, *Philip* had intimation that Judgment would be against him; he goes one fair Morning to fetch *Ifemburge* from her House, and setting her up on Horse-back behind him, carries her thence, having order'd notice to be given to the Legat, not to give himself so much trouble about examining whether the Divorce he had Decreed were good or not, since he owned it, and would have her for his Wife. Nevertheless he used her but little better then before, nor did shew any more kindness, besides some little Civilities to her.

Before the years end, *Agnes* her Rival died, having been five years with the King. She had two Children by him, One Son and One Daughter, whom Pope *Innocent* III. Legitimated.

Died likewise *Thibauld* Earl of *Champagne*, who had then only One Daughter, a Minor. The King would have the * Guardianship-Noble: but soon after the death of *Thibauld*, his Wife was brought to bed of a Post-humus Son, who had his Fathers Name, and the Surname of *Great*. The Daughter lived not long after the birth of the Posthume.

In those times Usury and Uncleanness Reigned bare-faced in *France*; God raised up two great and virtuous Men, *Fulk*, Curate of *Neuilly* in *Brie*, and *Peter de Roucy* a Priest in the Diocess of *Paris*, to Preach against these Vices, with so much power and efficacy, that they reclaimed a great many Souls from those Sins and Follies.

Now it hapned, that a few Months before the death of *Thibauld*, *Fulk*, who had this gift of perswading People to what he approved, by his earnest Exhortations, knowing there was to be a great meeting of Princes, Lords and Gentlemen, at a Tournament or Jests, at the Castle d'*Ecris*, between *Braye* and *Corbie*, went thither, and exhorted them so earnestly and effectually to undertake the voyage to the Holy Land; that the Earls *Baldwin* of *Flanders*, *Henry d'Anguien* his Brother, *Thibauld* de *Champagne*, *Louis* de *Blois* his Brother, *Simon* de *Montfort*, *Gautier*, or *Gualtier* de *Brienne*, *Matthew* de *Montmorency*, *Stephen* du *Perche*, and several other Lords * Crossed themselves: nevertheless they could not set forwards till two years after.

The

The reconciliation between the two Kings, seemed perfect and sincere. This year they conferr'd at *Andeley*. Nay, *Philip* had the the King of *England* with him to his City of *Paris*, and Treated him with all the magnificence, and all the demonstrations of friendship he could desire.

But *John* had begun to contrive his own unhappiness, by casting off his Wife *Avice* or * *Avoise*, Daughter of the Earl of *Glocestre*, to Marry *Isabel*, only Daughter of *Aymar* Earl of *Angoulesme*, and *Alix* of *Courtenay*, whom he ravished from *Hugh* le *Brun*, E. rl de la *Marche*, to whom she was affianced.

From that time, the said Lord sought all manner of ways to revenge himself for that injury. He began to hold private intelligence with *Philip*, he endeavour'd to make an insurrection in *Poitou*; and *Rodolph* his Brother, Earl of *Eu*, began to commit Hostilities on the skirts of *Normandy*. *John* chastised them for their Rebellion, by depriving them of their Lands, especially some Castles in the County d'*Eu*. They make address to the King of *France* their Sovereign Lord, and demand Justice of him.

Upon this difference, the two Kings saw one another near *Gaillon*; where *Philip* who had laid his design; spake high, and summon'd *John* to appear in his Court, that right might be done, not only upon the complaint of *Hugh*, but likewise of Prince *Arthur*, who demanded *Maine*, *Anjou*, and *Touraine*.

The Earl of *Flanders* and the other Lords that had taken the Cross, departed for the Holy Land; and as in those times there were but few Vessels upon the coasts of *Provence*, they had taken their way by *Venice*, where they hop'd to find a great many well fitted; and there *Thomas* I. Earl of *Savoy*, and *Boniface*, Marquis of *Montferrat* joyned them. But the *Venetians* would not furnish them with Vessels, till they had first employ'd their Arms to recover the Cities of *Sclavonia*, especially that of *Zara* for the Republicque, from whom they had withdrawn themselves to own the King of *Hungary*; which retarded them above a year in those parts.

In the year 1195. *Isaac Angelus*, Emperour of the East had been deprived of his Empire, his Sight, and his Liberty, by his own Brother *Alexis*. And the Son of that *Isaac* likewise named *Alexis*, had made his escape into *Germany*, flying to *Philip* of *Serbia* * pretended Emperour, who had Married his Sister. This young Prince having notice, that there was an Army of the Cross'd at *Venice*, went thither to implore their assistance. Several difficulties hindred them from going into the Holy Land; besides the *Venetians* hoped to find it better for their purpose to make a War in *Greece*, because the spoil and plunder promised more gain, and seemed more certain to them; and more-over, all the *Latine* Christians were ravish'd to meet with this occasion and opportunity, to revenge the Treachery and Outrages the *Greeks* had practis'd since the beginning of the Holy War. They concluded therefore to turn their Arms that way, upon condition the young *Alexis* would defray the charges of their expedition, allow them great rewards, and submit the *Greek* Church to the Obedience of the Pope.)

To provide for the expences of his War, King *Philip* endeavour'd to accustom the Clergy to furnish him with Subsidies; and they excused themselves upon their Liberties, and for that it was not lawful to employ the Moneys belonging to the Poor in profane uses: they only promis'd to assist him with their Prayers to God. Now it hapned that the Lords de *Coucy*, de *Retel*, de *Rosey*, and several others went and pillag'd, and invaded their Lands; they fly to the King for protection, who in their own coin, assisted them with his Prayers to those Lords: but as they understood one another, they proceeded to worse dealing. Then the Prelats redoubled their intreaties, and besought him to employ his Forces; to which he replied, that Soldiers could not be kept without Money. They soon understood what he desired, and the mischief pressing hard upon them, they were constrain'd to give, and immediately the Lords desisted from plundering.

In the interim, *John* King of *England* summon'd for three several times, to answer the accusation in King *Philip's* Court, endeavour'd to gain time, and made all delays. But *Philip* finding himself strong in Men, and provided with Money, having no counter-poise in his Kingdom, because he held in his own hands the *Garde-noble* of the potent House of *Champagne*, and the Earl of *Flanders* was gone into the *Levant*; had resolv'd to push on against him. He therefore gave some Forces to Prince *Arthur*, to pursue his Right, having before betrothed his Daughter *Mary* to him. At the same time he entred upon *Normandy*, where he forced five or six places; and received the most considerable Lords of the Countrey into favour, amongst the rest, *Hugh* de *Gournay*, and the Earl of *Alençon*, who assured him of their Service and their Towns.

1201.

* *Hawoise*.

1201.

1201.

* *Suabe*, or *Swaben*.

1191.
and the following.

Arthur

1199.

1200.

1200.

* *Garde-noble*; or *Wardship*.

1120.

* Or put on the badge of the Cross.

1201. Arthur on his side attacks Poitou, the Earls de la Marche, and d'Eu, Gefroy de Luzignan and their friends being joyned with him. His Grand-Mother Alienor had put her self into Mirebeau; he besieges her there: King John hastens thither with so much diligence, that he surprizes him one fair Morning napping in his Bed, takes him prisoner, and sends him to the Castle of Falaise.

1202. Normandy and Poitou being shaken in this manner, comes a Legat from the Pope, who ordains the two Kings to assemble the Bishops and Lords of their Countreys, and by their Consultations, put an end to these Disputes. John would readily have consented to this Order, but Philip who was not willing to give over so fair a Game, obliged his, who were assembled at Mantes, to throw in an Appeal from the Sentence of the Legat to the Pope himself, which was to gain time, and continue his progress.

1202. The respect for Queen Alienor had still with-held King John from staining his hands in the Blood of the unfortunate Arthur: Soon after her death, he caused him to be brought to the Castle of Rouen (he kept his Court in that City: and in a very obscure night he drew him forth from thence, and led him to such a place, that afterwards he was never seen.

It being justly presum'd that he had murder'd him. Constance, the Mother of that young Prince, demanded Justice of King Philip for that parricide committed in his Territory, and upon the person of one of his Vassals. He caused John therefore to be summoned before his Peers or Pairs; where not appearing, nor sending any to excuse him, he was by judgment of that Court, Condemned, as attainted and convicted of Parricide and Felony, to lose all the Lands he had in France, which should be confiscated and forfeit to the Crown, and all such as should defend them, reputed Guilty de Lese-Majestatis.

1203. In prosecution, or rather execution of this Decree, Philip partly by force, partly by intelligence, took from him this year, almost all the higher, or upper Normandy, whilst this unworthy lazy Man, pass'd away the time with his Wife at Caen, as if all had been in a profound Peace.

We may imagine that if he would have taken some care of his Affairs, Philip could not so easily have conquer'd so many places, since the single Castle de Gaillard near Andeley, situate on a Rock, both very high and steep on all sides, endured a Five months Siege: but both Heaven and Earth had declar'd against him, his friends betray'd him, his Subjects became unfaithful, and he meanly abandon'd himself.

1204. The following year Philip made himself Master of all the Cities of the Lower Normandy, almost without a blow. Rouen it self, which was the Capital of the whole Province, environ'd with a double Wall, and very affectionate to her natural Dukes; After a Siege of forty days, being informed by the Deputies sent to King John, that no Relief or assistance could be had from him, surrendered to the Conquerour, upon condition he should maintain the Citizens in their Franchises and Privileges: which he agreed to, and they obtained Letters, or a Charter to secure it; a precaution as feeble against an absolute Power, as Paper is against Steel.

1204. Two or three other places which yet defended themselves, follow'd the example of Rouen; and so it was that in less than three years he gained all Normandy, which had had Twelve Dukes of that Nation (whereof John was the last) who had Govern'd them about Three hundred and sixteen years.

At the same time William des Roches who had quitted John's party to joyn with Philip, secured the Counties of Anjou, du Maine, and de Touraine; and Henry Clement, Marechal of France, conquer'd all Poitou for him, excepting only Niort, Tonnais, and Rochel.

1205. The next year the King himself having gotten a great Train of Artillery, forced the Castle des Loches, and some places that remained in the hands of the English in Touraine.

1203. The French and the Venetians sailing to Constantinople with only 28000 Men, forced the Harbour, and afterwards the City, though there were above Threescore thousand Fighting Men there, deliver'd Isaac out of prison, and caused the young Alexis his Son to be Crowned. The Tyrant Alexis and his Brother-in-law Theodorus Lascaris having made their escape over the Walls, retir'd to Adrianople.

1204. Whilst this Army of the Cross wintered about Constantinople, and Isaac and his Son endeavour'd to make good what they had promis'd them for their reward; the people upon whom they Levied very great sums of Money, mutined, One certain Alexis Ducas, surnamed Murzuffle, Great Master of the Wardrobe to young Alexis headed the

the sedition, seized on that Prince, whilst Isaac was in his last Agonic, and strangled him with his own hands. Then caused himself to be Declared Emperour, and went forth with the City Militia against the aforesaid Army, but they were presently beaten back, Constantinople besieg'd, and within Sixty days taken by Storm, swimming in Blood, and a great part consumed by Fire.

The Conquerours gave power to Twelve of the chief amongst themselves, to elect an Emperour, upon condition, That if he were a French man, the Patriarch should be a Venetian, and so on the contrary. The intrigues of the Venetians, for whose interest, Boniface Marquis of Montferrat was not so convenient, though he seemed most worthy of the Empire, manag'd it so, that the Electors conferr'd it upon Baldwin Earl of Flanders, and the Patriarchat upon Thomas Morosini a Venetian.

After they had settled things in order within the City, they easily conquer'd all what the Grecian Empire possess'd in Europe, and formed several Principalities there, of which the Marquis de Montferrat, who married Isaac's Widow, had Thessaly for his share, with the Title of a Kingdom: upon which condition he gave up the Island of Candia to the Venetians. The Grecian Princes preserved Asia to themselves, where they established divers Sovereignties, Theodorus Lascaris attired himself with Imperial Robes at Nicea in Bithynia, and had the largest Dominion for extent. Of the Family of the Comnenes, Michael had part of Epirus, David Heraclea, Ponicus and Paphlagonia; and Alexis his Brother the City of Trebisond on the Pontus-Euxinus.

There was the Empire of Trebisond formed, which still remained separate and distinct from that of Constantinople, till the Turks devoured both the one and the other.

Baldwin enjoy'd not the Empire two years; for going to besiege Adrianople, Joanitz, or Caloian King of Bulgaria, coming to assist the Greeks, drew him into an Ambuscade, made him prisoner, and having carried him into Bulgaria, cut off his Arms and Legs, and cast him into a Precipice, where he languish'd for three days. It was thus given out; but many are of opinion that he escaped from that imprisonment. However it were, his Brother Henry succeeded him in the Empire. He left two Daughters, the eldest Married Ferrand, Brother of Sancho, King of Portugal, who by this means was Earl of Flanders, the youngest had Children by Bouchard d'Avesnes.

King John not attributing his misfortunes to his crime, his cowardize or sloth, but to the ill-will of his English Subjects, particularly the Clergy who had not assisted him in his necessities, sets himself upon molesting and vexing them by all manner of exactions.

Guy de Tonnais who Govern'd Bretagne, being Husband to the Dutches's Constance, had turned to Philips party, and assisted him not a little in his late Conquests. He had likewise brought over to him the Vicount Tonnais his Brother: but this year both of them were at variance with him. Guy would Canonize himself in Bretagne, the King begirts him in Nantes, and compels him to return again to his Service; how-ever, the Vicount remained for the English Interest.

That King having Levied vast sums of Money, and a powerful Army in England, comes and Lands at Rochel: the Vicount Savary de Maulcon, and some other Lords joyn with him; Philip finding himself too weak, contents himself only with providing and strengthening his Towns in Poitou with all speed, and then retires to Paris. John marches into Anjou, takes Angers, dismantles it, and presently after, remembering that it was his Ancestors native City, causes the Walls to be rebuilt.

At the same time there were some Bretons, who seizing upon the Promontary de Garplic, built a Fort there, to favour the approaches of the English upon those Shallows.

These were all the Effects of the great Prowess of King John; for being soon tir'd, he caused a Truce to be propounded, by the interposition of the Pope, who threatned Excommunication in case of refusal. Philip agrees it for two years, against the opinion of the French Lords, who proffer'd him all assistance, and engaged not to forsake him, although the Pope should proceed against him by censures.

"The two contenders for the German Empire, Otto and Philip had agreed, An. 1207. in such sort, that Otto who had the approbation of the Pope, but was the weaker, should leave the Empire to Philip, whom if he hapned to die with-

Emp.
Baldwin and
Otto.
1204.

1205.

Emp.
Henry the
Brother of
Baldwin and
Otto.
1205.

1206.

1208.

"out Children, *Otho* should succeed him, and in the interim Marry his Daughter. "Now this year *Philip* being Murthered in his Sick Bed by *Otho* Palatine of *Viel-spak*, the Empire fell to his Competitor, who the following year went into *Italy*, "and was Crowned at *Rome*. Immediately after he had a quarrel with the Pope, about some Enterprize upon the Lands belonging to the Church, and those belong- "ing to *Frederick* King of *Sicily*, Feodary to the Holy See, for which he was Ex- "communicated, *An*, 1210.

He was elect-
ed at the age
of 35 years.

* *Moines de*
Cîteaux.

Innocent III. was then Pope, a Prelat of great courage, rare merit, and who be-
ing in the strength of his age, was stirring in every place, and concern'd himself in
every thing, driving all things to the height, where he met with a weak or divided
party. *England* made an unhappy Experiment. King *John* being absolutely resolv'd
not to accept of Cardinal *Stephen Langton* for Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, whom the
* White Friars had Elected to the Popes liking, but without the Kings consent, and
the Pope standing stiffly up to maintain and justify this Election, the contest grew
so hot, that the Pope sends to three of the *English* Bishops, a Sentence of Interdi-
ction to be laid upon the whole Kingdom. *John* was so enrag'd, that he confisc-
ated the Estates of all the Clergy, and resolv'd utterly to abolish Episcopacy in
the Nation, Commanding them immediately to depart; and to secure himself a-
gainst any personal effects of the Excommunication, wherewith he was threatned,
he took Hostages of the Towns and Nobility.

The Pope not being able to reduce the Hereticks of *Languedoc*, who had almost
gained the whole Province, falls upon *Raimond* Earl of *Toulouse*, because he was
their chief promoter and encourager, and had caused one of his Legats to be
massacred; it was *Peter de Chasteau-neuf*, a Monk of *Cîteaux*, or White Fryer, and
the First that exercised the Inquisition. He Excommunicated that Earl, Absolv'd his
Subjects of their Oath of Fidelity, and gave his Lands to the first Occupier, but
without prejudice to the right of the King of *France* his Sovereignty.

Such an apprehension seized on the Earl, that being come to *Milon* the Popes
Legat at *Valence*, he intirely submitted; gave up eight places of strength to the
Roman Church to perpetuity, as a pawn of his Conversion; and the following year
to obtain Absolution, suffred himself to be scourged with Rods at the Gate of
St. Giles's Church, where *Peter de Chasteau-neuf* lay buried, and thence dragg'd to
that Friars Tomb by the Legat, who put the Stole about his Neck, in presence of
Twenty Arch-Bishops, and an infinite multitude of People. After which he like-
wise cross'd himself, or put on the badge of the Cross, and joyned the next year
with those that took his, and the Towns of his Allies.

It was not his penitence that humbled him to undergo so horrible a shame;
it was the fear he had of a dreadful storm, just ready to break and fall upon
his Head. For the Pope having turned that fervent Zeal which animated the Peo-
ple so much, to go in defence of the Holy Land, had this very year order'd a
Croisade to be Preached against the *Albigenses*, and many Lords, Prelats, and
great numbers of common People, had list'd themselves in this Militia; the
King himself set out Fifteen thousand Men, that were to be maintain'd at his own
charge.

"These bore the Cross upon their Breast, to distinguish them from such as
went to the Holy Land, who wore that badge upon their Shoulder.

"Amongst these Heretiques, there were some whom they called the Poor, others
"who named themselves the Humbled. The First made profession of an Evange-
"lical poverty; the Second undertook to Preach wherever they came. To con-
"tradict or countermine these, two Religious Orders were instituted: viz. The
"Friars *Mineurs* or *Cordeliers*, and the Preaching Friars, or *Jacobins*. The First
"Foundation of that was laid in *Italy* by *St. Francis d'Assise*; of the other in *Lan-*
"guedoc by *St. Dominique* of the Noble Family of the *Guzmans* in *Spain*, and Can-
"non of *Osma*, who came into this Province with a Bishop, to Convert the *Al-*
"bigenses.

King *Philip* would have been himself in this Expedition, or would have sent his
Son; (for these Sectaries had committed some Hostilities in his Territory, ac-
knowledging his Enemy King *John*) had he not feared a Landing of the *English*
in *Bretagne*, under favour of the Fort du Garpie. He went not therefore beyond
the *Loire*, but Commanded the Nobility that held of him to arm themselves, and
take that Fort, as in truth they did this year.

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The Bishops of *Orleans* and *Auxerre* who had been sent thither with their Vassals
upon this Expedition, being return'd again without leave, pretending not to be
oblig'd to march with the Army but when the King was there in Person: the King
commanded their Regalia to be seized, that is to say, what they held in Fief of him,
not their Tithes, Offerings, and other dues necessarily belonging to People of that
Function. They made complaint, by their Envoys, to Pope *Innocent* III. then went
themselves. The Pope having examined the matter, found they had failed and
transgressed against the Customs and Laws of the Kingdom, so that they were fain
to pay a Mult to the King to re-enter upon their Temporals.

The number of these New-Cross'd Soldiers were not less then 500000 Men,
(not all Combatans as I believe) amongst whom there were five or six Bishops; the
Duke of *Burgundy*, the Earls of *Nevers*, *St. Poll*, and *de Montfort*. The general
Rendezvous was at *Lyons* about the Feast of *St. John*. Thence going into *Languedoc*,
they assault the City of *Bezierr*, one of the strongest held by the *Albigenses*, forced
it, and put all to the edge of the Sword, there being slain above threescore thousand
Persons. Those in *Carcaffonne* terrified with this horrible Slaughter, surrendered upon
Discretion, thinking themselves very happy to escape naked, or only in their Shirts.)

The Lords in this Army having called a Council, elected *Simon* Earl of *Montfort*,
chief Commander in this War, and to govern the Conquests they had and should
make upon those Hereticks. That done, the Earl of *Nevers* returned with a great
Party of those Soldiers, and soon after the Duke of *Burgundy* with another; so that
Simon was left ill attended, yet he maintained himself by a more then Heroick Va-
lour, and Conquer'd *Mirepoix*, *Pamiers* and *Alby*. In so much as in a little time he
made himself Master of the *Albigois*, the Counties of *Bezierr* and *Carcaffonne*, and
above an hundred Castles.)

"In these times, the School at *Paris* flourish'd more then ever. They gave it the
"name of University, because all sorts of Sciences were univerally taught there, al-
"though in effect the desire to Study or Learn, and the affluence of Scholars were
"much greater then their Doctrine. A certain Priest of the Diocefs of *Chartres*
"named *Almaric*, beginning to Preach up some Novelties, had been forced to recant,
"for which he died of grief. Several after his Death following his Opinions were
"discover'd and condemn'd to the Fire, he Excommunicated by the Council of *Paris*,
"his Body taken out of the Grave, and his Ashes cast on the Dunghil. And because
"they believ'd the Books of *Aristotles* *Metaphysicks* lately brought them from *Con-*
"stantinople, had fill'd their heads with these Heretical Subtilties, the same Council
"prohibited either the keeping or reading them upon pain of Excommunication.

Guy Count d' *Auvergne* for the violence and injustice he committed against the
Clergy, particularly the Bishop of *Clermont* whom he had imprison'd, was deprived
of his County by King *Philip*, and could never be restor'd again.

The Emperor *Otho* grew stubborn in the defence of the Rights of the Empire,
and prepared to go into *Italy* wholly to subdue it with a mighty Army, which he
raised with the Money his Nephew King *John* had sent him, upon condition that
from thence he should fall upon *France*. Thereupon he was thunder-struck with Ex-
communication by Pope *Innocent*; and a little after a great part of the *German*
Princes elected *Roger-Frederick* II. Son of the Emperor *Henry* VI. about the Age of
Seventeen years, and who in his Fathers Life-time had already been named King of
the *Romans*. The Pope consented to this Election, and the following year *Frederic*,
who was then in his Kingdom of *Sicily*, passed into *Germany*.

Every other while there came new Bands of Soldiers of the Cross to the Earl *de*
Montfort, even from *Flanders* and *Germany*, but slipt away again within six weeks or
two Months. With these Recruits he carried all the Places and Castles not only of
the Hereticks, but likewise of other Lords. The King of *Arragon*, of whom divers
in those Countries held their Lands in Under-Fiefs because of some Lordships he was
possessed of, wrote to the Pope about it, and the Earl of *Toulouse* went even to *Rome*
to make his Complaints, where his Holiness receiv'd him well enough, and promis'd
him Justice.

But at his return they propounded an Agreement with *Montfort*, if he would let
him have all he had already taken. He could never consent to it, and *Milon* the
Popes Legat Excommunicated him in the Council of *Avignon*, because he levied cer-
tain new Tolls upon his Lands. The King of *Arragon*, came in Person to another
Council which was held at *St. Gilles*, to endeavour to accommodate Affairs, and
restore

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restore the Earl of *Foix* and the Vicount *de Bearn* who were dispossest as favourers of Hereticks : but he could not obtain any thing.

1211. The *Toulouzain*, after so many mean and ruinous Submissions, takes the Bit in his Teeth and puts himself in a posture to defend his own. Then is he openly Excommunicated, and his Lands exposed to any that could Conquer them. *Montfort* besieges *Toulouze*, but the grand Recruits that were come with him stealing away in a little time, he is forced to raise the Siege. The Earls of *Toulouze* and *de Foix* with their Confederates pursue him and besiege him in *Chasteauneuf*; a thing incredible, above 50000 Men could not overpower or force three hundred, are beaten and shamefully retreat.

1211. The young Princes *Frederick II.* and *Lewis* eldest Son of King *Philip*, delegated by his Father, Confer at *Vaucoeurs* upon the Frontiers of *Champagne*, to renew the Alliance between *France* and the Empire, and to unite themselves more closely against *Otho* and against King *John* his Uncle, two irreconcilable Enemies.

* Or *Reynold*. *Renauld* * Earl of *Boulogne* had served *Philip* very well since his Reconciliation, and had likewise been very well recompenc'd, by a great deal of good Land bestow'd upon him in that Country. Nevertheless the King suspecting him of holding Correspondence with the King of *England*, demands his strong Holds of him; and upon his refusal to deliver them, he attacks them, and press'd upon him so briskly that he durst not defend them, but went away to the Earl of *Bar* his Kinsman, and from thence to *Flanders*.

1212. Although King *John* had been Excommunicated the precedent year by the Popes Legat, he scoff'd at those Censures. But he was hugely astonished when he understood, that by a more terrible Sentence the Pope had absolv'd his Subjects of their Allegiance, and expos'd his Kingdom as a Prey, and that King *Philip* made great preparations to invade it, having already a prodigious number of Vessels ready at the mouth of the *Seine*.

The Legat by secret Informations increases his fears, and disturbs him to that height as he promises to make his Kingdom hold of the Holy See, and to pay a thousand Mark of Silver as a yearly Tribute, besides the *Peter-Pence*.

When the Legat had wire-drawn all he desired from him, he tries to persuade *Philip* to waive his Enterprize : but he was too far engag'd in Honour and Expence to break off so.

1213. All the Lords of the Kingdom in a Parliament held at *Soissons* the Morrow after Palm-Sunday, had promis'd to assist him with their Lives and Fortunes. There was only *Ferrand* * Son of *Sancho I.* King of *Portugal*, Earl of *Flanders* that refused to accompany him in this Expedition, unless he would restore the Cities of *Aire* and *St. Omer* which he had gotten from him, to have his consent that he might Marry the Heiress of *Flanders* who was the eldest Daughter of *Baldwin V.*

* Or *Ferdinand*.

The King thought that his approach might bring him back to his Duty, when he should see him on those Coasts ready to Embarque. Therefore when he was at *Boulogne*, he sent him order to come and meet him at *Graveline* : The Earl made them wait for him, but he appeared not : so that the King resolv'd before he took Shipping to put him in a Condition not to be able to hurt him.

1213. The Towns of *Ipres*, *Cassel*, and all the Country to *Bruges* submitted to his Sword, His Naval Force consisting of One thousand seven hundred Sail, having cast Anchor at *Dam*. While the greatest part were in the Road with scarce any Men, comes the *English* Fleet Commanded by the Earls of *Boulogne* and *Salisbury*, (who took and sunk a great many, and laid Siege to the place. *Philip* decamping from before *Ghent*, routs those they had sent on shoar and slew two or three thousand. Nevertheless they keeping the Seas, and his Vessels not being able to get out without falling into their hands, he took out all their Furniture, and caused them all to be burnt, and the City of *Dam* afterwards.)

1213. Then having wasted and plundered the Territory of *Bruges*, squeezed great Sums of Money from those Citizens, as likewise from the Inhabitants of *Ghent* and *Ipres*, sack'd and dismantled *L'Isle*, he left his Son *Lewis*, and *Gaucher* Count *de Saint Pol* in that Country with a strong Body of Horse, and Garisons in the Cities of *Doway* and *Tournay* only.

When he was retir'd out of *Flanders*, the Earl *Ferrand* re-entred, and soon Master'd *Tournay* and *L'Isle* which *Lewis* was beginning to repair, as in revenge *Lewis* sack'd and burnt *Courtray*. *Philip* for the second time goes into *Flanders* to secure his Conquests; and presently *Ferrand* withdraws : but as soon as *Philip* was gone, *Renauld* Earl of *Boulogne* took the Field with some Forces he brought out of *England*; But without

without doing any Exploit, only after he scowred about the Country once or twice, and attempted two or three Sieges in vain, he forced *Henry* Earl of *Louvain* and Duke of *Brabant*, who had Married one of the Kings Daughters to joyn with him.

On the other side King *John* landed at *Rochel* with a great Army, and having patch'd up again with the Earls *de la Marche*, *d'Eu*, *d'Angoulesme*, *de Lezignan*, and other *Poitievins* who assisted him with their Forces, crosses *Poitou*, made himself Master of some places in *Anjou*, and began to rebuild the Walls of *Angers* his Native City.

To hinder this Progress, the King recall'd his Son out of *Flanders*, and sets him in opposition. This Prince takes his head Quarters at *Chinon*, and was seconded with the Forces of *Bretagne* by *Peter de Dreux*, who this year had Married the Heiress of that Dutchy. It was *Alix* or *Alice* Daughter of the Dutchiefs *Constance* and *Guy de Tonars*.

In the mean while the *English* wrought diligently about the fortifying *Angers*, and enclosed that part towards the River of *Maine* with a Wall. His Soldiers made excursions to the very Suburbs of *Nantes* on the other side of the *Loire*, surpriz'd *Robert* the eldest Son of the Earl of *Dreux* in an Ambuscade, who was got over the Bridge to attack them, cut his Men in pieces, and made him Prisoner.

1213.

Peter King of *Arragon* having gotten into his League and under his Protection, the Earls of *Toulouze*, *de Foix* and *de Comenges*, the Vicount *de Beziers* and others whose Lands *Montfort* had usurp'd, sent his Heralds to desie him. *Montfort* had left a strong Garison in *Muret* to make waste in the Neighbourhood of *Toulouze*. This King lays Siege to it in the Month of September. (His Army consisted of an Hundred thousand Men almost : *Montfort* who was at *Castlenaudry*, having hardly drawn together a thousand or twelve hundred, got into the place. From whence making a furious Sally upon the King, who fighting so small a number, set down to eat at the beginning of the Fight, cut all his Army off, threw him on the ground, where his Throat was cut by a private Soldier, took his Royal Standard which was carried in Triumph to *Rome*, and cover'd the Field with dead Bodies, without the loss of above eight Men.)

1213.

The weighty blow of this Club made the Earl of *Toulouze* and the Inhabitants of that great City fall down at the Legats Feet; they offer'd to submit to whatever Conditions he would impose : but they could not get off with words, it was resolv'd they should be plum'd of all.

This year 1214. *France* was shrewdly attack'd by King *John*, and on the *Flanders* side by the Emperor *Otho*, and the Counts *Ferrand* of *Flanders*, and *Renauld de Boulogne* : but both in the one and the other part his Arms remained Victorious. Prince *Lewis* having drawn his Forces together at *Chinon*, march'd resolutely against King *John* who besieged the Castle *de la Roche au Moine* upon the *Loire* between *Angers* and *Nantes*. Being within a days Journey of that place, that King was frighted, repasses the River in such great haste that he left all his Warlike Engines behind, and part of his Men who were kill'd or drowned upon the Retreat. Never after durst he shew his head in any place where he knew *Lewis* could come, and abandoned all *Anjou* to him) and his new Fortifications of *Angers* which were presently demolish'd.

1214.

Before the Month was expir'd after *Lewis*'s Victory, King *Philip* his Father gained a much more signal one nigh the Village of *Bouvines* which is between *L'Isle* and *Tournay*, against the Emperor *Otho* and his Confederates. They had an Army of 150000 fighting Men, his was weaker by one half, but strengthened with the flower of the Nobility, and many Princes of the Blood, viz. *Endes* Duke of *Burgundy*, *Robert de Courtenay*, *Robert* Earl of *Dreux*, and his Brother *Philip* Bishop of *Beauvais*. The Battle was fought the 25th of July, and lasted from Noon till Night. *Guerin* Knight of the Order of *St. John* of *Jerusalem*, and a little before elected Bishop of *Senlis*, to whom the King left all things, drew up the Army in Battalia, *Matthew* Baron of *Montmorency*, *William des Barres* Seneschal to the King, *Henry* Earl of *Bar*, *Bartholomy de Roze*, *Gaucher* Count *de Saint Pol*, and *Adam* Vicount *de Melun*, had the greatest shares in the Danger and in the Victory. *Guerin* fought not with his hands, because of his Quality of Bishop, nor did *Philip* Bishop of *Beauvais* smite with the Sword, but a Wooden Club, believing that to beat out Peoples Brains was not shedding of Blood.

1214.

The King ran a great hazard in his own Person, having been beaten down, trod under the Horses Feet and wounded in the Throat : but in fine his Enemies were worsted every where, *Otho* put to flight, his great Standard, being a Dragon with

an Imperial Eagle over it, and the Chariot which bore it broken all to pieces, and five Earls, amongst whom were *Ferrand* and *Renauld*, with two and twenty Lords that carried Banners, taken Prisoners.)

The Fortune-tellers had assured the old Countess of *Flanders*, *Ferrands* Aunt, that there should happen a great Battle, that the King should be overthrown, Horses tread over him, and that *Ferrand* should enter in Triumph into *Paris*. The first part of this Prediction held good without Equivocation, the second was likewise true, but after another manner then they imagined: for indeed, they carried him into *Paris* in Triumph, but in quality of a Captive, loaden with Chains, and linked fast in a Chariot drawn by *Ferrand* Horses; that is according to the Language then used, of an Iron-grey Colour.

The *Parisians* made the King a most pompous Entrance, and Celebrated his Victory with Solemn Joy for eight days together. *Ferrand* was shut up in the Tower of the *Louvre* without the City Walls, and *Renauld* in the new Tower of *Peronne* with Shackles on his Legs, and a Chain that fastned him to a great piece of Timber. *Philip* had made a Vow in the midst of his Joy for this most happy success to build an Abby in honour of God and of the Blessed Virgin, his Son *Lewis* performed it by founding that of *Notre-Dame de la Victoire*, near *Saulx*.

The Lords of *Poitou* that had favour'd the *English*, finding that *Lewis* was Victorious, sent to tender him all manner of Submission. He would not trust to their words, but went into the Country with his Army to bring things to a full period. The Vicount de *Touars*, the most considerable of them all, obtained the Kings Pardon without much ado by the intercession of *Peter* Duke of *Bretagne*: the rest were utterly lost, and King *John* who was then in *Parthenay*, could not have avoided being taken, if he had not bethought himself of interposing the Popes Legat to demand a Truce. That power was so formidable, that the King durst not deny him, and agreed to it for five years.

1215. When that was done Prince *Louis* or *Lewis*, whether out of devotion, or jealousy of the Power of Count de *Montfort*, took up the Cross on him against the *Albigens*, and made a Voyage to *Languedoc*; *Montfort* came to *Vienne* to meet him, and the Legat to *Valence*. *Montfort* who accompanied him received Bulls from the Pope, 1215. which in Consequence of the Decree of the Council of *Montpellier* held some Months before, gave him the *Tolosian* Territories in guard or keeping, and all those other that had been Conquer'd by the Adventurers of the Cross, upon Condition to receive Investiture of the King, and render him Feodal Duty. So that we may say, the Pope named, and the King Confer'd upon his Nomination.

From thence *Lewis* was at *Montpellier*, then at *Beziers*, where he gave order the Walls of *Narbonne* and *Tolose* should be demolish'd. Mean while the *Lateran* Council, notwithstanding the pitiful Remonstrances of the Count de *Tolose*, who was there in Person with his Son, adjudged the propriety of his Lands to *Montfort*, reserving only those he had in *Provence* for his Son, and four hundred Marks of Silver yearly for his Subsistence; to be understood if they slew'd themselves obedient to the Holy See. From that time *Montfort* took on him the Quality of Earl of *Toulouse*, and came to receive Investiture from the King in the City of *Melun*.

While *Lewis* was yet in those Countries, the *English* Lords sent to offer him the Crown of *England* and demand Assistance against the Tyrannies of *John* who was Excommunicated by the Pope, and who had robb'd them of their Liberties and Priviledges, for which cause they had taken up Arms to Dethrone him. They had the City of *London* and some other places for them: nevertheless their design did not go on well, and their despair forc'd them to seek their safety by some Foreign Assistance.

1215, & 16. The Tyrant seeing his loss infallible, stuck not to abase the Dignity of his Crown to gain the Popes Protection. He satisfies him therefore, and becomes his Vassal and Tributary of a thousand Mark of Silver: but this abasement added scorn to the execration his Subjects had for him. Now the Holy Father resolv'd highly to protect his new Vassal, Excommunicated the *English*, and sent a Legat into *France* to divert *Lewis* from that Enterprize, and desired King *Philip* to put a stop to it.

Philip makes protestation of all Respect and Obedience to the Holy See, but said he could not impose upon his Son that necessity not to pursue the Rights of his Wife, who was Niece to King *John*. So that *Lewis* accepted the Crown of *England*, and landed with a great Equipage in the Isle of *Thanet*, thence went to *London*, where he was solemnly Crowned.

John being excluded from his Capital City retired to *Winchester*, and by his flight gave him full leisure to receive the Hommage of all the Nobility and secure all about *London*. The Legat not being able to put a stop to *Lewis* by any Arguments or Persuasions, Excommunicated him and all his Adherents, but he appeal'd to the Pope, (they had not yet found out the way of appealing to the Councils) and notwithstanding goes on and reduces *Sussex*, and all the Southern parts, excepting *Windsor* and *Dover*.

The Ambassadors pleaded his Cause earnestly at *Rome*, they shewed that *John* was justly degraded for his Tyrannies, and because he had been condemned to death for the Murder of his Nephew *Arthur* by the Pairs of *France*, and made it out that the Kingdom, since he was Excluded, belonged to his Niece the Wife of Prince *Lewis*.

Whilst they disputed their Masters Rights, he successfully employs his Sword in Conquering *Essex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*. Having reduc'd them, he returns to besiege *Dover*, his Father reproaching him for having imprudently left that place behind him.

The Pope offended at his Progress confirmed the Sentence of Excommunication against him, and although *Philip* protested he gave him neither Assistance nor Advice, profering even, if the Church did so ordain, to Confiscate his Lands: nevertheless he commanded the Bishop of *Sens* to denounce him Excommunicate likewise, and to put *France* under an Interdiction; but the *Prelats* assembled at *Melun*, declared they would not submit to that Sentence, till they were more fully informed of the Popes Intentions.

Mean while King *John* who wandred about the Country hating all his Subjects, hapned to dye by Poyson, which as it was believ'd, a Monk had given him. He left three Sons very young, *Henry*, *Richard*, and *Edmond*.

The hatred of the *Englishmen* towards him expired with his Life, and their Affection for his Son *Henry* revived, being their Natural Lord, and one whose Innocence and Tender Age called for their Compassion; so that the young Kings Affairs began to prosper, and *Lewis*'s to decline. He perceiving the *English* forlook him one after another, and his own People affrighted with the thundring Excommunications from *Rome*, inclined to make a Truce with *Henry* for some Months.

During this Suspension he returns into *France* to Consult with the King his Father, but he fearing to exasperate the Pope, refuses to see his Son, and would not Confer with him but by the interposition of others. *Lewis* upon his return into *England*, found his Enemies Party were the stronger; his Army was afterwards defeated near *Lincoln*, and he besieged in *London* after that rout.

Wherefore to free himself from farther danger, and retire with Bag and Baggage, he was forc'd to Treat with *Henry*, promising amongst other Conditions, to surrender all the places he held in *England*, to submit his Pretensions to the Judgment of the Church, to use his utmost endeavour to oblige his Father to restore all what he had taken from King *John* in *France*, and if he could not prevail, to do it then himself when he came to the Crown. Which was to promise more then he would or could perform.

Henry Emperor of *Constantinople*, and Brother to *Baldwin*, who had been so likewise, died Anno 1216. having Reigned Eleven years. *Peter de Courtenay* Earl of *Auxerre*, who Married his Sister *Isabel*, went this year from *France* to take that Crown. Passing thorough *Italy* he was Crowned at *Rome* with his Wife, took Shipping eight days after and arriv'd in *Greece*: but as he was crossing *Thessalie* having Pass-ports from *Theodorus Comnenus*, he was made Prisoner by that perfidious Man, who slew most part of those Lords that went with them, and having detained him three or four years caused him cruelly to be Murdered. *Isabel*, a Heroick Woman, govern'd the Empire two years after his death, in which time the Lords sent to profer the Empire to *Philip* Earl of *Nevers* his eldest Son, but he refused to accept it; and yielded up willingly that perilous Honour to *Robert* his younger Brother.

When young King *Henry* was fully settled in his Throne, his Council sent Ambassadors into *France* to challenge *Lewis* of his Promise, and re-demand the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and other Countries taken from his Father. They were answer'd with the Confiscation that had been ordered by the Judgment of his Pairs.

1213, 18. Whilst the Earl of *Montfort* in vain besieged the City of *Beaucaire*, Count *Raimond* brought some Forces from *Arragon*, whither he was retir'd, with which he regained several of his places, and especially *Toulouse*, which he presently fortifi'd with Intrenchments and Pallisado's. *Montfort* went and laid Siege to it, but after he had held it besieged seven whole Months, he was slain in a Sally. He had three Sons, *Amaury* who succeeded him in the Rights of his Conquests, *Guy* who was Married to *Petronella*, Heiress to the Count of *Bigorre*, as being Daughter of *Estienne*, the Daughter and Heiress of Count *Centulle*, and *Simon* Earl of *Leicester* in *England* by the Grandmother.

1219. *Amaury* was not strong enough to maintain his Conquests; the King assisted him first with Six hundred Men, then with Ten thousand Foot, who not being yet enough to compass that business, Prince *Lewis* upon the Popes earnest Request undertakes that Expedition the second time. He happily succeeded in the taking of *Marmanda* on the *Garonne*, and some other places in *Angoumois*, but not in the Siege of *Toulouse*, because his Father recalled him, fearing the Troubles that were begun in *Bretagne* might be created by the *English*, on purpose to let *France* in a greater flame.

1213, 19, and 20. The business was that the Earls *Salomon* and *Conan*, whom Duke *Peter* had unjustly thrown out of their Estates, being retir'd into the Forests, ravaged and wasted his Country with some Bandits they had got together, and at the same time the Barons revolted against him, because he would arrogate to himself the Guardianship or

* *Garde-noble*. * Wardnoble of Gentlemen's Orphan-Sons till they had attained to Twenty years of Age. They had Combined in a League, and with *Amaury* Lord of *Craon*, very potent in Friends and Alliance, who had declared War against him about a certain Castle that Duke had usurped from him. This Quarrel complicated with several Interests lasted above two years, and ended not but by a great Battle fought near *Chateau-briand*, where the Duke, much the weaker in numbers of Men gained the Victory, and made *Amaury* Prisoner. The Barons were not brought so low by this bloody loss, but they continued the War for some Months; but that was only to obtain the better Conditions.

1220, 21, and 22. The Truce with the *English* being prolong'd, *France* enjoy'd a Calm for three or four years, during which *Philip* employ'd himself about the Walling, Enlarging, Fortifying, building Bridges, making Causeys and the like conveniences in all the Cities that were of his Demeasns, or belonging to the Crown, which Expences though for the publick good, was out of his own proper Fund, not raised or exacted upon his Subjects, but paying very justly for all those Grounds and Houses belonging to private Persons which were necessary for him to have towards carrying on these Publick Works.

1222. A prodigious Comet appeared in the Heavens shortly after: and whether it were the Sign, or were the Cause, or perhaps neither the one nor the other, a Quartain Ague seized King *Philip*, which continuing and wasting him near a year's time, did in the end bring him to his Grave.

Amaury de *Montfort* had propos'd to give up all his Conquests in *Languedoc* to Prince *Lewis*: But *Philip* knowing the Constitution of his Son was too delicate and tender, could not give consent he should undertake so toylsome a War: notwithstanding the Pope and the Clergy press'd mightily to have them make an utter destruction of those Hereticks, who without any respect still aimed at their Persons and Estates principally. They had therefore at *Paris* called a grand Assembly of Prelats and Lords to compleat this business. *John* King of *Jerusalem* and the Popes Legat were Assistants, *Philip* sick as he was would needs be amongst them, and went expressly from *Chateau de Pacy* on the *Epte*, where he had diverted himself. When he arriv'd at *Mantes*, the Distemper so encreased upon him that he was forc'd to stop there, and some days after gave up the Ghost the Twenty fifth of *July* in the year 1223.

The length of his days was Fifty eight years, that of his Reign from his Coronation Forty four. His Monument is at *St. Denis*, whither his Corps was convey'd with great Ceremony. By his Will made the year before, he ordained and appointed that 50000 * *Livers*, or 25000 Mark of Silver at 40 Solz to the Mark, should be put into the hands of his Executors, to be restor'd and paid to those from whom it should appear he had detained, or unjustly taken any thing. He bequeathed likewise Ten thousand Franks * to Queen *Issemburge* to *Lewis* his Son, to employ for the defence of the Kingdom and no other use; 53500 Mark of Silver to the King of *Jerusalem*, 2000 to the Templars, and as much to the Hospitallers (of

* A *Liver* is twenty pence.

* Twenty pence, the same as a *Liver*.

St. Johns) towards the Recovery of the Holy Land, 21000 *Livers* *Paris* to the Poor, to Orphans, to Widows, and Leprous People, and 20000 to *Amaury* de *Montfort* to redeem his Wife and Children out of the hands of the *Albigois*.

He Married three Wives, *Isabella* Daughter of *Baldwin* IV. Earl of *Haynault*, *Issemburge* Daughter of *Waldemar* the Great King of *Denmark*, and *Agnes* Daughter of *Bertold* Duke of *Merania*. Of the first he had no Child remaining but Prince *Lewis* who Reign'd; by the second he had none, but he had two by *Agnes*, these were *Philip* who had the Earldom of *Boulogne*, by Marrying the Heiress, which was *Mahault* or *Matilda*, Daughter of the unfortunate *Regnault* de *Dammartin*, and *Mary* who was first joyned in Marriage Anno 1206. with *Philip* Earl of *Namur*, and afterwards Anno 1212. with *Henry* IV. Earl of *Louvain*, and Duke of *Brabant*.

He had also a Natural Son named *Peter* *Charlot*, who was Treasurer of *Tours*, and afterwards Bishop of *Noyon*.

Of all the Kings of the Third Race, he annexed most Lands to the Crown, and most Power to those that succeeded him, wresting *Normandy*, the Counties of *Anjou* and *Maine*, *Touraine*, *Berry*, and *Poitou* from *John* Without-Land: he did not a little contribute on his part towards the lessening or pulling down the Earl of *Toulouse*: and by ruining those two Princes, took away the Counterpoise that balanced his own Power in the Kingdom. After which he brought the *Grande*es more easily both to respect and fear him, and the People to bear greater Burthens and Taxes than they had done under his Predecessors. The *French* gave him the name of *Conqueror*, which *Paulus* *Emilius* has rendered in *Latin*, *Augustus*, and this seemed so proper and sounded so well to all that have written since, that they have follow'd and continued it, and have almost forgotten the other.

He was well shap'd and without any Corporal defect, excepting that one of his Eyes was half obscured by an Amblyopia, for which some *Italian* Authors * have called him One-ey'd. He was a brave Cavalier and excellent Captain, laborious and active, happy in his Enterprizes, because he undertook with Deliberation and Counsel, and executed with celerity and heat; sometimes a little Cholerick and overway'd with Passion, but bating that, a great Politician, who knew where it was fit to use Caresse, where to employ Threats, whom to Reward and whom to Punish; somewhat more enclined to Severity than Mercy; Splendid and Magnificent; highly Charitable to the Poor; zealous in doing Justice to his Subjects, and no less zealous in Religion, taking as much care to preserve the purity of Faith by rooting out all Heresie, and defend the Goods and Liberties of the Church against Usurpers, as to maintain the Rights and Honour of the Kingdom; and therefore he was respected by the Clergy and People, as the Defender of the Church, and Father of his Country.

It is to be observ'd, that in his Reign, and in his Fathers and Grandfathers, there were five great Officers of the Crown, that is the Grand-Seneschal, in *Latine* *Dapifer*, great Chamberer*, Butler, Constable, and Chancellor. I believe they were in the Kings Gift, who might both place and displace: I do not know what the Formalities were he us'd, or whether the *Grande*es and Parliament, or General Assembly of Prelats and Lords had any part in the nomination: but I know they were not perpetual, and did in some measure resemble rather Commissions then Offices; that nevertheless their Function was so necessary, that whoever held those Places, signed all Acts and Writings of importance, so that if any one of these were vacant, it was ever noted down at the bottom of such Writing or Act. The Author of the Lives of the Ministers of State, hath very curiously observed, that the Office of Constable was a Member taken from the Grand-Seneschal, and that of Great Chamberlain from the Grand Chamberer. That the Constable had no Power or Command in the Armies till about the year 1218. after *Philip* *Augustus* had long left the Office of Grand-Seneschal vacant on purpose to destroy it, as I suppose, because it had too great Power. He likewise proves very plainly, that the High-Chamberlain had the management of the Kings Treasury: and that the Office of Chancellor, was the lowest of the five great ones we have specified; till *Guerin* Knight of the Order of *St. John* of *Jerusalem*, and afterwards Bishop of *Senlis*, having that Place conferr'd on him by *Lewis* VIII. after he had held the Seal Five and twenty years together, raised it to a higher pitch of Honour and Degree then ever.

Towards the end of this Reign Families began to have fixed, certain and hereditary Surnames. The Lords and Gentlemen, took them most commonly from the names of

* *Vilany* and *Bocace*.

* *Chambrier*.

* They put down, *Vacante Cancelleria*, or *Dapifero*, *Buticario* & *mullo*.

of their Lands and Estates they had in possession; Men of Learning from the places of their Nativity, and *Jews* when they were Converted, as likewise the Wealthy Merchants from the place of their abode. As for what has given Surnames to the *Plebeians*, some had it from the colour or cut and fashion of their Hair, the habit or defects of their Bodies, from their Dress or Age, Profession, Office, or Trade; some from their good or ill Qualities, others from the Province they dwelt in, or the Town or Village where they were born. But for the most part they were called by some proper name which was current in the Family, or even some Nick-name, which descended to their Generations. Whoever shall take the pains to examine these Heads thoroughly and distinctly, will find that there are few others can be made out.

Through all this Age there were two great and cruel Evils predominant in France, but which were not new, the Leprosie and Usury: the one infecting the Bodies, the other consuming the Estates of most Families. Those that were tainted with the first were secluded from all Society, and shut up in places far distant from the Habitations of other People, but yet upon or near the greatest Roads. The number increased so fast that there was not one City or Burrough that was not forced to build some Hospital for their Retreat. They were called *Lazar-houses*, and the Leprous *Lazars*, from St. *Lazarus*, the Patron of the Poor and the Sick; whom the Vulgar by corruption called St. * *Ladre*. Now the publick Foundations, the Gifts of the Relations and Kindred of the Infected, the Alms of particular People, and with these the Immunities and Priviledges granted by the King and the Clergy to these miserable Wretches, made them live so much at their ease, that in length of time they became rather Objects of envy than of pity, at least in respect of the meaner sort of People. They were taxed of leading Lives guilty of great Disorders, and sometimes of Crimes. But when they were convicted of any they were burnt alive, that so the Fire might at the same time purifie and purge the infection both of their Bodies and Souls. I have read that there were some Men so apprehensive of this villanous, loathsome and shameful Disease, that they guelt themselves to avoid it, and be preserved from it.

Usury was very common, and yet more excessive, the *Jews* practis'd it with so much cruelty, that they did not seize upon Peoples Goods only for satisfaction, but likewise upon their Persons and reduced them to slavery. The Popes oftentimes endeavour'd to suppress them, but it was in vain: for the Princes, and especially King *Philip* upheld them, receiving Tribute from them for suffering their Exactions, and withal they had it in their power to squeeze these Blood-suckers whenever their occasions required it.

* Whence the Hospitals in French are called *Ladrecies*.

Church of the Eleventh Age.

Schismes.

Since the first Birth of the Church there had not been any Age wherein she was so much shatter'd and rent with Schisms as she was in this same. I speak not of the Schism caused by the Emperor *Henry IV.* for that was more in the preceding Age than this, though it did never end but with the Life of that Emperor, who died at *Liege*, Anno 1106. after he was unfortunately deprived of his Empire by his own Son. I must note however that his Tyrannical and Scandalous Deportment, gave a fair opportunity to *Gregory VII.* whose Life was irreprovable, and exemplary, to constitute himself his Judge, to summon him before his Tribunal upon the universal complaints of his Subjects, to Excommunicate him and depose him from his Empire, and after all this to wrest from him the disposition of great Benefices. Which seem'd the more favourable, because that Prince made a most infamous and shameful Traffick of it, giving them to the worst, and investing them with the Ring, &c. before they were Consecrated. But after this Schism there were three more, two occasioned by the Quarrels that the Emperor *Henry V.* Son of the abovenamed *Henry*, and then *Frederic II.* surnamed *Barberossa*, had with the Popes: and a third, which hapned between these two through the ambition of Cardinal *Peter Leonis*. That of *Henry V.* began in the year 1118. the Emperor having caused one *Maurice Burdin* Archbishop of *Braga* in *Portugal* to be elected, and ended Anno 1122. the Anti-Pope, named *Gregory VIII.* falling into the hands of *Calistus*, and *Henry* afterwards obtaining Absolution of that Pope. The Schism that *Frederic* caused lasted from the year 1159. under three Anti-Popes, *Ottavian*, *Guy de Crema*, and *John Abbot de Strume*, who assumed the names of *Victor IV.* *Paschal III.* and *Calistus III.* and did not cease till the year 1183. For although *Frederic* were absolv'd at *Venice*, Anno 1177. he was not fully reconciled with these Popes till six years afterwards.

The

The Schism of *Peter Leonis* began in 1139. (for in that year he got to be Elect-ed to the Papacy, concurrently with *Alexander III.* taking the name of *Anaclet* (and was extinguished Anno 11—). After his death, the Peace of the Church lasted but Seven years, and then was disturbed by the Rebellion of the City of *Rome*. *Arnauld*, Clerk of the City of *Bresse* stirred it up, in the year 1145. The people of *Rome* by his instigation, would needs shake off the Priestly yoke, and restore the ancient Republick. These disturbances ceased An. 1155. for that incendiary being expell'd the City, went to the Emperour *Frederick*, who sacrific'd him to his Interests, delivering him up to *Adrian*, who caused him to be hang'd and burnt.

During the troubles of these Schismes, and the combustions *Arnauld* promoted in *Rome*; there were Five Popes that sheltered themselves in France, *Paschal II.* An. 1106. *Gelasius IV.* An. 1118. *Innocent II.* An. 1130. *Eugenius*, An. 1147. and *Alexander III.* An. 1161. without reckoning *Calistus II.* who sojourn'd there some time after his Election, which was made at *Clugny*, An. 1119.

The Son of the unfortunate *Henry IV.* of his Fathers Name, and who had compell'd him to resign the Empire, made it plainly appear he did not rebell against him out of any zeal to Religion, since so soon as he thought himself well settled in the Throne, he began to tread in the same steps, and the very next year following 1107. he made it known to Pope *Paschal*, and the Council of *Troyes*, that he intended to enjoy the Apostolique priviledge of instituting Bishops, which he pretended had been given to *Charlemain*. This question was referr'd to a general Council, to be held at *Rome* in the year 1110. *Paschal* therefore returns: but *Henry* coming thither with an Army, seizes on his person, and forces him to Sign an agreement, wherein he allows him the investitures, obliging both him and his Cardinals by the most Sacred Oaths to observe it. All the Prelats in Europe cried out against this agreement, which by leaving such Elections in the power of Temporal Princes, caused great disorders in the Church. They held many Councils in several Provinces to damne it, Excommunicated the Emperour, and gave out, it was an Heresie to say, that Investitures could be made by the Laity, not considering that this proposition made the Pope himself an Heretique, since he had newly granted it to the Emperour.

The same question of Investitures had also troubled England; the Kings *William* and *Henry* maintaining it was a Right and Prerogative of their Crown, and in all times possessed by their Ancestors. For which cause, *Anselme* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* had lost his See; but at last that difference was compos'd, An. 1107. upon condition the King should for ever relinquish the Investitures in the Church, and that reciprocally the Bishops should render him Hommage.

This was to speak properly nothing but the changing of terms, for he that doth Hommage is a Vassal, and receives, and holds of him to whom he renders it. And indeed the Popes could have wish'd that the Bishops had not done it to Lay-Princes; and they had expressly forbid it to those in France: but the resolution King *Lewis the Gros* and his Successors shew'd in this point, oblig'd them to relaxe. They durst not at the same time contend both with this great Kingdom and Germany; they must leave some place of shelter in time of need, and besides, they did not so much trouble their Heads to lessen France, with whom they had no contests for Dominion; as to pull down the Emperours, who being very powerful in Italy, had still an aim of restoring their Imperial Throne in the City of *Rome*. Besides, France was better united, and by consequence more difficult to be subdued than the Empire, where the Subjects (as well those of Germany as those of Italy, and the Kingdom of *Arles*) being divided amongst themselves, and having all different Interests, have at length ruin'd that vast body by their Jealousies and Rebellions. It was for this reason the Popes made it their business so much to lessen that power; and it is certain, that all other Princes of Europe, growing jealous of it, as the most formidable then in being, joynd willingly with the Popes to suppress it. The defence of the Holy See, and the Authority of the Church, admitting a specious pretence to side with them. This reflection is not useless.

Now to return to our Narrative, *Henry V.* sunk under all this weight, as his Father had done before. In the beginning his Presence made things prosper in Italy: but when after various success he was driven thence, his burden was left to the mercy of *Calistus*, who confined him to a perpetual imprisonment. Then he himself tir'd with the daily Admonitions and Remonstrances from all parts, and not able to wade through the many Conspiracies and Rebellions which hourly threatned to overwhelm him, yielded the Cause at last: He utterly renounced the Investitures, and

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promised to leave the liberty of Elections to the Ecclesiasticks. This was in Anno 1122.

The scandal and persecutions which these Schismes caused in Christendom, gave occasion, in my opinion, for that false prediction which was spread abroad in those days. That the world was near its end, and the Kingdom of Antichrist was then begun. St. Norbert, and some other persons of an irreragable Sanctity, preach'd it as a most certain Truth; which was but little doubted, and begot so much terror, that Pope Paschal, who fled into France to avoid persecution, staid some time in his journey at Florence, to see what the event of this dreadful report would come to.

Soon after the agreement, Henry V. being dead without Children, the Empire was given to Lotharius Duke of Saxony, and after him to Conrad. Those two Princes left the Popes in quiet, and made no breach of Peace with them. So that there was no more fear of Schisme on that side. The Church having rested in tranquillity for eight years; began to be disturb'd again by another most dangerous division: for after the death of Honorius II. which hapned in the year 1134. two contrary Factions, or Interests, in the Sacred Colledge, elected each a Pope on the same day; One the Cardinal Gregory, who took the name of Innocent the II. The other the Cardinal Peter Leonis, who called himself Anaclet. This last had been a Monk at Clugny, a scurvy commendation for him to the Order of the Cisteaux, which was then become the most predominant in France. His Right, if examined in due form, appeared the best; but his ambitious and haughty proceeding spoil'd his Title; the great Gifts he made of things belonging to the Church, to make himself Master of Rome, gave just cause to believe there was somewhat of Simonie in his promotion, and that he deserved not the Popedom, since he bought it. Many good people were of opinion (so says John of Salisbury) that in the like contests, they ought to have owned neither of those concurrents, but have elected a Pope anew, who had not privately made any interest for the Popedom; which is of such a nature, as well as all other Benefices, that whoever bribes for it, renders himself unworthy of it. And indeed King Lewis VII. wavered for some time betwixt both parties, and assembled the Council of Estampes, to resolve him which of the two was the Legitimate. The persuasions of Henry II. King of England, had already a little inclined him towards Innocent: the Council of Estampes fully determin'd it, that Council having been satisfied by the discourses of St. Bernard, who with much zeal and vehemence, set forth the Right and Merits of that Pope. After so solemn a decision, most of the Princes in Europe declared for him; there was only Roger, Duke of Apulia, and William Duke of Aquitain, that supported Anaclet; The First, that he might have a Pope convenient for him, and more easie to be managed than his predecessors: the Second, having been perswaded by Gerard, Bishop of Angoulesme, that his Election was Canonical. It was thrown in Gerard's Teeth, that at first he had been of the contrary party; but his spleen, because he was not continued in his Legation of Aquitain by Innocent, drove him to side with Anaclet; who indeed confirmed it to him. It was one of the handfomest, and indeed most profitable employments the Court of Rome could bestow: for besides the three Aquitains, both Touraine and Bretagne were comprehended in it.

I divide Bretagne from Touraine, because the former had its Arch-Bishop apart, this was the Bishop of Dole, who since the insurrection of Neomene, took upon him to be the Metropolitan. The often reiterated complaints of the Metropolitan of Tours, and the solicitations of the Kings of France in the Court of Rome, could not obtain a Judgment in this matter for a long while: but Philip Augustus tyr'd with their long delays, prosecuted it with so much resolution, and talked so high, that Innocent III. determin'd it by a definitive Sentence, in An. 1198. which restored Dol, and the other Bishopricks of Bretagne, to the Metropolis of Tours.

We find in the Life of St. Bernard, how he withdrew Duke William from espousing the party of Anaclet, so that there was none for him but Roger Duke of Apulia, on whom Anaclet conferr'd the Title of King of Sicilia, upon condition to pay an acknowledgment of Six hundred Crowns yearly to the See of Rome. The Kingdom of Sicilia comprehended the Island so named, Apulia, Calabria, and some other neighbouring Countreys which Roger held in Italy.

Now although William Duke of Aquitain had suffer'd himself to be brought back to the Obedience of Innocent II. in the year 1135. yet Gerard nevertheless stood up obstinately for Anaclet to the end of his days; but some while after he was found dead in his Bed, horribly black, and blew, and swollen. About three years after, viz. in An. 1138. Anaclet died also; his Relations placed another Cardinal in his stead, to whom they gave the name of Victor. In fine, Innocent found it better to buy his Peace

peace of them, then to leave these Divisions smothering and smoaking any longer; and when they were agreed, Victor laid down the Tiara, and cast himself at his Feet. Notwithstanding Roger held out still some time, not owning him for Pope, because he would not own him for a King, till having taken him prisoner in War, An. 1193. he came fairly to an agreement with him, and got the Title of King confirmed to him.

Frederick I. being come to the Empire, young, haughty, and ambitious as he was, undertook to recover its dignity, to which the easiness of Pope Anastasius seemed to chalk out a way; but Pope Adrian IV. who succeeded Anastasius, resolv'd to obviate his designs, and keep him under as his dependant. Hence proceeded a mortal enmity betwixt them, which however came not to an open rupture; but made Frederick more plainly sensible that it was necessary to have a Pope at his Devotion. Adrian being dead, An. 1159. it hapned that all the Cardinals, excepting three, elected Cardinal Rowland, who took the name of Alexander III. but whilst he was shewing some kind of unwillingness to accept the Popedom, those three that were not for him, Elected immediately the Cardinal Octavian, who was named Victor. The Emperour having notice of it, favour'd him first underhand, thereby to frighten Alexander, and bring him to his bent; then openly, when he found he could not lead the other as he pleased. So he causes his Election to be authorized by the Council of Pisa, which he had call'd by his own authority, after the example of former Emperours, and employ'd all his Interest to perswade other Princes to adhere to him. The Kings of France and of England, who had been at war, having now agreed, assembled their Bishops, Abbots, and Barons; the one at Beauvais, and the other at Newmarket, to discuss the right of the two concurrents: the Legats both of the one and other side having been heard; Alexander was approved by all, and Victor Excommunicated. This hapned in the year 1161. The good Title and Right of the former was this year confirmed by a great number of miracles, as many Authors write; and yet there is one affirms likewise, that God wrought some in favour of Victor after his decease. In the mean time, this last being most powerful in Rome, Alexander seeks his refuge in France, and remained there three years: at the end whereof, his Affairs going in a better method in Italy, the Clergy and People call him back to Rome, An. 1164. To defray the Expences of his journey, he was forced to impose a Collection on the Gallican Church.

The same year Victor his Rival died in the City of Luca. Some Prelats of his Faction being assembled at the same place, gave the Popedom to one of those two Cardinals that had elected him, which was Guy de Crema. He lived five years, and deceeded An. 1170. Those of his party substituted another, I cannot tell what Abbot, not known but by his debauches; they call'd him Calistus III. and Frederick supported him, as he had done the two others.

At the same time there were great stirrs in England, King Henry stickling to preserve certain pretended Rights, which he called Customs of the Kingdom; and Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury not to suffer them, as being contrary to Ecclesiastical liberty. It would be thought strange in these days, if a Bishop should hold his Head up so high against his Prince for the like cause: but then the best of Men were perswaded, that such Liberties were the pillars of Religion. The contest lasted seven or eight years, and ended not but by the death of the Archbishop, who was murder'd in his Cathedral in the year 1170. and the Kings penitence, which was so great and so publick, that the Church was edified more by such an example, then it had been scandaliz'd by his offence.

The Emperour Frederick was not more fortunate then the two Henrys, so that being shatter'd by the Popes Thunder-bolts, and more severely yet by his ill fortune, driven out of Italy, and apprehending the sudden Revolt of Germany, he could find no other way to save himself, but to ask pardon of the Holy Father, and prostrate himself at his Feet, to gain his Absolution, which was done at Venice, in An. 1177. His Anti-Pope Calistus did as much the following year, throwing himself at the Feet of the same Alexander. Afterwards Frederick had again some Disputes with the Popes Lucius, Urban, and Clement III. of that name; but he was reconcil'd to Clement, and lived well enough with the See of Rome to the time of his death. Henry VI. his Son was Crowned by Celestine III. in the year 1191. He undertook nothing directly against the Popes, but yet he suffer'd himself to be Excommunicated, for detaining Richard King of England prisoner, and for not restoring the Money he had extorted from that Prince to purchase his liberty. He died without Absolution, Anno 1197.

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Heresies.

Let us now speak of Heresies. About the end of the Twelfth age, the opinions of one named *Rouffelin*, had made a great deal of noise. He said the three Divine Persons were three separate or distinct things, as three several Angels were; but in such sort nevertheless, that all three had but one and the same Power, and one and the same Will: and that if custom would permit it, one might say that they were three Gods; or otherwise it would follow, that the *Father* and the *Holy Ghost* had been incarnate. These Sophistical impieties were condemned in a Council held at *Soissons*: notwithstanding the Author did not refrain Teaching in private; and perhaps he might have made a greater progress, if there had not been some watchful persons, amongst the rest, *Yves de Chartres*, who broke his measures. I cannot tell whether it were the same, against whom *St. Anselme*, when he was but *Abbot du Bec*, wrote his Treatise of the Incarnation of the Word, which he sent to Pope *Urban II.* to examine, *An. 1094.*

About the year 1125, one *Tanchelin*, the most profligate of all Mankind, infected *Brabant* and the neighbouring Countreys with his Errors: he asserted that the Ministry of Bishops and Priests was a cheat, and that the Communion of the Holy *Eucharist* availed nothing to our Salvation. He drew people after him by the magnificence of his Feasts, and the pomp of his dress and garb, being attird in Cloth of Gold, and his Hair plated, or wove with strings of the same; those that follow'd him were so bewitch'd, that they drank his Urine, kept some as Treasures and Relicks, and took it as a particular favour, that he would in their presence abuse their Wives and Daughters.

At the same time another Innovator wandred through *Provence*, *Gasconne*, and *Languedoc*, named *Peter de Bruys*, Preaching, that Baptisme was ineffectual before the age of Puberty; that they ought to pull down the Churches, such places not being necessary for Christians to worship in; That the sacrifice of the Mass was nothing; That the Prayers of the Living did not avail the Dead; and above all things he pretended we ought to have the Cross in abomination, because our Lord had been most ignominiously nailed to it. Himself burnt a large heap upon *Good-Friday*, and with that Fire boiled several pots with Meat, of which he made a publique Meal, and invited the people to eat with him. But *Peter de Clugny*, going into that Countrey to hunt him thence, the people seized on his Person, and burnt him alive in the City of *St. Giles*.

His Sect was not blown away with the Wind like his Ashes; one of his Disciples named *Henry*, made himself their head; this was a Monk that had mew'd his Frock, who becoming a vagabond, because his Apostacy had left him no place of security, set himself to preach up these Heresies from place to place; to which he added some others of his own invention. *Peter de Clugny* refuted him in an excellent Treatise. *St. Bernard* in a journey he made into that Countrey, confounded him by his sound Doctrine and moving Sermons, justified with many miracles, informed the poor People he had seduc'd, and follow'd him so close, that at length he was taken and deliver'd up to the Bishop, bound Hands and Feet, *An. 1147.* They called these Innovators *Petrobrusians* and *Henricians*, the names of their two principal Doctors.

The same *St. Bernard* had likewise to deal with another sort of Hereticks, who gave themselves the name of *Apostoliques*, bragging they were the only people that followed exactly the Doctrine of the Apostles, and were the true mystical Body of *Jesus Christ*, none other Christians having the true Belief like them. They held many of the extravagancies, as those who since have been called by the name of the *Illuminated*, or *Enlightened*.

We may well reckon amongst the Heresies those over-bold, and too subtil propositions broached by *Peter Abailard*, touching the Trinity, since they were condemned as such in the year 1140. at the Council of *Sens*, which was confirmed by the Pope, though it appears to some, that if there were too much presumption on his part, there was also a little too much heat, and some want of understanding on theirs. However it were, his Humility repaired his fault, for having appeal'd to the Holy See, he was easily perswaded to stop at *Clugny*, by *Peter the Venerable*, and there spent the rest of his days. His Wife *Heloise* had also put on the Holy Vail. The History of their Lives and their Loves is well enough known; this is not a place to mention it in.

The Preachings of a certain Monk named *Rodolph*, were something worse then Heresies, I find that in the times of the *Crusado*, or *Crusado* in the year 1146. having assembled I know not how many thousand Men to go into the *Holy-Land*, he preached

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preached, that they ought before they went to kill all the *Jews*, who were much greater enemies to *JESUS CHRIST*, then the Mahometans. *St. Bernard* had much ado to save those miserable creatures from the fury of the common people, who are never so easie to be moved, as when some act of cruelty is propounded, and to get the Monk to return into his Covent.

The Popes were persecuted by other Heretiques, whom we might call *Politiques*, because they would not allow the Church-men should have any dominion nor jurisdiction in Temporals. The *Romans* stirred up, as we have related, by *Arnaud de Bresse*, designed amongst themselves to take it from the Pope in their City, and leave him only the Spiritual; So that *Eugenius III.* flying from their persecution, was forced to retire into *France*, *An. 1147.* whilst he was there he called a Council at *Reims*, where they examined the propositions of *Gilbert Poree* or *Poree*, Bishop of *Poitiers*: who having for Thirty years together profest Philosophy in the chief Cities of the Kingdom, spake of God and the persons of the Trinity, rather according to the Topicks of *Aristotle*, then conformably to the language of the Holy Scripture: He said the Divine Essence was not God: that the proprieties of the Three Persons were not the persons; that the Divine nature had not been incarnate; that there was no merit but that of *JESUS CHRIST*, and that none were truly Baptized unless he were to be saved. His *Arch-Deacons* themselves, moved with Zeal or Enmity, became his Accusers. *St. Bernard* stoutly Seconds them; the business was debated in two conferences, the one at *Auxerre*, and the other at *Paris*, and at last determined in a Third, which was held after the Council of *Rheims*; the Pope being unwilling before so great an Assembly, to censure a Bishop of so much Learning, and who besides protested he would submit to what his Holiness should think fit to judge of it. His propositions were condemned, he received this judgment with all possible submission; but some of his Disciples were still so confident as to maintain them.

That we may know how prone our humane nature is to be deluded, and led into the most extravagant novelties, we need but consider and mention a wretched fanatical Dotard, who was presented to the Pope in the beginning of this Council. His name was *Eon de l'Estole*, a Gentleman of *Bretagne*; he was so ignorant, that having heard them Sing at Church, *Per Eum qui venturus est judicare vivos & mortuos*, he fancied to himself, and affirmed to others, that it was, he should judge both the quick and the dead. It is almost incredible, how many people were infatuated with this ridiculous extravagancy: they follow'd him as a great Prophet; sometimes he march'd with a stately Train, sometimes he hid himself, then he appear'd again more Glorious then before. They said he was a Magician, and made sumptuous Feasts to allure the World, but that it was but illusion, and that the Meats they eat at his Table, and the Presents he bestowed were only charms that alienated the Mind. The Arch-Bishop of *Rheims* having taken him, presented him to the Council, and to his Holiness. His Answers full of frantick Conceits and Whimsies, made them look upon him as a mad-Man, or rather a Fool; but yet they clapt them into close imprisonment, where he died shortly after. Many of his Disciples more senseless yet then he, chose rather to be burnt to death then renounce him.

There was certainly some remainders left of that Leaven of the *Petrobrusians* and *Henricians*, which infecting many people, did again inspire them with new and dangerous Questions and Propositions; but besides all these, another sort of poysoners came out of *Italy* into *France*, bringing along with them the most pernicious venom of the *Manicheans*; and these were they in my opinion who first infected the Diocess of *Alby*, for which reason those Heretiques were named *Albigensians*. They were convinced at a Conference in that City at the Bishops, who was chosen Arbitrator by both parties, in presence of many Lords, Prelats, and *Constance* the Wife of *Raimond* Earl of *Toulouze*, and Sister to the King of *France*; *Gozelin* the Bishop of *Lodeve*, refusing their errors by arguments and proofs drawn out of the New Testament.

This Conquest could not wholly destroy these unwholsom Seeds, they multiplied every day more and more, and soon mastered *Toulouze*, the capital City of *Languedoc*. The Kings of *France* and *England* were almost resolved to make use of Fire and Sword to destroy them; however, they thought fit to send some Preachers first amongst them, to labour and endeavour to convert them, or confound them, and to cut them off from all communion with the faithful, that they might corrupt no more of them. The Popes Legat went thither in *Anno 1178.* accompanied with Four or Five Bishops and several other Clergy-men; they discover'd many of these people in *Toulouze*: amongst the rest the oldest and the richest; and as I may say, the cock of all the others, who let them have his Towers to Meet and Preach in.

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* The chief Citizens of Toulouse, and Avignon had Towers or Turrets to their Houses.

in. They forced him to submit to a publique penance, pull'd down his Towers or Turrets, * and excommunicated and banished several of those Heretiques, who retired into *Albigensis*; that was as it were their Fort or Cittadel, because Roger Earl of *Alby* favour'd them, and made use of them to keep the Bishop of his City a prisoner.

These Countries of *Languedoc* and *Gascogne*, as well because of their distance as their situation, and likewise the fiery warlike disposition of their people, were filled with another sort of wild Beasts, and such as delighted in Blood; I mean Troops, or Herds of Bandits, who hir'd themselves to any one that wanted them to take revenge upon their Enemies, or else roved all about to seek prey for themselves. They fought not only after Money and Goods; but took their Persons or their Lives away, sparing neither condition, nor age, nor sex. They were of no Religion, but help'd the Heretiques, thereby to have some pretence to rob Churches and Church-men; some of them were called *Brabanders*, *Arragonians*, *Navarrois*, and *Basques*, as coming from those Countreys: Others *Cotteneaux* and *Triarerdins*, a Nick-name, whose original I do not know: and their Horse-men *Routiers*, from the German name *Renter*. The General Council of *Lateran*, which was held in Anno 1179. Excommunicated both the one and the other, forbid the burying them in Holy Ground, and exhorted all Catholics to fall upon them, seize upon their Goods, and bring their Persons into slavery, allowing all those that took up Arms against them, Indulgences and Relaxations of penance, proportionable to their Services, and at the discretion of the Bishops.

Amongst these Heretiques, there were some that were called *Popelicans*, who held a great many strong Castles in *Gascogne*, where they had cantoniz'd themselves, and made up a body ever since they were cut off from the Church. Henry, who from being Abbot of *Clervaux*, had been made Bishop of *Albe*, having in quality of Legat, gathered a good force together by his Preachings and Exhortations, went to visit them with a strong hand in Anno 1181. They feigned to avoid this storm, they would abjure their errors; but the danger being over, they lived as before. This contagion spread it self in many Provinces, both on this and the other side of the *Loire*; one of these false Apostles, by name *Terric*, who had kept himself conceal'd a long time in a *Grotto* at *Corbigny*, in the Diocese of *Nevers*, was taken and burnt. Divers others suffer'd the same death in several places, particularly, two horrible old Women in the City of *Troyes*, to one of whom, as it was said, they had given the name of *Holy-Church**, and to the other, that of *St. Mary*, that so when they were examin'd by the Judges, they might swear by *St. Mary*, they believed no other then what was the belief of *Holy Church*.

These *Popelicans*, amongst other things, did openly repugne the reality of the Body of Our S. J. C. in the Sacrament, for which cause there were divers miracles wrought in those times to confirm people in the faith of that mystery. They were condemned in the Council of *Sens*, of the year 1198. as were likewise the *Vandois*, the *Patarins*, and the *Cathares*. The name of *Patarins* came from the Glory they took in suffering for the Truth patiently; that of * *Cathares*, because, though falsely, they professed great purity of Life. These last were called in *Flanders*, *Pisles*, and in *France* *Weavers*, because the most part of them lived by the labour of their hands, which they employed in that Trade. It would require a whole Treatise to enumerate and particularize all these Sects, their several Names, and their Opinions, which agreed in some points, and were quite different in others: but in my judgment, they may be all reduced to two, that is * *Albigensis*, and *Vandois* * and these two held almost, or very near the same Opinions, as those we call in our days *Calvinists*.

There arose, if not an Heresie, at least some great doubts, touching the resurrection of the Body, in the time of Maurice Bishop of *Paris*, by reason whereof to testify what his Faith was concerning this Article, he ordain'd they should engrave upon his Tomb the first Response, which we find in the Office for the deceased. After his example, many other Ecclesiastiques gave Order before their death, that these words should be affixed upon their Breasts in writing, and put into the Graves with them.

These Schismes and Errors thwarting the power of the Pope and the Clergy, confirmed and increased it the more. For First, the Popes gained the whole advantage upon the Emperours, concerning those Disputes about Investitures. Then when they had gotten that liberty of Elections, they would needs extend it likewise to the persons and Goods of the Ecclesiastiques; they said the Church owed no Contribution but to her own Head, who is the Vicar of *JESUS CHRIST* on Earth, and that the Clergy could not be corrected but by their Superiours, which they founded upon that

Power of the Popes.

Maxim, *That the less Noble or Worthy, ought not to command the more Noble or Worthy; nor the inferior be judge of him that is above him.* However, this point striking at, and diminishing the Authority of all other Temporal Princes, as well as the Emperours, could not pass for current, but in the Countreys of those that were weak, and on the other side of the Mountains.

The third subject of the differences they had with the Emperours, was, they pretended it belonged to them to dispose of, or give the Empire; and that the election of the *Grande*es belonging to it, could make but a King, unless their own Authority would honour it with the Title of Emperour. This belief was grounded upon what they had done for *Pepin* and *Charlemain*, whom indeed they first dignified with the Title of *Patrician*, and afterwards conferred that of Emperour upon *Charlemain*. As for this point they carried it clearly against the Emperours. The example of *Henry VI.* puts it out of all doubt; for when he took the Imperial Crown at *Rome*, in the year 1191. Pope *Celestine III.* who was upon a Scaffold, and sitting, holding it between his Feet, threw it down upon the ground, to shew, it lay in his power to overthrow it; and the Cardinals having caught it in their hands, put it upon the Emperours Head, who was below, and on his knees, waiting that favour with submission.

But the Popes could not so easily gain a fourth point, which was to hinder the Bishops from paying Homage to their Temporal Sovereigns. They opposed this submission, because they thought it unworthy that those Sacred Hands, which were employ'd in the operations of the most Holy Mysteries of Religion, should be touched or pressed by Hands profane. Now although Sovereign Princes, especially the Kings of *France* had a great reverence for all that came from the Holy See, they could not for all that yield them this point, nor that concerning the franchise of Goods and Persons. For King *Levis VI.* would not suffer *Rodolph* to re-enter the Arch-Bishoprick of *Bourges*, till he had done him Homage; which *Yves de Chartres* excused to Pope *Paschal*, upon the apprehension of a greater inconvenience. And that Pope having granted a Bull, at the requisition of the Clergy of *France*, which prohibited, upon pain of Excommunication, all Bayliffs and Prevosts * belonging to the King, the exacting any Loan of poor Clerks; the said King wrote Letters full of heat to *Yves*, threatening he would take the Goods of any Clerks wherever he could find them, if that Bull were not revoked: I cannot say what hapned upon this.

There was a Maxim set up in those ages, which gave the Popes an indirect Dominion over Princes, and right of animadversion on their Government; which was, that although they did not believe the Princes depended upon them for things Temporal, they thought they had good ground, considering the Spiritual, to judge whether their actions were good or evil, to admonish them, to correct them, to forbid them things they held unlawful, and command them to do what they thought was just. When two Princes made War, they concern'd themselves to bring them to a Truce, to refer their business to Arbitration, and oblige them to debate it in their presence. King *John* pressed upon by *Philip Augustus* had recourse to *Innocent III.* who wrote thereupon, that being proposed to the Government of the Universal Church, he found himself obliged by the command of God, to proceed in that Affair, according to the Rules and Forms of the Church, and to pronounce the King of *France* to be an Idolater and a Publican, if he did not make his Right appear before him or his Legat. For although, said he, it did not belong to him to judge of the Fief, yet he had right to take cognisance of the Sin; and it appertained to the Holy See to correct all persons of what quality soever they could be, and if they proved refractory to his Commands, to employ the Power and Arms of the Church. These were the Excommunications, and also the Interdictions, cruel remedies, which took away the use of the Sacraments, and the Divine Service from the Living, and sometimes the very Burials from the Dead. They were perswaded it was part of their Duty to provide against all publique scandals; of their paternal care, to help and protect all the oppressed; and of the grandeur of their Tribunal, to do justice to the whole World. So they received the complaints of all that were under oppression; nay, they would go to meet them, as it were, and take cognisance of what injustice Princes used towards their Subjects, and of their new exactions. They sometimes denounced *Anathema* against those that levied them; and sometimes exposed the Goods and Estates of these they Excommunicated as a Prey, and gave Command to seize their Persons, and bring them into slavery. The Sovereigns were not exempted or secure against these Thunder-claps: for whether by virtue of an opinion, commonly received in those days, but in my judgment not to be maintained or made out, that the Excommunicate have lost all Titles to their Estates, or whether they did not believe the

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Government of Catholique people, was not to be left in the hands of Princes revolted from the Church, they proceeded even to the deposing them, declaring their Subjects Absolv'd of all the Oaths they had taken, and forbid them longer to obey them. *Gregory VII.* began to exercise this Authority against the Emperour *Henry IV.* He would have practis'd the same towards *Philip I.* King of *France*: For he once wrote to all the Grandees of the Kingdom, to hinder the excess he committed, especially towards those Merchants that went to great Fairs: And another time he threatened to dissolve those Bonds and Obligations of Fidelity, which tied his Subjects to him, if he did not forbear the sale of Benefices, and suffer the elect Bishop of *Masccon* to enter upon his Bishoprick. *Victor II.* did in effect, Excommunicate him in the Council of *Clermont*. Other Popes Excommunicated and deposed the Emperours *Henry V.* *Frederick I.* and *Frederick II.* and have attempted the like things against divers other Crowned Heads.

It is admired that Popes who had so great a reputation for their goodness, particularly *Gregory VII.* and *Alexander III.* should have undertaken such things, which seem so contrary to the Maxims of the Ancient Fathers, and the Innocency of former ages. We must therefore know, that these supposed Letters of the First Popes, upon which they founded a new Canon right, had made their Predecessors believe, even from the end of the Eighth Century; that their Authority and Power over the Faithful had no limits; that in quality of universal Pastors, they had Power to lay Commands, or to forbid any of the Faithful, in any thing that concerned their Salvation, and the promotion of Religion; to admonish them, and afterwards punish them if they did not obey. That if the predecessors of *Gregory* had not made use of this power against Emperours; it was because those Princes were then more regular, and the Popes of those times involved in great troubles: but on the contrary, *Henry IV.* had made himself execrable by his infamous Vices; And *Gregory* was venerable through all Christendom for his Virtues.

I shall presume to add that there was even some things in the preceding Ages that might give some colour to what that Pope did undertake. For in the Sixth, the Church had assumed power to exclude those who were enjoined publique penance, from exercising any function Civil or Military, or even from Marriage, that it might be the more humble and perfect. *S. Leo* the Pope had only advised it, his Successors made it a Law, and the Councils of *Toledo* reduced it into practise towards their very Kings; witness *Vamba*, one of the most illustrious, and most renowned of their Monarchs: who being ordained Penance, while he was in the agonies of death, not with his consent, for he was deprived of all understanding, but according to the custome of those times, was yet obliged upon his recovery, to renounce his Kingly Office. Observe, if you please, that these Councils of *Spain* furnished the Popes with great advantages and pretexts, to bring other Sovereigns under their Command and Disposal. For the *Visigoth* Kings being elective, the Bishops had a great share in their Election, and their Councils were as so many Assemblies, where the Grandees and the Kings themselves were present. There they corrected all the disorders of the Crown, and imposed Laws upon them under the penalty of *Anathema*, or Deposition if they infringed them. The Bishops of *France* undertook the same thing by deposing *Louin the Debonnaire*; and though it were a perfect Faction, that Prince however did not resume the Crown, but by the authority of another Assembly of Bishops. *Foulk*, Arch-Bishop of *Rheims*, threatened *Charles the Simple*, he would withdraw his Subjects from their Obedience, if he made any Alliance with the *Normans*, who were then Barbarians and Unbelievers. Now the Popes believed it as an Article of Faith, that their power was much greater than that of all the Bishops; and that it had no other limitation than was express'd in the Canons of the Councils, and the Decrees of the Apostolique See, which never had forbid them to Depose Kings, because it cannot be imagined, the thoughts of such a thing could ever enter into their brains. *Gregory II.* in *Anno 730.* having thundered his *Anathema* against *Leo Isaurian*, suspended at least the payment of all Tribute, and Obedience of his Subjects, or perhaps wholly Absolved them, as some pretended. Moreover, taking upon them, as they did, the Authority of creating Kings, which was allowed by the ambition of such as desired that Title: they imagined they might well take away the Crown from those that were unworthy, since they could bestow one upon such as did deserve it.

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There were besides all this many occasions which served not a little to confirm this opinion. Amongst others the Prohibition of contracting Marriage between Kindred, even to the Seventh Degree, and betwixt Allies to the fourth and fifth; The cognisance they took of all great Causes, not only amongst the Ecclesiasticks, but Temporal Princes; and the *Croisado's*. For as to the first they could easily find enough of Parentage or Alliance to dissolve a Princes Marriage, and by this means made themselves formidable. And for the second, they were not less considerable for the power they had to judge of all Causes, because all Parties have naturally a fear and a respect for their Judges; and they having by this incredible affluence of Business, an opportunity to employ great numbers of People, it drew to their Court all those that had an ambition to be made use of by them, or such as had the curiosity to be fashion'd, or instructed in that most famous School of the whole Universe. In effect all the greatest Wits of *Europe* flock'd thither to gain Employments; and as we have still an Affection for those by whom we are advanced, when they went from thence, after they had done their Business, or made their Fortune, they proclaimed the Grandeur of the Popes in every Country, with an ardent desire to set up their Maxims.

The *Croisado's* or Holy War made them likewise very powerful. For in all the Expeditions to the Holy-Land, they enjoined Princes to lift themselves, they held the Sovereign Command of those Armies by their Legats, and in a manner made themselves Lords of all those Adventurers: not only because they exacted obedience from them, but which was more, because they took them under their Protection till their return; which was, as it were an Order of State to stop all Proceedings both Civil and Criminal. In other *Croisado's* which were undertaken against Schismatics and Hereticks, they made it a Law, That whoever were convicted of those Crimes, should forfeit all their Goods, Honours and Dignities: In pursuance whereof, they deprived those that were guilty, or caused them to be deprived by Councils assembled by their Legats; then gave the Spoil to such as had served well in those Expeditions, without consulting the Sovereign Lords of whom they held those Estates, because they durst not refuse Investiture to those whom so holy a Power had provided in that manner for.

But their greatest Power or Force consisted in that of the Clergy and Religious Orders; Those great Bodies being in those times very firmly united for the maintenance of his Franchises and Liberties, which they positively believed to be *Jure Divino*, looking upon the Pope as a Chief Head, and Potentate that would never fail them at need. Indeed his absolute Authority lay heavily upon the Bishops Shoulders; but when it pressed too hard, they had recourse to that of the Prince, as Protector of the Goods and Liberties of the Clergy. Reciprocally they made use of the Power of the Pope, to shield them from the Attempts of their Princes: and governing themselves thus between the Power of both, they endeavoured to moderate and qualifie the one by the other.

However they had cause to complain that the Popes took from them a good part of that Authority belonging to them, as Successors to the Apostles; as by drawing immediately to their Tribunal, the Cognisance of all Causes, not leaving them any thing almost to judge of Primarily, or Originally. By obliging them to give them their Oaths according to a certain Form to which *Gregory VII.* had added some Terms which amounted to Fealty and Hommage; By imposing the necessity for their going to *Rome*; By arrogating to themselves the Right of Consecrating Metropolitans; By granting Dispensations for not observing the holy Canons, as if the whole Ecclesiastical Discipline depended only upon their absolute Authority; By allowing Exemptions to Inferiors to withdraw them from their Obedience to their Superiors. They complained moreover of their having reserved to themselves alone the power of receiving Caadjutories, and that of dissolving the Spiritual Marriages of Bishops, that is, of separating them, or putting them away from their Churches, by Cession, or Translation, or Deposition; and their taking upon themselves the disposing of most Benefices.

Let us say something more particular upon the chiefest of these points; The differences between particular People were handled only in the Court of *Rome* in the Twelfth Age: however when the Cause was very important, or concerned the whole Church, or a whole Kingdom, they referr'd it to the Judgment of a Council. Thus *Gregory VII.* when the Quarrel betwixt him and the Emperour *Henry V.* came to be renew'd, promised he would assign a Council, in a place of safety, where every one might come Friend or Foe, as well those of the Clergy as the Laity, to

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judge whether he, or the Emperor had broke the Peace, and to consider of some means to restore it again. *Gelasius II.* said the same thing, and that he would acquiesce in the Judgment of his Brothers the Bishops, whom God had Constituted Judges in his Church, and without whom a Cause of that Nature could not be determined. *Innocent III.* wrote word, That he durst not decide any thing concerning the Marriage of King *Philip II.* without the determination of a General Council: and that if he should do it, he might run the hazard of his Order and of his Office; very remarkable words, for that they seem to insinuate that a Pope may be deposed not only for Heresie, but likewise for abusing his Power.

In those times they were likewise obliged to govern the Church by Advice of the Cardinals; whose Power was raised to such a height, since the year One thousand, that they were the Collaterals and Coadjutors of the Pope, saith *St. Bernard*; that their Privileges or Rights were greater then those of the Patriarchs and the Primates, and that they had the Power of giving Authentick Censures against the Popes themselves. The assistance and ability of so many great Men chosen out of all the Western Churches, as fill'd this sacred Colledge, did not a little help the Popes in bearing the great burthen of Affairs, and maintaining and encreasing their Authority in the remotest Countries. But when they were once become great enough by their assistance, they freed themselves from their dependance, and now they only ask them their opinions, and do not think themselves at all obliged to follow what they Advise or Counsel.

As for the disposing of Benefices, they had gotten the greatest into their own power, as the Archbishopricks, Bishopricks and Abbies, by making themselves Masters of the Elections, under pretence of judging those Differences that hapned betwixt opposite Parties; and the lesser as the Dignitaries and Canons of Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, by their recommendations to the Chapters in favour of those Clergy-Men that follow'd their Court. When having often obtained the thing desired, they at length turned such Recommendation into an absolute Command by the instigation of Flatterers and interested People; and then that was follow'd with Reservations, and after with Expectatives, the abuse whereof went on increasing still, notwithstanding the Pragmatick of *St. Louis*, and the Remedies *Philip le Bel*, or the *Faire*, would have apply'd, and lasted till the time of the great Schism, when King *Charles VI.* and after him *Charles VII.* set roundly upon it, and brought back all Elections, Collations and Presentations to the same method and order as had been Decreed by General Councils, without any regard or respect to those pretences and claims the Court of *Rome* had taken up and exercised.

In the Fifth Age not only the Bishops, but almost all the Church-men on this side the Mountains, had taken up that pious Custom, of going to *Rome* to visit the Sepulchres of the Apostles, *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, as it were to pay their Hommage, and testifie they held the same Faith which those Apostles had preached. At the same time they paid their Respects to their Holy Fathers, who in length of time converted this Voluntary Devotion into an indispensable Obligation, in so much as they highly reproached such as omitted it.

Dispensations were utterly unknown in the first Ages, and when they did begin to give them, it was not to allow them to infringe the Canons, but rather to absolve those that had infringed them. After the Eleventh Age the use grew very frequent. I observe four or five causes; The continual Wars between private Persons as well as between Princes: The multiplicity of Decrees, which were so numerous, it was difficult to avoid breaking some or other of them; The corruption of Manners, and the little regard they had for Ecclesiastical Orders or Rules: insomuch as they obliged to obviate that scorn by granting Dispensations, and they thought to hide or conceal the Transgression by permitting it. The Popes however did not dispense in things against our Faith, nor against good Manners, but in those that were only forbidden or permitted by positive Law. As for the Divine Law, they did not directly dispense with that, but by Interpretation and by Declaration.

As for the Exemptions of Monasteries, we have observed in the Sixth Age, how they began by the concessions of the Bishops, and how all the Grandees affected to obtain them for such as they founded. The first we find that were allowed them was only to free the Monks from Temporal Payments and Duties. Afterwards they obtained some kind of Privileges to be added; amongst others, That they should chuse their own Abbots; That they should be Masters of their own Discipline, and that the Bishops should Ordain Priests for them, at their Request. In fine, they found out means to extend them to the Spiritual Jurisdiction, and free themselves

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themselves from any dependance upon Bishops: to which three things were required, the Bishops Consent, the Authority of the Holy Chair, and the Pragmatick Sanction of the King.

The number of these Exemptions encreasing day by day, the Pope arrogates to himself the power of giving them, and of submitting the Monasteries to the Holy See, maugre the Bishops Diocesans. He did the very same in relation to some Bishops and some Chapters, subtracting these from their Bishops, and the Bishops from their Metropolitans. Vertuous Men could not hold their Tongues upon these Disorders: their Writings mention it yet: *St. Bernard* though a Monk and very zealous for the Holy Chair, highly condemned them. For to exempt the Abbots from the Jurisdiction of the Bishops, what was it else, said that great Saint, but to command them to Felony and Rebellion? and was it not as monstrous a deformity in the Body of the Church, to unite an Abby or a Chapter immediately to the Holy Chair, as in a Human Body to joyn and fasten a Finger to the Head?

These favours were not bestow'd gratis at *Rome*, the Abbots and Monks stript their Monasteries to purchase this independance, and made them oft-times Tributary to the Holy See, of many Silver Marks which they paid yearly.

The Abbots notwithstanding these Exemptions were still obliged after their Election to render Obedience to their Bishops, and by a Writing: but the most part refused it, so that the Council of *Reims* was forc'd to make a Decree to compel them, and yet they did over-much care to submit to it; which Disobedience was so far carried into a common Right, that *Henry II.* King of *England* made bitter complaints to Pope *Innocent II.* for that *Hugh* Archbishop of *Rouen* exacted this said Duty of the Abbots of *Normandy*. The Pope perceiving with what heat the King wrote to him, sent to the Archbishop that he should for a time forbear to ask that Right too rigorously, for fear of greater inconveniency.

The need the Popes had of the Credit of the Order of *St. Bennet* during their Quarrels with the Emperors, inclined them, as I believe, to bestow upon the principal Abbots of those Congregations, the Ornaments which had belonged only to the Bishops: Those were, the Miter, the Surplice, the Gloves and the Sandals; some have since added the Crozier. But such as loved the Hierarchy, detested this abuse, and those Abbots that were but somewhat humbly Religious, did not often make use of those Tokens of Honour, believing that what is the Mark of Jurisdiction in a Bishop, is a stain of Ambition in a Monk. *Peter de Blois* wrote to his Brother, an Abbot in the Kingdom of *Naples*, to whom the Pope had made a Prefect of these Pontifical Ornaments, that he should send them back again, or rid himself of his Abby. Pope *Urban II.* beholding the happy *Peter* Abbot of *Caves* bare-headed in a Council, sent a Miter to him to cover it; This holy Man having received it with great Respect, would not however put it on, but kept it still upon his Knees. But *Hugh* Abbot of *Clugny* did not refuse those Ornaments from that Popes hands, who gave them to him and all his Successors. *Calistus II.* desiring to gratifie that Abby, because he had been Elected and Consecrated there; gave likewise the Title of Cardinal to the Abbot *Ponce de Melgueil*, to enjoy it, both he and all the Abbots of that House.

The Popes Originally had Right to confirm only the Elections of the Metropolitans of the *Roman* Diocess. The sending the Pall to those of the *Galican* Church, chalkt out the way to usurp it upon them also. In the beginning *St. Boniface* Archbishop of *Mentz*, engaged them to seek that Honour, to bring them by that means to the greater dependance, then when they were accustomed to deck themselves with those Ornaments, which in their opinions distinguishd them much from Bishops, the Popes obliged them to receive them always from him, as a thing very necessary, and forbid them all Exercise of their Function till they had received them.

Bishops could not change, or take another Bishoprick, unless they were turned out of their own by the Barbarians, or upon some very urgent necessity; and that by Sentence of the Metropolitan and Bishops of the Province: the Popes notwithstanding permitted it without restraining them to all those Forms. Which was introduced in this Twelfth Age, not all at once, but by little and little, as it were founding the Foord.

The ancient form of Elections was yet preserved as the Soul of the Hierarchy, that is to say, they were made by the Clergy and by the People, afterwards they were examined by the Metropolitans, assisted with the Counsel of his Suffragans. If he judged them good he approved them, and if he found any default, he annul'd it and sent them back to proceed to a new one: that is to be understood, if they had

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not knowingly and designedly, elected one that was unworthy, or lay under some Canonical impediment; For in such case the Metropolitan and his Suffragans, elected one themselves. The Bishops were not obliged to be personally present at such Elections and Judgments; but sent some Clergy-men who represented their Persons.

The Consecration of Bishops in *France* was performed by the Metropolitan and his Suffragans, the Pope or his Legat having no right to it: but if the Metropolitan refused to Consecrate the Elect, the Electors appealed to the Pope, who sometimes did Consecrate them himself. When the Metropolitans were suspended from their Episcopal Functions, the Legats, as representing the Holy Father, pretended that that same belonged to them.

The Elections, and the Right the Metropolitans had to Consecrate the Bishops, were not directly overthrown during this Age, but suffer'd great breaches and diminution. For the new Right founded upon the supposed Epistles of the first Popes, having perverted all the Canons, and reduced all Elections to the litigious forms of Proceedings, as there most commonly hapned divers Contests between the opposite Parties electing, or difficulties in the Judgment given by the Metropolitans, one of the two Cabals seldom failed of making an Appeal to *Rome*, which was an inextricable labyrinth of perplexed Proceedings; and if there were any omission of formality in the Election, the Pope declared it null, and reserved to himself alone the right of providing the Bishop, and of Consecrating the Person whom he chose. Though it were forbidden to take any thing for that, notwithstanding the Officers of the Court of *Rome* exacted furiously, under pretence of their Salaries, and Paper and Ink: afterwards the Popes themselves, who had so highly condemned all Exactions, converted to their own proper benefit those abuses which they could not hinder. I find that the Bishop of *Mansé* gave for his Ordination Seven hundred Mark of Silver. In time they settled this Exaction at a years Revenue moderately Taxed, which they and their Cardinals shared amongst them.

The power of the *French* Bishops was likewise great proportionably. For besides that they were the most considerable Member of the State, and had most power in the great Parliaments, or General Assemblies, the Kings rested much upon their Counsels, submitted to their Remonstrances, and were Crowned by their hands upon every Solemn Feast in the year. So that when any King was Excommunicate, as was *Philip I.* the Bishops refused to do this Office, and held in a manner, as in suspense, not the Royalty, but the Respect of his People. By the Popes example they sometimes made use of Interdicts, often of Excommunications; which by being so often employ'd upon trivial occasions, became so odious, that the Secular Judges appearing against them, caused those to be apprehended that carried them, tormented them in their Estates, and the Estates of their Relations, and vexed even such as obey'd those Fulminations, or who refused to hold Communication with such as were Excommunicated; And therefore in the year 1274. the Council of *Lyons* one of the most famous that hath been held in *France*, Ordained in presence of King *Philip* the Hardy or Bold, and the Emperors of the East and West, That those that did so hereafter should be cut off from the Communion of the Church, and if they persisted two Months in their Contumacy, should not be absolv'd but by the Holy Chair. Which was allow'd in *France*, provided those Excommunications were just, and did intrench upon the Rights of the Crown. Now for as much as it depended upon his Officers to judge herein, they eluded them most commonly, and seized upon the Temporals as well of those that pronounced it, as those that submitted, and even caused their Houses to be pulled down.

The reason why they fore-armed themselves so strongly against these Censures, was because that in those times so soon as a Man was Excommunicate, he forfeited the benefit of his Goods, Honours and Dignities, that any one had a right to pilage him; that they denied him the Sacraments and Burial, and he could not be absolved but upon very hard Conditions, and by doing Publick Penance, the Mortification whereof is more cruel then Death it self to such who have much more concern for the shame of this World, then fear of God before their Eyes. And indeed the Clergy reveng'd their Injuries, how great soever, no other ways then by the Spiritual Sword, and were so jealous of their Sentences, that if a Secular Judge would according to the Laws of his Prince have Chastised an Excommunicated Person for killing an Ecclesiastick, they would have oppos'd it, as an attempt upon their Jurisdiction. And therefore the Murtherer of a Layman was punished with Death, and of a Priest, nay even a Prelat, had oftentimes no other Punishment but Excommunication.

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The most part of the Bishops were taken out of Monasteries: for as it went by Election, and those Houses were taken for Schools of Piety and Wisdom, such as aspired to this Dignity or that of an Abbot, which was not so honourable, but much more convenient, thrust themselves into the bottom of a Cloister, and affected a very severe Vertue and profound Humility, falling thus low that they might be raised, and hiding themselves that they might be sought out. Then when their Hypocrisy, had dazzled the Eyes of those silly Folks till they were chosen, they laid aside that mask of austerity and made much of themselves.

But often times those good Prelats who were not zealous for a Bishoprick out of any other Motive then the call from God, when they found their strength decay and grow too weak for that great Office quitted the Bishoprick, and made their retreat into some Monastery to recollect and prepare themselves to render an account of their Administration to their Sovereign Judge.

They had yet the power of declaring to the People whom they might Honour and Pray to as Saints, which is that they call Canonizing; This was ordinarily done in a Council, or in an Assembly of the Fraternity; The Bishop in whose Diocess the Party died that merited this Honour, gave account of the great Vertues had made his Life illustrious, and the Miracles that were wrought on his Grave, according to publick Fame and the evidence of many particular People; and thereupon the Assembly giving their Judgment by Acclamations rather then in Writing, they all went to take up the Holy Body, put it into a Shrine, exposed it to the Devotions of the People, and ordered his Festival should be Celebrated.

It had been a very ancient and abusive Custom in the Eastern Churches, that Clerks should rob and plunder the Bishops Goods as soon as ever Death had clos'd his Eyes. In *France*, from the year One thousand, at least for as much as I can observe, the Laity took the same Licence as well towards Bishops, as all other that were Beneficed, grounding their so doing upon the Consideration perhaps, that the Goods of the Church belong to and are the Portion of the Poor, and therefore they might justly take them again, when the Pastor to whom they were given for that purpose had kept it so long from them. However it were, this abuse continued notwithstanding all what the Popes and Councils could do to prevent it. Now the Sovereign's who think that all Rights of their Subjects are eminently theirs, because they are head of them, made a Right of this Custom to themselves, and in a short time made it extend to the whole Revenue of vacant Bishopricks, and afterwards to the collation of Canons and all other Benefices depending thereon, excepting such as have the cure of Souls. This Right is called Regalia. This Custom was before the Reign of *Philip Augustus*, though in his time, it were not approved of by all the World. *Ives de Chartres* redeemed it of King *Philip I.* for his Bishoprick, and *Lewis VII.* permitted *Peter* Archbishop of *Bourges* to dispose of the Fruits of that Church by Will, when he died.

The Custom of the Kingdom which obliged the Bishops to follow the Kings because of their Fiefs, was not much unpleasant to such amongst them as delighted more in the Court then in the Church. Nevertheless those that desired rather to have the reputation of good Pastors, then great Statesmen retir'd from Court: but sometimes the Kings interpreted such retreat a want of Duty. We find that *Louis* the Gros was distast'd with the Archbishop of *Sens* and the Bishop of *Paris*: and that *Philip Augustus* caused the Goods of the Bishops of *Paris* and *Auxerre* to be seized, because they came not to his Army. In the end the good and vertuous Bishops gained this point of the Kings that they dispenced with their Personal Attendance in the Wars, provided they sent those numbers of Men to which they were obliged by their Fiefs.

The Parochial Churches of Burroughs and Villages had for a long time been served by Canonical Priests whom the Bishops sent thither, and recalled again when he pleased to his Cathedral. The Lords having erected Chappels in the Country for the conveniency of their Dove-coats, and Peasants, appropriated to them the Oblations, First-Fruits and Collections, for they had not then the Tythe of the Fruits of the Earth and increase of Cattle, but the Lords themselves took those. 'Tis a great question by what Title, I think they were part of their Demeasns, and that it was a Duty they levied upon their Tenants, in most places the Tenth, in others the Eleventh, the Fifteenth and the Twentieth part. However it were, when once they had suffer'd themselves to be persuaded, that of Divine Right they belonged to the Ministers of the Church, and that they were bound to restore them; They gave a good part to the Benedictine Friars, who in those days did the Church very great Service, and gained the love of the Nobility, their Monasteries being like open

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open Inns for Gentlemen and other Travellers, and Free-Schools to instruct their Children. Upon condition of these Grants they ordered some Priests of theirs to serve in those Chappels; and finding such Funds and Incomes very sweet, as accruing to them without labour, they hooked in as much as possibly they could. The Regular Canons obtained likewise some. In so much as there remained very little for the Secular Priests.

Now these Benedictine Monks thus dispersed through all the Country Villages wandering from the strictness of their Rules, and growing corrupt out of their Monasteries, as the Fish perishes out of the Water: The Council of *Clermont* in the year 1095. ordained that they should quit those Employments and leave them to the Secular Priests. This Decree was not altogether observed, no more then that of the Council of *Poitiers* in the year 1109. which prohibited them all Parochial Functions: they held these Cures till *Anno 1115*. the *Latran* Council took them all wholly away from them by a general Constitution. However they left them a right of Presentation, and the Tythes likewise, unless it were some small or moderate proportion for the Curate that Officiated in those Churches.

* *Augustins*.

By this Constitution the Regular * Canons were excepted, upon condition they should have a Companion to converse always with them, that they might not turn absolute Brutes by daily frequenting of rude Peasants, worse then solitude it self. This Companion was but his second, and by consequence the other who Officiated was first in respect of him; for which reason they called him Prior; and hence comes it that those Benefices were named Priories, though in effect they are but simple Cures, no more then those held by the Secular Priests.

There are several proofs in the Acts of the Councils and elsewhere, that Pluralities were forbidden; an Abuse that must be for ever condemned by true Churchmen, who look upon their Benefice as a Charge of Souls, but ever practised by such as consider them only as a Revenue.

The Princes of those times did easily give way to great Revenge, and run into extrem Violence: but when the first heat of their fury was spent, they were easily persuaded to Repentance, as well by the Sentiments of Christianity imprinted in their Hearts, their Religion not being only meer Policy, but true Faith, as by the good Instructions and Arguments of their Bishops and others of the Clergy. For those godly Pastors not knowing how to sooth and flatter Vice in any one, much less give way to Crimes in Ruling Potentates and Grandees that ought to be Exemplary to inferiors, boldly reprov'd them for their faults, which otherwise they knew themselves must answer for at the Tribunal of the King of Kings. They first made use of Admonitions, which they did by word of Mouth if there were opportunity of access, or else by Writing. If afterwards they found the Vice incurable, the Scandal continue and increase, they added reprehensions, and those sometimes publick, and in the end let loose the Censures of the Church upon them. By this Evangelical liberty assisted with the Holy Spirit; they often mollified the hardest hearts, and gained respect by their Apostolick constancy, whilst others were but slighted and condemn'd, as not having the courage to open their Mouths against the greatest Sinners.

When any Church was wronged in her Liberty or Goods, the Priests took down the Shrines and Images of their Saints, and set them on the ground, either to turn the hearts of their Persecutors and bring them to Repentance, or to inflame the indignation of the People against them.

Those that did not believe the reality of the Body of Jesus Christ in the Holy Sacrament, were Hereticks: but the too curious started several Questions touching the manner and the circumstances of that incomprehensible Mystery. Some not being able to conceive what could become of the Sacred Body of Our Lord, after they had eaten it, said it passed with the rest of our Digestion. *Rupert* Abbot of *Tuit*, was of that opinion, that the Bread and the Wine remained with the Body and the Blood of Jesus Christ. And it appears that *Peter de Blois*, believed, that the Cup could not be Consecrated without Water, and that it was no Sacrament without the Chalice, because it is a Mystical Repast; and in a Supper there must be somewhat to drink as well as to eat.

In those times they yet Communicated in both the Species, but divers, and amongst others the Monks of *Clugny*, to prevent the Profanation in case the Cup should happen to be spilt, or some small drop should remain sticking on the Beard of the Communicant, administred the Bread dipt in the Wine, and that Bread was round and about the thickness of a Crown. Now this method not seeming conformable

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to the institution of the Sacrament by our Saviour, was often reprov'd and condemned by the Popes themselves, who at length not being able to rectify this abuse, took the Cup wholly from the Laity. Such as impugne the real Presence, however, are mistaken in saying that the word *Transubstantiate*, was introduced by the Council of *Latran*, which was held in *Anno 1215* for we find it in *Peter de Blois*, who wrote some years before; but it is true that that Council authorized that Term of *Transubstantiation*.

The use of publick Penance was yet very common, the Penitents could not come into the Church, nor Communicate, nor receive the Blessing or the Salutation of Peace, nor Shave his Beard, nor cut his Hair, nor put on any Linnen, nor Christen a Child; they eat nothing but Bread, and drank only Water, on *Mundays*, *Wednesdays*, and *Saturdays* in each Week. But this severity was much abated by the Indulgences or Relaxations of Punishments allowed by the Canons. The Popes freely bestowed these Indulgences on such as took the Cross to go into the Holy Land, or against Hereticks and Schismatics; The Bishops likewise when they Consecrated any Church were not sparing to such as would come to visit them, upon condition they would come the day before, and give their Alms or Contribution towards the upholding and maintaining of the Fabrick.

They had then a particular fancy to build Subterranean Chappels. I have observed that at the building their Churches, they would in the Foundations often times bury Vessels full of Silver, that so when either Time, or other accidents should come to destroy them, they might find wherewith to rebuild them anew. Also when any happen'd to fall to ruin, they brought the Relicks of that Saint that was most honour'd by all the Neighbouring Countries, to invite People out of Devotion to contribute largely towards another Edifice. It was impossible but they should be rich, for there was no one died that did not leave them some Legacy. I shall observe by the way, that by their Wills they ever enfranchised some certain number of Slaves according to their Qualities, and we may reckon this amongst others for one main cause which hath by little and little abolish'd Slavery and Servitude in *France*.

Those Persons that had committed great Sins, though they were not such whom the Canons ordained to do publick Penance, yet they omitted not, especially being at the point of Death, to make a publick Confession; and divers great Princes would needs die flat upon the Ground, lying upon a Cross of Dust and Ashes; some even with a Rope about their Necks, others in the Habit of a Monk, or Friars holy Frock and Cowle, believing that Sacred Livery would shelter them against the Torments in the other World.)

Auricular Confession had ever been practis'd in the Church; *Gratian* examining in the second part of the Decree, whether it were of absolute necessity or not, after he hath mustred the Reasons on either side, according to his Method, seems to leave every one his Judgment free, assuring us that Persons both very Devout and Pious were many for it, and many against it. But the Church hath determin'd it in the affirmative.

The Monks did not Administer the Sacraments to the Laity, nor did they hear Confessions unless it were from those of their own Coat, it being forbidden them by the Councils to exercise any Curial Function. A certain Abbot of *St. Riquier* undertook to Confess some Seculars, and to Preach without leave of the Ordinary, of which complaint was made against him at *Rome*, the Pope caused him to be cited before him, but he pleaded his Cause so well, that the Holy Father allowed him both the one and the other, and gave him Sandals, which in those times were the Marks or Badge of a Preacher.

The Clergy busied themselves mightily in multiplying the Ceremonies, the Ornaments, and practise of Devotions, and in making a great many frivolous Disputes upon each of these.

The profession of Physick, and that of Law, were hardly exercised by any but the Churchmen, the Laity being very little addicted to Study: and as they were very profitable, the Monks and Regular Canons had likewise an itch to practise them; The Council of *Latran* under *Innocent II.* did expressly forbid their meddling with either of them.

The Mortifications and Austerities, the Sackcloth, Shirt of Hair, knotted Girdle, and voluntary Fustigation, which they called Discipline, was much in practise, at least in the precedent Age, since *Peter Damianus* mentions it as a thing that was very common. When they desired to appease the Wrath of God, or obtain some particular favour from his Bounty, the Pope, and sometimes the Bishops of their own

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Heads would ordain new Fasts. Thus in the year 1187. Gregory VIII. sorely afflicted for the loss of *Jerusalem*, thought fit thereby to animate the Christians to Arm themselves powerfully for its Recovery, to command all both Men and Women to fast every Friday for five years successively, with the same strictness as in *Lent*, and to abstain from Flesh the *Wednesdays* and *Saturdays*. He enjoyn'd all the Cardinals and their Families to do the same, and imposed it upon himself and all his.

As for the Fast of *Lent* it was then very strictly observ'd; they eat but once in the whole day, and that after Sun-set, all the Divine Service, and Masses being then over. We may see some footsteps of it remaining to this day, in that they say Vespers with the Mass before Noon. Some gave themselves the liberty of eating at the hour of Noon, which is Three hours after Twelve, or Dinner time. The Friars fasted but till that hour from the *Septuagesima* to the *Quadragesima*; but from the *Quadragesima* till *Easter* they nor any of the Faithful did eat till after Vespers. The Princes and great Persons did not omit this abstinence, nor fasting neither, which did not so much impair their Health as it abated their Concupiscence: and in these Holy Times, the least Devout were obliged at least in Honour, to give Alms every day.

The Functions of those in holy Orders were yet different and distinct; the Priest seldom did the Office of a Deacon or Sub-Deacon. Many out of humility remained Deacons still, or at least a long time, not taking upon them the Order of Priesthood till near the end of their days. We read that *Celestine III.* at the time he was elected Pope was but a Deacon, and had lived Sixty five years in that Order without aspiring to be a Priest.

They sometimes tolerated the Marriage of Sub-Deacons, but it was sacrilege in a Deacon.

Baptism was commonly not Ministr'd or Conferr'd but 'at the time of *Easter*, if those that were to receive it, were not in danger of Death. They plung'd them three times in the Sacred Font: to shew them what operation that Sacrament hath on the Soul, washing and cleansing it from Original Sin.

After they had given the extreme Unction to the Sick, they ordinarily laid them upon a Bed of Straw, where they gave up the Ghost. Some would needs die upon a Bed of Ashes, with their Heads lying on a Stone.

In those times the Clergy call'd all those Martyrs of their Order that were kill'd, though it were neither for Religion, or the maintaining of Christian Doctrines. We find in the Decretals, some Apostolical Letters of *Alexander III.* which forbids they should honour the Prior of the Monastery of *Gristan* as a Martyr. The History is strange and odd enough. The Monks of that House distributed to the People I know not what sort of Water which they hallowed with certain Prayers, and by that invention got store of Alms, wherewith they made good Chear. It hapned one day that their Prior being drunk, wounded two of his Friars with his Knife, who immediately beat out his Brains with a Staff that was at hand by chance. The rest of their Fellows instead of concealing this Scandal, had the impudence to make advantage and profit of this accident, and feigned divers Miracles upon his Corps, by virtue whereof they Crowned him with the Laurel of Martyrdom, and the silly People gave credit to the Cheat.

They had been mightily puzzled in the other Age to bring the Priests to Celibacy. There were some yet that could not agree to it. The Popes *Calistus II.* and *Eugenius III.* compell'd them by divers Punishments, and amongst others deprived them of their Benefices, and Excommunicated all such as went to hear them say Mass. Now it not being allowed them to make use of the rights of Nature by Marriage, there were some, though but few in number, who made use of things against Nature, burning with such flames of Lust, as ought not to be extinguish'd but by Fire from Heaven. As for the greater part of the rest, the Law of God, that is to say his Church*, forbidding them to have Children, the Author of all Confusion substituted great Throngs and Crowds of Nephews in their stead; and from thence fol- low'd great Disorders: for if those Nephews were Ecclesiasticks, they perpetuated the Benefices in their Families by Coadjutories or otherwise, and possess'd as by Right of Inheritance the Sanctuary of the Lord: If they were of the Laity, and thrifty People, they made their Uncles grow Covetous, Usurers and Extortioners to heap up Riches for them, or else they endeavour'd by all ways imaginable to alienate the Lands of the Church, and joyning them to their own, appropriate all to themselves. Often times they became Masters of their Parents House, and living there with too great a Train, squandred away the Patrimony of the Cross and the Poor, in Feasting, Equi- page

* Cumque sator
verum privasset
semine Clerum.
Ad Satana vi-
um successit
turba nepotum.

page of Hounds and Horses, and sometimes in things much worse. We might quote a great many Examples of this scandalous Nature, I shall instance one which is of the Nephews of an Archdeacon of *Paris*, who committed extraordinary Violences and Exactions in his Place: whereof *Thomas* Prior of *St. Victors* having often given him warning, they Murther'd this holy Holy Friar in the very Arms of the Bishop himself near *Gournay*, as he returned from a Visit.

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The Councils of the *Gallican* Church having now but little Authority, because their Decisions were often annul'd at *Rome*, without hearing their Reasons, the Bishops took not so much care to call any. I cannot tell in which it was where an old Bishop appear'd with ill Cloaths, a Crozier half broken, and a Mitre out of order, to let them see by that Equipage to what a vile Condition those holy Assemblies were reduc'd. Most of those held in *France* during this Age, were called either by the Popes themselves or by their Legats. The Popes were personally present in Six, *Paschal II.* in that of *Troyes*, Anno 1107. and there the Simoniacks, and the Laicks, that conferr'd Benefices were Excommunicated. *Gelasius* held one at *Vienne* in the year 1119. where he thundred his Anathema against the Emperor *Henry V.* and his Anti-Pope. *Calistus II.* his Successor (*Guy* Archbishop of *Vienne*) did the same thing in that of *Rheims* the following year, which had been denounced by *Gelasius*. Those that made sale of things Sacred, and took Money for burying the dead, for the Crisome and Baptism, were likewise Excommunicated. *Innocent II.* held one at *Clermont* in Anno 1130. and another at *Rheims* in Anno 1131. where he fulminated the Anti-Pope *Anacletus*, and his Adherents. *Eugenius III.* did Celebrate one at *Rheims* in the year 1137. where divers excellent Regulations were decreed. And *Alexander III.* one at *Tours* in Anno 1163. where he gave an account of his Election, and proved the nullity of *Ostavian's* his Rival.

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These are a good part of those called by the Legats. One at *Troyes* in Anno 1104. in which the Bishop of *Sens* was accused of Simony by some ill designing People, but the Bishops rejected them as no good Evidence. He desired nevertheless to purge himself from that suspicion by Oath before the Legat, to which he was admitted. Two Cardinal Legats assembled, one at *Poitiers*, in Anno 1109. to reform the Manners and Habits of the Clergy: They were forbidden to take any Benefice from the hands of the Laity: The Abbots to use Gloves, Sandals or the Ring; Monks to Exercise Parochial Function, as to Baptise or to Preach; which nevertheless was allowed to the Regular Canons. There was one at *Vienne*, Anno 1112. where *Godfrey* Bishop of *Amiens* was President, in Quality of Legat, because the Archbishop *Guy* had no very fluent Tongue. The Emperor *Henry V.* was Excommunicated there: As were also those guilty of Simony, and such of the Laity as gave the Investiture of Benefices.

There were three in the year 1114. one at *Soissons*, one at *Beauvais*, and another at *Rheims* to Excommunicate *Henry V.* and *Burdin* his Anti-Pope. One at *Toulouze* in Anno 1124. which condemned certain false Brothers or counterfeit Monks who declaimed against the Temporal Riches and Incomes of the Church, and against the Sacraments. One at *Troyes*, Anno 1127. where the Order of the Templers was confirmed; The Abbots *Stephen de Cisteaux*, and *Bernard de Clervaux* were assistant there, and the latter drew up the Rules of that Order of Knights Templers. There was one Assembled at *Estampes* in the year 1130. to condemn the Anti-Pope *Anacletus*. One likewise at *Jouars* the same year, to avenge by Canonical Punishments the Murther of the B. *Thomas* Prior of *St. Victors*. Another at *Soissons*, Anno 1136. which condemned the Errors of *P. Abailard*. One at *Sens* four years after for the same business: King *Lewis* the Young was present there. Another at *Veze- lay* in *Burgundy*, in the year 1145. for the Expedition to the Holy Land. That of *Paris* in the year 1147. confuted the Opinions of *Gilbert Poree* Bishop of *Poitiers*, who Recanted before Pope *Eugenius* at *Rheims*, after the Council was dissolved which had been held in that City.

That of *Fleury* in the year 1151. was to annul the Marriage of King *Lewis VII.* and *Alienor* of *Aquitain*. In that of *Auranches* in *Normandy*, Anno 1173. the Legats gave for the second time, the Absolution for the Murther of *St. Thomas* of *Canterbury* to *Henry II.* King of *England*. That of *Alby*, which was in Anno 1176. condemned the Heresie of the *Albigenss*. In that of *Dijon* which was held about *Michaelmas* in the year 1197. the Legat from Pope *Innocent III.* put the whole Kingdom of *France* under an Interdiction, to compel *Philip Augustus* to quit *Agnes de Merania*, whom he had Espoused in prejudice of *Issemburge* his Lawful Wife.

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In that of *Sens*, which was held in the year 1128. the Abbot of *St. Martins of Nevers*, and the Dean of the great Church of the same City being present, were convicted of the Heresies of the *Popelicans*, the Abbot deposed, the Dean suspended, and both of them sent to *Rome*.

We hardly find above three or four that were called by the Kings order, and the Authority of the Bishops of *France*. Amongst others one at *Rheims*, Anno 1109. one at *Estampes*, Anno 1130. and two at *Paris*, the first in the year 1186. the other in 1188. Both of them were called by King *Philip*, to consider of the best means to relieve the Holy-Land; and in the last they agreed to raise the Tenth, which was called the *Saladine Tythe*. That of *Estampes* was called by King *Lewis VII.* to judge whether of the two Popes they were to own, either *Innocent* or *Victor*. That of *Rheims* was by the proper motion of the Bishops of that Province, to do right to *Godfrey* Bishop of *Amiens* against the Monks of *St. Valery*. He had made discovery that certain Letters of Exemption by them obtained of the Holy See were false: their Cause was worth nothing in *France*, they transferr'd it to *Rome*, and found such Advocates there as obtained a Sentence to their advantage. The Bishops complained to the Assembly. We find in the LXVIII. Epistle of *Peter de Blois*, that sometimes the like counterfeit Letters were discovered: These were declared such by the Council. Thus it is related by *Nicholas Moine of Soissons*, who has written the Life of this holy Bishop. A modern Author hath endeavour'd to invalidate this Narrative by contradicting of the Dates of times assigned: his proofs may be examined.

Monastick Discipline was in its vigour in the newly Establish'd Orders, but some of the ancient Monasteries, as well of Men, as Virgins, and the old Canons, were greatly in disorder having run into much irregularity; Sometimes there were Bishops, that took care to reform them by gentle means: but when the Debaucheries were too great, they put Regular Canons, or some new Monks in those places.

There were time out of mind some Canons in the Church *St. Genevieve du Mont*, which was called the Chapter *St. Peter*, and who upon the Recommendation of King *Robert* had been exempted from dependance on the Bishop, and immediately subject to the Holy See: it hapned that Pope *Eugenius* being lodged in their House, a Quarrel arose between them and his Officers, these would needs take away a rich Silk Carpet, which the King had made a Present of to his Holiness to cover the place he kneeled on at Prayers; the others pretending it ought to be left to their Church: From words they came to blows, the Canons fell upon the Popes Officers so rudely, that several of them were hurt, the King himself had like to have been so, while he was endeavouring to prevent the Scuffle. For punishment of this Insolence, upon the Popes complaint, the King resolv'd to expel them from that House, and gave it in charge to *Suger* Abbot of *St. Denis*: who placed twelve Canons Regulars there whom he took from *St. Victor*; Thus of a Chapter they made an Abby, the first Abbot they had was named *Odon*.

As for that of *St. Victor*, it was built in Anno 1113. or rather amplified by *Lewis* the Gros, for before that time it was the Habitation of a Recluse, a famous Doctor named *Thomas de Champeaux*, who taught Divinity at *Notre-Dame*, having taken on him the Habit of that Order, was Commissioned for the Government and Conduct of the new Institution, and transferr'd the Divinity Schools to that place, where he read, till he was called thence to the Bishoprick of *Chaalons*. *Geduin* his Pupil succeeded him, and bare the Title of Abbot. We may say in praise of this House, that they never withdrew themselves from their Obedience to their Bishop, but that they ever allow'd and received his Visitation and his Correction, whereby they have fared so well, that in Five hundred and fifty years, for so long they have been there, they never fell into any so great disorder as hath required a Reformation of the whole, as all the rest have done, who did shake off that Yoke of Lawful Authority.

The Order of *Fontevraud*, of which we made mention about the end of the last Age, was confirmed by Pope *Paschal II.* in the year 1117. The following year some Gentlemen zealous for the defence of holy Places, amongst others *Hugh de Paganis* and *Gefroy de Saint Ademar*, to that end Instituted an Order of Religious Knights, who were named the *Poor Knights of the Holy City*, then the *Templers*, because they had their first Lodging or Quarters near the Temple of *Jerusalem*, and for the same reason they likewise called those Houses they had in *France*, *Temples*, and so in other Countries. Their Order receiv'd its Confirmation, Rules, and Habit at the Council of *Troyes* in the year 1127. (Their Rules were contriv'd by *St. Bernard*, and their Habit was to be white for the Knights, and black or grey for the Servants.

Their

Their number was then but small, but it increased in a while to three hundred, I mean of Knights alone, for the Servitors were almost innumerable. The Order de *Premontre* was instituted in Anno 1120. by *Norbert*, who was afterwards promoted to the Archbishoprick of *Magdebourg*. That of the * *Carmelites* did not begin till the year 1181. as you shall find in the other Age. Church. * *Carmes*.

The Orders of the *Chartreux*, de *Grandmont* & de *Cisteaux*, were instituted in the preceding Age, as we have observed: They were all in great Veneration because of their austerity: the two first were so still for their horrid solitariness, indeed both of them were reckon'd amongst the Hermits; and besides they consider'd that of *Grandmont* for their rigorous Poverty. The Friars *Converts* of this last (they were named the Bearded, because they wore great Beards) having the management of their Temporal Goods, would have the Government of the Order, and bring the Priests under their Ferula or Lash; but in the end they lost their Cause.

The *Chartreux* have to this day preserv'd their Cloister and their Discipline, having ever avoided all Intrigues of the World, Conversation with Women, and the ambition of attaining to Prelacy. Three Rocks which ever have, and will be fatal to other Orders.

These good Fathers had so much respect for the holy Sacrifice of the Mass, that within their Walls they never celebrated it but upon *Sundays* and *Holidays*: nevertheless they sometimes allowed those that had an earnest desire to it, to say Mass every day to such as were indeed devout. We must not wonder at this practise, which would appear strange in these days: *St. Francis*, in his Letters which are called his Testament, ordains his Brothers, that but one Mass be said each day in the places where they lived, according to the custom of the Church of *Rome*. Masses were not then the best part of the Revenue and Subsistence of the Convents, and poor Priests.

The Congregation of *Clugny* had been an hundred years in very high Reputation, but her Monks had made themselves a little too dainty, taking too much delight in being Clothed in the finest Stuffs, providing against the Heat and Cold, avoiding all Labour and the open Air, and seeking the Shades and Rest. They heaped up Riches with both Hands, got all the Cures to themselves to have the Offerings and Tythes, and obliged the Chapters and Bishops to bestow the Prebendaries of their Churches upon them. In so much that when the Reformation of the *Cisterians* appeared, and those new Friars were observed to follow *St. Bennets* Rule literally, without omitting one single point, labouring with their hands, refusing to accept of any Tythes, and behaving themselves with great submission towards their Prelats; the Reverence and Devotion of the People turned to them. Thus they acquired much Wealth, as well by Gifts presented to them, as by their assiduous Labour, there being in some of their Houses two or three hundred Friars that clear'd the Lands of the Woods and other Lets to Tillage, drained the Fens and Bogs, digged and planted, and withall lived with great Frugality. Being very poor in their beginning, Pope *Innocent* would have them exempted from paying Tythes for their Lands; a favour that was allowed to some Abbies, the *Lazar-Houses*, Canons Regulars, and the Knights *Templers* and *Hospitallers*. Now as their great Thriftiness, and Gifts of Pious People, did furnish them wherewith to make new Purchases; the Prelats made great complaint of this Covetousness, which did with-hold from them what they believed to be justly theirs by Divine Right. The Monks of *Clugny*, who were much prejudic'd or impair'd by them, because they had the Tythes in divers places, made loud complaints and a great stir wherever they could come to be heard, so that in fine the Council of *Latran* which was held in the year 1115. restraining that Priviledge to the acquisitions they had already made.

This Difference joyn'd with the jealousy of growing too powerful, prompted these two Congregations to decry each other. Both of them were very Potent, the Popes and Kings took their Counsels, gave them notice of their good or ill success, recommended themselves to their Prayers in all their great Undertakings, and made them large Gifts and Presents to be Associates and Partakers of the Merits of their Societies. That of *Clugny* had acquir'd much Renown by the desert and reputation of four or five of her first Abbots, but lost a little by the irregularity of *Ponce*, who squandred away a great part of the Wealth of that rich Abby: on the contrary the *Cisteaux* encreased so much in Credit by the Reputation of her *St. Bernard*, that those Monks were the Agents or the Organs of all the weighty Affairs of those times.

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I must tell you here, (if I have not mentioned it already) that the Will of the Parents made the Monk, as well as his own choice. The Father might put his Children into the Monastery without acquainting the Mother, and even against her will. He had that power over them till they were Ten years of Age, afterwards that Term was enlarged to Thirteen, says *Ives de Chartres*; and then to Fourteen, as we find it in *Gratian*. When the Father had resolv'd and destined his Son to Monachism, he offer'd him to God in the Church belonging to the Convent, wrapped all over, or sometimes only the Arm in the Altar Cloth, and by that Devotion obliged him so fully, that he could not gainsay it. But *Clement III.* and *Calistus III.* changed that too unnatural Right and Power, and declared, That those Children ought not to be compell'd to Monastick Life, unless they did by their own free choice oblige themselves when they had attained to years of Discretion.

Cardinals.

The Dignity of Cardinals was in great lustre, their Colledge was numerous, and their Vertue and Birth most eminent. France had as great a share at least in this Advantage, as Italy. *Duchefne* who has written their Lives very exactly, hath noted in this Twelfth Age above Fifty that were Frenchmen: the greatest part of them having been bred in Monasteries, particularly in the Congregation of *Clugny*, and Order of *Cîteaux*; These last were almost all of them the intimate Friends or Disciples of *St. Bernard*. *Galon* Disciple of *Ives de Chartres*, Bishop of *Beauvais* then of *Paris*, *Guy* Brother of *Stephen* Earl of *Burgundy* Archbishop of *Vienne*, and afterwards Sovereign Prelat by the name of *Calistus II.* *Pontius de Melgueil* Abbot of *Clugny*, *Stephen* Son of *Thierry* Earl of *Montbelliard*, *William de Champagne* successively Archbishop of *Sens* and of *Rheims*, Uncle to King *Philip Augustus*, and very powerful in the Government of the Kingdom, *Rodolph de Nesle*, *Henry de Sully*, and *Albert* Brother of the Duke of *Brabant*, were all of illustrious Birth, and withall of extraordinary Vertue, excepting *Ponce*, or *Pontius*, who was singular for the Disorders of his Life; which were scandalous after his re-entry perforce into the Abby which he had once renounced, that going to *Rome*, whither he was cited by the Pope, he was confin'd to a perpetual imprisonment, where a Month after he died. And nevertheless a certain Martyrologist quoted by *Duchefne* does call him Saint.

The end of *Albert* was also Tragical, but the Cause being brave, his Memory is the more glorious. He had been Elected Bishop of *Liege* upon the Solicitation of *Henry* Duke of *Brabant* his Brother; The Emperor *Henry VI.* who hated both of them, would not give his consent to this Election; The Pope however confirms him, and *Albert* comes to *Rheims* to be Consecrated, which was then the Metropolis of *Liege*. The Emperor took this for an outrageous affront and slighting, and dispatches some German Cavaliers after him to take his Revenge. These Russians having craftily insinuated themselves into a familiarity with the Bishop, who then sojourned at *Rheims*, found an opportunity one day to get him out of Town to take the Air and walk, and Murther'd him with Nineteen Wounds, then made their escape to *Verdun*, and from thence into *Germany* to the Emperor. Four hundred and twenty years after, that is in the year 1612. the Arch-Duke *Albertus* of *Austria*, and his Spouse the Infanta *Clara Eugenia*, obtained leave of the Most Christian King *Lewis XIII.* to take his Corps up out of the Cathedral Church at *Rheims*, where it had been deposited till that time, and caused it to be convey'd to *Brussels* in great Pomp. *Paul V.* completed his Crown of Honour by Canonizing him as a Martyr for the liberty of the Church which is the Spouse of *Jesus Christ*.

I observe Eight or ten other Cardinals, who had no other Nobility but what their Vertue acquir'd: as one *Robert de Paris*, who with some others so pressed Pope *Paschal*, that he had made him break the Treaty by which he had yielded up the investitures to the Emperor *Henry V.* *Foulcher de Chartres*, *Matthieu de Rheims*, and *Alberic de Beauvais*, the first of whom had been Secretary to *Godfrey de Buillon* in his Expedition to the Holy Land, the second Prior of *St. Martins des Champs*, or in the Fields, and the third a Monk of *Clugny* and Abbot of *Vezelay*; *Stephen de Chaalons*, *Bernard de Rennes*, (these two had likewise been Monks) *Rowland d'Auranches*, and *Matthew d'Angers*; all which took their names from the places of their Nativity, according to the Mode of Men of Learning who were of mean Extraction.

There were divers others besides whose Parents are unknown to us, as one *Ives* a Canon of *St. Victor* raised by his Learning to that Dignity, and one *Martin* who came from the Abby of *Cîteaux*, and was Bishop of *Ostia*, a Prelat of an Apostolick Continence and Frugality. It is related that he being sent as Legat into *Denmark* for the Conversion of those Infidels, he came back so poor that he Travel'd on Foot as far as *Florence*, herein much more like the humble Apostles of *Jesus Christ*, then the

other

Church.

other Legats of those times, who coming very beggerlike into those Provinces whither the Popes sent them, went thence again laden with Spoil, as from a Country Conquer'd by them, and returned back to *Rome* with an Equipage fit for a King. The Bishop of *Florence* seeing this good Man on foot, made him a Present of a Horse, not out of generosity, but hopes to oblige him to be his Friend in a Process he had at *Rome* ready to be determined; but when it came to Judgment, and this good Man to deliver his opinion, he Addresses himself to him, and said freely he did not know he was to have been his Judge, and therefore pray'd him to go to the Stable and take his Horse again, that his Vote might be without partiality.

Neither did France want for Bishops, whose Learning, Merits, Zeal, and Piety acquir'd the Titles of Great Men, and of Saints. Not to mention again that *Galon*, *Guy* of *Burgundy*, *William de Champagne*, and *Albert de Brabant* whom we lately ranged amongst the Cardinals: France had amongst others seven great Archbishops, *Hildebert de Tours*, *Peter de Bourges*, who was of the Family of *la Chastre*, *Odoard de Cambrai*, *Arnold Amaury de Narbonne*, *Henry de Rheims*, *Rotrou de Rouen*, and *Hugh de Vienne*. *Arnold* had been Abbot of *Clerveaux*, and was the first Inquisitor to root out the Heresie of the *Albigensis*; *Rotrou* was Son of the Earl of *Warwick*, near of Kindred to the King of *England*, as *Henry* was to the King of *France*, *Louis* the Gros: but both of them more eminent for their Christian Humility, then high Birth. *Hugh* endured rather to be expell'd from his See by the Emperor *Frederic I.* then to renounce *Alexander III.* whom he believed to be the true and Legitimate Pope. I should never come to an end, if I undertook to give an account of all the Bishops of this Age who deserve Immortality and Renown. But can we forget *Ives* and *John* of *Salisbury* who governed the Church of *Chartres*, the first in the beginning of this Century, and the last towards the end? *Godfrey d'Amiens* of whom we shall speak hereafter; *Peter* of *Poitiers*, who courageously opposed *William VIII.* Duke of *Aquitain*, who would force him to absolve him of the Excommunication wherewith he was fetter'd; *Gilbert Poree* who held the same See as *Peter*, but Twenty five years after; *Arnoulf* Bishop of *Lisieux*; *Robert de Beauvais*, he was the Son of *Hugh* Duke of *Burgundy*. *John* surnamed *de la Grille* who transferr'd the Bishoprick of *Quidale* to that place now called *St. Malo's*; *Simon de Noyon*, and *Guerin de Senlis*. In the time of *Simon*, whilst he was at *Jerusalem* with King *Louis VII.* (in the year 1146.) the Church of *Tournay* was cut off from that of *Noyon*, to which it had been joyned in the days of *St. Medard*, and had for their first Bishop *Anselme* who was Abbot of *St. Vincent* of *Laon*, *Guerin de Senlis* was very great in the Reign of *Philip II.* and of *Louis VIII.* Keeper of the Seals under the first, Chancellor under the second.

I shall conclude with four Bishops of *Paris*, whose Memory ought to be dear to that great City, and the whole Gallican Church. *Stephen de Garlande*, *Peter Lombard*, *Maurice* and *Odon*. These two last bare the name of *Sully*, *Maurice* because he was a Native of that place, but of very poor Parents, *Odon* because he was of that illustrious House, Issue of the Earls of *Champagne*. *Stephen* had been Chancellor of France under *Louis VI.* *Peter Lombard* was called the Master of Sentences, from that Book so well known through all Christendom, and which was the Foundation of all School-Divinity. (*Maurice* had a noble Soul) liberal and magnanimous: He founded the Abbies of *Herivaux*, and of *Hemieres*, as likewise two Monasteries for Virgins, *Gif* and *Hieres*, and laid the Foundation of the Church *Nôtre-Dame*, one of the greatest Buildings to be seen in France. *Odon* his Successor finish'd it, and founded a Monastery for Women of the Order of *Cîteaux* at *Port Royal*, being assisted in that Pious Work by the Liberality of *Matilda* Daughter of *William de Garland*. He laboured also to root out an ancient but ridiculous Custom which had been suffer'd in the Church of *Paris*, and in divers others of the Kingdom. It was the Holy-day or Feast of Fools; in some places they called it the Festival of Innocents. It was observ'd at *Paris*, principally upon the day of the Circumcision, the Priests and Clerks went in Masquerade to Church, where they committed a thousand Insolencies, and from thence rode about the Streets in Chariots, mounted upon Theaters or Stages, singing the most filthy Songs, and acting all the tricks and postures the most impudent Buffoons are wont to shew to divert the Rascally and Sottish Populace. *Odo* or *Odon* endeavour'd to put down this detestable Mummery, having to that effect obtain'd an order of the Popes Legat, who made his Visitation there: but we may well believe that his desire had not its full accomplishment, that Custom lasting Two hundred and fifty years afterwards, for we find that in the year 1444. the Masters of the Faculties of Divinity at the request of some Bishops, wrote a Letter to all the Prelats and Chapters, to damn and utterly abolish it; and the Council of *Sens* which was held

Church. held in Anno 1460. does yet speak of it as an Abuse which ought to be Rectrencht.

The Bishops labour'd assiduously to edifie and instruct the Faithful by their Works and Doctrine: most part of them have left their Writings, whereof many have been published, the rest as yet lie hid in several Libraries. And truly as this Age was not ingrateful to Persons of Merit, the liberty of Elections giving them opportunities to reward them, there were more Men of worth and parts to be found, then had been heard of in a long time, who improved the Sciences with good success, and drew an incredible number of Students to learn Philosophy and Divinity at Paris.

Human Learning, or *Les belles Lettres*, made some Attempts and Essays to raise it self, which were not altogether in vain. It appears in the Writings of *Hildebert*, of *John of Salisbury*, and *Stephen de Tournay*. *Peter Comestor* or the * Eater, Dean of the Church of *Troyes*, and afterwards a Monk of *St. Victor*, compiled the Ecclesiastical History; and he was called the Master of it; and *Elinand* Native of *Beauvais*, a Monk of *Froidmont*, wrote the Universal History to the year 1212. in Forty eight Books.

We have three Latin Poets or Versificators, who are not to be despised, *Galternus*, *William le Breton*, and *Leonius*. The first made a Poem of *Alexanders* famous Exploits, which he intitled *Alexandreides*. *Le Breton* in imitation compos'd the *Philippides* containing the History of *Philip Augustus*; and *Leonius* made himself known by several Copies, which though not very long, are gentle and full of Wit. He was Canon of *St. Victor*.

I shall not set down all those whom in this Age the Church put into her number of Saints; but only the two *Bernards*, the one being the first Abbot of *Tiron* of *St. Benet's* Order, and the other Abbot of *Clervaux*, whose Wit and clear Judgment, his Zeal and Piety, his Conduct and Capacity in business of the greatest weight, made him appear with more luster then any other in his time. Three Institutors of new Religious Orders, *Robert* Abbot of *Moleme*, that of the *Cisteaux*, *Stephen* that of *Grandmont*, and *Norbert* that of *Premonstre*; Five Bishops, *Anselme* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom I place amongst the French, though he were a Native of the Valley d' *Aust*, because he Studied in France, and was Abbot of *Bec*; *Peter* Abbot of *la Celle*, then Bishop of *Troyes*; another *Peter*, Bishop of *Poitiers*; *Aldebert* de *Brabant* Bishop of *Liege*; and *Godfrey*, Bishop of *Amiens*.

They relate an action of this last which our times would sooner wonder at, then imitate. It was the Mode then, for such as would be Gallants, to wear long Hair, curled and tressed: this courageous Prelat one time refuses to admit any to the holy Table who came tricked up in that fashion; and that refusal put them to such shame and confusion, that they all cut it off themselves, chusing rather to lose that vain Ornament of their Heads, then the Comfort of eating the holy Bread of Angels. When he found them so well disposed, he admitted those as Men and Christians whom he before had turned away as dissolute Women, or Men wholly effeminated.

About the year 1180. the People Reverenced a certain Maiden as a Saint, whose name was *Elpide* or *Alpaida*, dwelling in the Village of *Cudot*, in the Diocess of *Sens*, who for Ten years together would swallow nothing but the Sacred Host; and though a simple Country Girl, had great light and knowledge of things Natural and Divine. This debility hapned after a severe fit of Sickness, which had turned all her Body into a corrupt and stinking purulent Matter extremely infected. I cannot say how long she survived after the year 1180. but there is yet to be seen in the Parochial Church of that place her Monument, and her Effigies also in Stone, which over-head is crowned with Flowers; The People of that Country assure us, That God by divers Miracles hath approved the Devotion they have towards her.

Lewis

Lewis VIII. King XLII.

POPE,

HONORIUS III. All along this Reign,
and beyond it.LEWIS VIII. Surnamed the Lyon, and the Father of St. LEWIS,
King XLII. Aged Thirty six years compleat.

Philip Augustus had not caused his Son to be Crowned in his Life-time, whether he had a jealousy of him, or thought his Family so well Establish'd that he had no need of such precaution to secure the Crown to him. He was therefore Crowned at Rheims with his Wife *Blanch de Castile*, the Tenth day of the Month of August.

The King of England did not assist at his Coronation as he ought to have done, in Quality of Pair of France: but sent Ambassadors to summon him according to the Oath he had made at London, to surrender Normandy to him with all those other Countries that had been taken from King John his Father. They receiv'd for Answer, That they had been Confiscated by Judgment of the Pairs, and that they pretended to have the remainder likewise which he held, so far were they from giving back what he demanded.

As the People of *Languedoc* did easily return again to their Natural Lord *Raimond* Earl of *Toulouse*, *Amaury* finding himself too weak to stay in those Countries, came and resigned and yielded up all the Right and Title he had into the hands of the King; who for Recompence made him High Constable.

It was then but an Employment, lasting no longer then the War; So that we sometimes find such Lords on whom it hath been conferr'd two or three several times.

Raimond Earl of *Toulouse* having made his Address to Pope *Honorius* with all imaginable submission, the Holy Father sent to his Legat to call a Council at *Montpellier* to reconcile him with the Church. After which *Raimond* before an Assembly of the Clergy in *Languedoc*, promis'd and sware entire Obedience to the Roman Church, sufficient security to the Clergy for restitution and the enjoyment of their Goods and Profits, and the extirpation of Hereticks throughout all his Country. Upon this satisfaction the Pope received him to Mercy, and owned him for Earl of *Toulouse*.

But as the resistance and opposition of his Subjects hindred him from making good his Promises, the Pope sent a Legat to the King, it was *Romain* a Cardinal that had the Title of *St. Angelo*, to persuade him to undertake that Expedition; which he did the more readily because it suited with his zeal and with his Interests.

The two Kings, *Lewis* of France, and *Henry* of Germany, eldest Son to the Emperor *Frederic*, had a Conference at *Vaucouleurs*, where they Treated about several Differences between the two Crowns, and made divers Propositions, but came to no conclusion.

At his return from thence, pursuant to a Resolution had been taken to drive the English wholly out of France, *Lewis* enters *Poitou*, gains a Battle there over *Savary de Mauleon* General of the English in *Guyenne*, makes himself Master of the Cities of *Niort* and of *St. John d' Angely*, and generally over all the Places even to the *Garonne*, and receives the Homage of all the Lords of those parts.

There

1224.

There was nothing left but *Rochelle*, where *Savary de Mauléon* defended himself for a long time expecting Relief from *England*. In fine, being basely disappointed and deceived by the King of *England's* Ministers who sent him Chests full of old Iron in stead of Silver to satisfy the Garison, he was forced to surrender the Town the 23th day of *July*; and afterwards pretending, whether true or false, that he had been Treated in *England* as a Person whose Faith they suspected, he quitted his old Master, and went to the King of *France*.

After the taking of that important City, the Kings to secure it the better to themselves, had as it were outwied each other, in gratifying it with many great Priviledges, by which means it was raised to a high pitch of Renown, for its Wealth and Liberty: but through their ill management of those Advantages, she hath utterly lost them all in these latter times.

1225.

The rest of *Guyenne* had been gained by the French, if *Richard* Brother to King *Henry* had not landed at *Bordeaux* with a great Army, which raised up the drooping Spirits. He took *St. Macaire* near *Bordeaux* by Storm: but *La Reoule* gave him a great Repulse; and being inform'd that the French Army was at the River *Garonne*, he Ship'd himself again and left order with *Aimery* Vicount de *Touars* to procure a Truce.

There wandred a certain Person about *Flanders*, near this time, who said he was that *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, and Emperor of *Constantinople*, that had been taken Prisoner by the King of *Bulgaria*. He related how he made his escape out of Prison, and put them in mind of several Tokens and Circumstances to know him by. The *Flemings* who mightily loved *Baldwin*, gave Credit to this Man, and put him in possession of all *Flanders*.

1225.

The Countess *Jane* Daughter of *Baldwin* finding her self at a loss (for her Husband *Ferrand* was still a Prisoner at *Paris*) had recourse to the King, who sent word to this pretended *Baldwin*, that he should come to him at *Peronne*. He came boldly thither: but disdaining or not being able to answer the Questions put to him, which he must needs have known if he were not a Cheat, the King commanded him to depart his Territories within three days, and gave him a safe Conduct. Being afterwards forsaken by all the World, he endeavour'd to escape away in a disguise, but he was taken in *Burgundy* and carried to the Countess; who after she had made him undergo divers Tortures, sent him to the Gibbet as an Impostor. His Execution did not hinder malicious People from believing that the Daughter had chosen rather to hang her Father then to restore him to his Sovereignty.

1225.

This same year the King being in *Touraine*, the Legat went to him and obliged him to prolong the Truce with *Aymery* Vicount de *Touars*, the only Nobleman that opposed the King yet in *Poitou*. This Vicount shortly after came to *Paris* to render Hommage to the King in presence of the King of *England's* Ambassadors.

1226.

The City of *Avignon* having refused the Army passage, was besieged the 14th of *June*. It defended it self obstinately, *Guy* Count de *Saint Pol* one of the bravest of the Besiegers was slain there, the Plague got amongst the Soldiers, and the Earl of *Champagne* Mal-content went away without leave. The King nevertheless swore he would not decamp till he brought the Besieged to Reason; in so much that on the * Assumption-day they were reduced to a Capitulation. They gave up two hundred Hostages, their Walls were pull'd down, their Moats and Gratts fill'd up, and three hundred Houses with Turrets demolish'd. These were Inns belonging to Gentlemen, who had the like at *Toulouze*, and other great Cities in those Provinces.

* Our Lady-day in Har-vest.

Going thence, the King went into *Provence*, and all the Towns surrender'd to him within four Leagues of *Toulouze*. The Season growing bad, and he somewhat tender of Constitution, he takes his way back towards *France*, leaving the Conduct of his Forces and the Government of those Countries in the hands of *Imbert de Beau-jeu*.

1226.

Upon his return one of the Grandees of the Kingdom, whom History has not dar'd to name, caused some Poyson to be given him, whereof he died at the Castle of *Montpencier* in *Auvergne*, upon a Sunday being the Octave of All-Saints. He had lived Thirty nine years, and had Reigned three, and about four Months. He is buried at *St. Denis* by his Father.

1226.

The Clergy because of his Piety and his Chastity, reported that his Sickness proceeded from his too great Continence; (for his Wife did not go with him) and that he chose rather to dye then make use of an unlawful Remedy they presented him for Cure.

As he foresaw things in a posture that threatned great troubles after his death, he took the Oaths and Seals of Twelve Lords that were about him, that they should cause his eldest Son to be Crowned, and if he failed, they should put the Second in his stead.

By his Wife *Blanche de Castille* he had nine Sons and two Daughters; there were but five Sons alive, *Lewis*, *Robert*, *Alphonso*, *Charles*, and *John*. According to his Will and Testament *Lewis* Reigned, *Robert* had the County of *Artois*, and propagated the branch of that name; *Alphonso* had that of *Poitou*, and *Charles* that of *Anjou*. From him sprung the first Branch of *Anjou*; *John* dyed at the age of 14 years. Of the two Daughters, only *Isabella* was left, who having been promised to divers Princes, and grown to be an old Maid, took on the Holy vail, and shut her self up the year 1260. in the Monastery of *Lougechamp*, between *Paris* and *St. Cloud*, which the King her Brother founded for her.

P p

Saint

Saint Lewis, King XLIII.

Aged Eleven years six Months.

P O P E S.

HONORIUS III. *Five Months.*

GREG. IX. *Elect in April, 1227. S. Fourteen years, Five Months.*

CELESTINE IV. *Elect in Sept. 1241. S. Eighteen days.*

Vacancy of Twenty Months.

INNOCENT IV. *Elect in June 1243. S. Eleven years, Five Months and a half.*

ALEXANDER IV. *Elect in Decemb. 1254. S. Six years, Five Months.*

URBAN IV. *Son of a Cbler of Troyes, Elected about the end of August, 1261. S. Three years, Thirty four days.*

CLEMENT IV. *Elected in Feb. 1265. S. Three years, and about Ten Months.*

Vacancy of Thirty five Months, from Dec. in the year 1268. the Cardinals not agreeing amongst themselves in the Conclave, about the Election.

1226.
in Novembre.

THIS is the Third Minority in the Capetine Race; and the First wherein a Woman had the Regency. *Blanche de Castille* a stranger, but courageous and able; undertook it, and carried it, being assisted by the Counsels of *Romain*, the Cardinal Legat, who had great power with her, and grounded upon the Certificates of some Lords, who attested that her Husband being on his Death-bed, had ordered that he would have his eldest Son with the Kingdom, and all his other Brothers, be left to her Guardianship and Government.

1226.

Immediately before the Lords had time to contrive any obstacles to her Regency, she drew all the Forces she possibly could together, and with them, went and caused her eldest Son *Lewis*, to be Crowned in the City of *Rheims*. The Episcopal See being vacant, the Bishop of *Soissons*, who is the Suffragant, performed the Ceremony. It was on the First day of *December*.

The Lords of the Kingdom had been invited thither by Letters, but the greatest part refused to come; amongst others, *Peter Duke of Bretagne*, *Henry Earl of Bar* his Brother-in-law, *Hugh de Luzignan*, *Earl de la Marche*, *Thibault Earl of Champagne*, *Hugh de Chastillon*, *Count de St. Pol*, and divers others. They were framing a League amongst them, demanding, that the Regent who was a Stranger, should give security for her good Administration, that whatever had been taken from the Lords during the two last Reigns, should be restored to them, and such as were prisoners should be released, especially *Ferrand Earl of Flanders*.

1226.

After her departure from *Rheims*, notwithstanding the severity of the Winter, she marched towards *Bretagne*, where lay the strength of the League. The Confederates being not yet ready, avoided what mischief they could by a Retreat; but she followed so close at their heels, that the Earl of *Champagne* fell off from the party;

party; then the others entered into a Treaty, and promised to appear in full Parliament, which was to be held at *Chinon*, and which at their request was removed to *Tours*, then to *Vendosme*.

In that Parliament which was held in the Month of *March*, a Peace was patched up between the Regent and the Lords; but the same year they being assembled at *Corbeil*, plotted to surprize the King as he was coming from *Chaftres* to *Paris*; their design had infallibly succeeded, if the Queen Regent had not been informed, and cast her self with the King into *Montlebery*. The Citizens of *Paris* having taken up Arms, went thither to guard him, and brought him back with joyful acclamations to their City.

The Earl of *Champagne* was the man that had given this private intelligence to the Queen. This young Prince had a pretence of Love or Gallantry for her, rather out of some Court-like vanity, then for the power of her charms, she being a Woman of above Forty years of age; she knew how to make her own advantage of his folly, and wished him to continue amongst those discontented People, that he might betray all their intrigues to her.

The King of *England* would needs concern himself in this quarrel, and promised them his assistance; and the Earl of *Toulouze* taking his opportunity, during these Brouilleries and Stirs, had got possession again of all his Places. The Queen Regent fearing this Flame might be blown too high, renew'd a Treaty with the Princes of this League, whom by that means she kept from farther proceeding all this year; and in the mean while, she confirm'd the Alliance with the Emperour *Frederick*, made a Truce with the *English* for a Twelve-month, and came to an agreement with the Duke of *Bretagne*, who gave his Daughter to be Married to a Son of hers, named *John*.

Thus the Earl of *Toulouze* was left alone. *Imbert de Beau-jeu* having received a notable re-inforcement, bethought himself, instead of taking the Castles one by one, it would do better to spoil and ruine the whole Countrey about *Toulouze*, pull down the Houses, root up the Vineyards, and burn the Corn; which so disheartned the *Toulousains*, that both they and their Earl, were forced to submit to what conditions he pleased.

The Treaty was chalked out at *Meaux*, and compleated at *Paris*, the Earl and Deputies of *Toulouze* being present: The Earl was deprived of all his Lands, excepting some little fragments they for meer pity left him. It was order'd they should all devolve to his Daughter *Jane*, who should be Married to *Alphonso* the Kings Brother, into whose custody she was put forthwith; That the Earl should pay Seventeen thousand Marks of Silver, part to the King, some to the Monks of *Cîteaux*, and the rest for a Foundation of Doctors in Divinity at *Toulouze*; That the Walls of that City, and of Thirty more should be demolish'd; for performance whereof he should give Hostages, and in the mean time remain prisoner; That there should be an exact search after Heretiques, at his charge; and that for penance he should go and make war five years against the *Saracens*.

These Articles Signed, he and those of his company that had been Excommunicated, were at *Notre-dames of Paris* upon Good-Friday bare-footed, in their Shirts, to receive Absolution of the Popes Legat. That done, the Earl returned prisoner to the Tower of the *Louvre*, till he had given his Hostages. About the Feast of *Pentecost* the King gave him the Order of Knighthood, and sent him into his own Countrey. The Legat went with him, and settled the Inquisition, which exercised great severities, and was again the cause of many troubles and Massacres.

The Male-contented could not digest that the Government should be in the hands of two Strangers, a *Spanish* Woman and an *Italian* Cardinal; they therefore took up Arms again, drew to their party, *Robert Earl of Dreux*, elder Brother to the Duke of *Bretagne*, and *Philip Earl of Boulogne*, the Kings paternal Uncle, to whom they promised the Crown: so that the King feared a second time to be involved by this conspiracy, and had been surprized, if the Earl of *Champagne* had not run seasonably to him with 300 Horse-men to bring him off.

In Spring the Conspirators turned all their Force against the Earl of *Champagne* and *Brie*. They demanded those Counties of him for *Alix Queen of Cyprus*, Daughter of his Uncle *Henry*, who died in the *Levant*; and more then that, called him Traytor, and accused him of having poysonned the deceased King, proffering to convict him by Duel; a reproach that made him so black and loathsome amongst his Vassals, that they joyned in League with his Enemies against him.

P p 2

The

1227.

1227.

1228.

1229.

They were called *Milites*.
1228.

The Count finding so heavy a burthen on his Shoulders, and his City of *Troyes* besieged, implores the assistance of the Queen Regent, who caused the King to march to his relief, and commanded them, if they had anything to say against the Earl, they should come and require justice upon him in her Court.

But they who would not acknowledge her Regency, as if the Kingdom had been vacant, elected in a private Assembly or Cabal, the Lord de *Coney* for King, who was in great reputation for his Wisdom and Justice. The Queen Regent having got intelligence, gave immediate notice of it to *Philip* Earl of *Boulogne*, whom they had made believe they would give the Crown to: by this means she took him off from them, then by divers politique contrivances made all their designs vanish, but not their ill intentions.

1228. For a few days afterwards the Duke of *Bretagne*, by their assistance and Councils, took up Arms again, and called the King of *England* to his aid, who landed in *Bretagne* with considerable Forces: but when he saw the King, conducted by the Queen Regent, had taken the Castle de *Belesme au Perche* from the Duke, which was held impregnable: he Shipp'd himself again. The Duke thus abandoned, was constrained to betake himself to an agreement.

1229. The very next year he broke it, but not without punishment: the King having taken all his Holds and Places, and gained all his Vassals and Friends, shuts him up in his City of *Nantes*; so that to get out of the Briars, and make the best of a bad bargain, he was forced to render him homage of Allegiance for the Dutchy. The Bretons, who pretended they owed but only single Homage, named him, because of his so doing, *Man-clerc*, as who should say, *Witless*, or wanting Judgment and Understanding.

Emp.
Baldwin II.
Reigned 35
years.
And Frederic
II.

Thibault Earl of *Champagne* was ill rewarded for the good services he had done the Queen Regent. She took in hand the cause of her Cousin *Alix*, and condemned him to pay her Forty thousand Marks of Silver, and sell to the King to raise that Money, the Counties of *Blois*, *Chartres*, *Sancerre*, and the Vicount of *Chasteaudun*.

1230. After all these disorders, there was a calm and peace for four years, which was only a little disturbed by some tumults, caused by the remainders of the *Albigensis*, and the hurly-burly of the Scholars belonging to the University of *Paris*. It was then the fairest Ornament of the Kingdom, and the innumerable numbers of Scholars that flocked thither from all parts of *Europe*, brought great riches to that City, which in a manner made all the other Universities in Christendom submit to it. Now some of them having been ill handled in some scuffle with the Citizens, and not obtaining such satisfaction as they desired; they all resolved to quit *Paris*; not without having first published a great many Songs, and Licentious Poems, which sullied the reputation of the Queen Regent, and Cardinal *Romain* the Popes Legat, who swayed her. The Duke of *Bretagne* and the King of *England* proffer'd to receive them into their Countries, and to grant them great privileges; but the Kings Council fearing that capital City might be deprived of so great an advantage and benefit, found means to allay their heats, and keep them there.

1231.
and the fol-
lowing-

The Inhabitants of *Marcellis*, and the adjacent Countreys being revolted against *Raimond Berenger*, Earl of *Provence*, called in *Raimond*, Earl of *Toulouse* to Command them, because he was next Heir; For we must know that *Gilbert* Earl of *Provence* and *Nice*, had had two Daughters, *Faidide*, who Married *Alphonso*, Great, Great, Grandfather of *Raimond de Toulouse*, and *Douce* that had married *Raimond Berenger*, Earl of *Bacelonna*, from whom was descended the Earl of *Provence* now mentioned.

He therefore accepted of their Homage, and acted as their Lord, whence follow'd a War that lasted four years between those two Cousins.

This Earl of *Provence* having been harass'd by divers Revolts, and other misfortunes, was at the end of his days, made compleatly happy, by the Marriage of four Daughters he had by his Wife *Beatrix* of *Savoy*, a most Virtuous Princess. For all four of them had the honour to be Married to Kings: *Margret*, who was the eldest, was the most happy, being joyned this year to *Lewis* King of *France*, a Prince that was much greater by his Virtues than his Crown.

1235.

The same year the Earl of *Champagne*, it is not said for what cause, fell again into Rebellion, for which he was punished with the loss of his Cities of *Montereau-Faut-Tonne*, *Bray*, and *Nogent* upon the *Seine*. These losses did not make him much wiser, he persisted still in his foolish passion for the Queen who had ruin'd him, and retired to his Castle of *Provins* to write Verses and Songs, for entertainment of his amorous Dotage.

Never-

Nevertheless he was soon diverted by the death of *Sancho* VIII. called the Strong, King of *Navarre*, who dying without any Males, left the Kingdom to him as the next Heir and Son of his Daughter * *Blanch*. So he went and took possession, and transported a great number of Husbandmen from his Lands in *Brie* and *Champagne*, who improved, and made that Countrey very fertile and populous.

The Countrey of *Artois* was erected to an Earldom * *Pairrie*, in favour of *Robert* the Kings Brother, on whom his Father had bestow'd it by his Will. Some place this erection in the time of *Philip Augustus*. However it were, I think we may be confident it is the first of that nature.

At the solicitation of Pope *Gregory* (who had as well a quarrel to the Emperour *Frederick's* Forces, his Enemy declar'd, they being in possession of the remainder of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, as to the *Saracens*) there was a great Crusado of French Lords, over whom the new King of *Navarre* was made Chief. But these Adventurers had no better success than all the rest; for the ill conduct of these new Soldiers of the Cross, and their Divisions, brought the whole Army almost to ruine, and most part of the Officers and Commanders were slain there, or taken prisoners.

Peter, Duke of *Burgundy* died in his return from this Expedition, his only Son *John*, Surnamed *Rufus* succeeded him. The affairs of *Constantinople* were no whit better; the Emperour *Baldwin* comes into *France* to beg assistance against the *Greeks*, and for a great sum of Money, sold the Crown of Thorns wherewith our Saviour was Crowned, the Spung, and the Lance, which pierced his Side, to *St. Lewis* the King, who put them into his Treasury of Reliques in the Holy Chappel, which he had purposely built in his own Palace.

It was now about three years that all the Doctors both Seculars and Regulars of the Sacred Faculty of Divinity at *Paris* (which was then almost the only School for that Science, and as it were the perpetual Council of the Gallican Church) had resolv'd the question, and were all agreed upon this judgment in a famous Assembly, and after mature deliberation and discussion, that one and the same Ecclesiastical person could in Conscience hold but one Benefice at one time.

This year 1238. *William* III. Bishop of *Paris*, held another Assembly of the same Faculty in the Chapter of the *Jacobins*, where it was unanimously concluded, That one could not, without forfeiture of Eternal Happiness, possess two Benefices at the same time, provided one of them were of the value only of Fifteen Liures * *parisis*; per annum. There were none but *Philip*, Chancellor of the University, and *Arnold*, afterwards Bishop of *Amiens*, who were obstinately resolv'd to hold their own. The First when he lay on his Death-bed, being earnestly desired, and pressed home by the Bishop *William*, to discharge himself of that burden which would sink him down to Hell; replied, That he would try whether that were true. How few are to be seen in these days that do not chuse to run the same hazard, or are not troubled that they cannot have the opportunity of such a Trial? But it does not appear so great a risque to them, since the Popes give Dispensations.

The quarrels between Pope *Gregory* IX. and the Emperour *Frederic* growing hot, to all extremity of Outrages on either side. *Gregory* sent to *St. Lewis* King of *France*, to proffer him the Empire for his Brother *Robert*, Earl of *Artois*. The Lords assembled by the King, upon a proposition so important, did not approve that violent proceeding, and said it was sufficient for *Robert*, that he was Brother to a King, who was more excellent in Dignity and Nobility, than any Emperour whatever.

The *Albigensis* could not submit themselves to the Orders of the Inquisition; *Trincavel*, Son of the Vicount de *Beziers*, and five or six Lords of the Countrey, putting themselves at the head of them, they seized upon *Carcassonne*, and some other places, and ran into some parts belonging to the King, in hostile manner. He presently sent some Forces thither, Commanded by *John* Earl of *Beaumont*, who drove them out from *Carcassonne*, and besieged them in *Mont-real*: where after they had held some time, they made their capitulation, by means of the Earls of *Foix* and *Toulouse*.

The old de la *Montagne*, so they named the Prince of the *Assassins*, a People that occupied the mountainous Canton of *Syria*, had dispatched two of his Murtherers into *France* to kill the King: but soon after, I cannot say by what motive, he repented, and countermanded them by some others; who before they could find them out, adverted the King to have a care of himself.

This old de la *Montagne* bred up great numbers of young Youths, in pleasant and delicious Palaces, and the hopes of an Eternal Felicity in the other World, if they obey'd his Commands blindfold; and to make them the more capable, and fit to execute his bloody Will in all Countreys, he made them learn all Languages.

1235.
and 36.
* Some say
she was Sister
to *Alphonso*
VIII.
* Of the
Peerage.

1237.
and 38.

1238.

* Each Liver
Paris, is
about 2 s.
6 d. sterling.

†
1239.

1239.

1239.

The

1239.

The interests of the Pope and the Emperour were not at all compatible together; and therefore *Frederick* and *Honorius*, and then *Gregory IX.* who succeeded *Honorius*, fell necessarily into discords, and afterwards into mortal hatred. *Gregory* lets fly the Thunder-bolts of the Church against *Frederick*, and his Legat having called the Prelats of *France* together at *Meaux*, order'd several of them to go to *Rome* to hold a Council, where they pretended to degrade that Emperour.

He complained to the King, desired him not to permit his Bishops to go out of *France*; and his desire not taking effect, he caused them to be way-laid, and watch'd at Sea, and having taken them, distributed them in divers prisons. Then in his turn, he for a while slighted the Kings intercession for their release; which thing made some alteration in that good correspondence, that for some time had continued between *France* and the Empire.

1240.

In the year 1240. The King having assembled the flower of the Barons, and the Knights of his Kingdom at *Sammur*, gave the Girdle of Knighthood to his Brother *Alphonso*, (whose Marriage had a little before been compleated with *Jane*, Daughter and Heiress of the Earl of *Toulouse*) and also gave him the Counties of *Poitou* and *Auvergne*, and all that had been conquer'd in *Languedoc* upon the *Albigensis*.

1241.

"These years, the *Tartars* made cruel irruptions; amongst others, one in *Hungary*; under the Command of *Bath*, who was one of their Generals; and one in *Russia*, *Poland*, and *Silesia*; whither they were conducted by another of their Generals, who was named *Pera*.

"These *Barbarians* were *Scythians*, Originaries, between the *Caspian* Sea, and *Mount Imaus*. Some make them descended from the Ten Tribes of the *Hebrews*, who were transferr'd by the King of *Affyria* into those Countreys, and derive their Name from the *Hebrew* Word, which signifies *Forfaken*. Others derive it from the River *Tatar*, which ran thorough their Countrey, and say it was given to the whole Nation of the *Mogles*, composed of seven principal People, of which they made one: They were Tributaries, and as we say, Slaves to a Christian Nestorian Prince, whose Kingdom was in the *Indies*; he was called *Prefter-John*. But *Clugis*, or *Tzingis-Chan* set that Nation free about the end of the last age, ruined the States of *Prefter-John*, and founded a very great Kingdom out of it; from whence divers Colonies went forth and settled in other Countreys * even in some parts of *Europe*.

* Tartars of
Procop.
or Grim.
Tartars along
the Volga, &c.

1241.

The Earl of *Toulouse* sought out all means, underhand, to repair the shameful Treaty he had made with the King: and therefore he consulted, and contrived with *James* King of *Arragon*, who was come to *Montpellier*, and with the Earl of *Provence*, though he were the Kings Father-in-law, to Dissolve his Marriage with *Sanchia*, the *Arragonians* Aunt, upon pretence of Parentage, that he might Marry the Daughter of the Earl of *Provence*, and that his Daughter *Jane*, whom he had perforce given to the Earl of *Poitou*, might not be his Heiress. An example that proves; to any that might doubt, that amongst Great ones, Honour, Parentage, Alliance and Conscience does easily give way and stoop to their Interest and Humour.

Hugh, Count de la *Marche*, to his misfortune, had Married *Isabella*, the Widow of King *John*, who had formerly ravished her from him. This Womans pride would not suffer him to do Homage to *Alphonso*, the new Earl of *Poitou*; the King undertook to compel him, and on a suddain took several of his Towns, and demolish'd them; amongst others, *Fontenay*, where his Brother *Alphonso* was wounded with an Arrow.

The King of *Englands* assistance in behalf of his Mother, was too slow; he and his Brother *Richard* landed in the River of *Burdeaux*. The Earl de la *Marche* had assured them, that all *Poitou* would rise and joyn with them upon their arrival: but as his promise failed, their courage failed too; the King falls upon them at the Bridge of *Taillebourg*, fighting desperately in person, making them retreat as far as *Xaintes*, and from thence to *Blaye*. The Earl and his proud Dame, being forced to forget she had been a Queen, found no safety but at the Kings Feet. They experimented his Goodness was as great as his Courage; and although she had suborn'd Rascals to Murder him, who had been discover'd, and punished, he pardon'd both her and her Husband, keeping only two or three of their Places in his hands, till he was better assured of their Obedience.

"Italy

"Italy was horribly shatter'd by the Factions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*. The First held for the Pope, the others for the Emperour.

1243.

"The jealousy betwixt the *Franciscans* and the *Dominicans*, which had its Birth almost with their Orders, encreased likewise proportionably with their growth; Infomuch that the Pope, who stood in need of them, and the King *St. Lewis*, who cherished them, found it no little trouble to distribute their favours equally, and hold the ballance so even, that they should have no cause to take advantage of each other.

1243.

"But both of them took much over all other Religions Orders, whom they despised as more imperfect, and not only set a value upon themselves for their Divinity, wherein sometimes they were so meely notional, and over-subtil as it appeared very near to error, but likewise took upon them the functions of ordinary Pastors, drawing the grists of Alms, pious Legacies, and Burials of rich people to their own Mills, concerning themselves in the directing of Consciences, and the administration of the Sacraments, to the prejudice of the Hierarchy, who from that time hath ever been contending with them to maintain her authority.

The Holy See having been vacant near twenty Months, *Innocent IV.* was elected. He was thought to be a friend to *Frederick*; but whether that Emperour had not used him well, or what else it were, he followed the steps of his Predecessors, and began to quarrel with him upon the same score of differences. The feud grew so hot, that *Frederick* being the stronger in *Italy*, *Innocent* went thence, that he might with more safety let fly his Thunder against him, and came into *France*, where being arrived in *December* this year 1244. he called a Council at *Lyons*, for the year following.

1244.

In the year 1228. the Emperour *Frederick* being constrained by the threats of Pope *Gregory*, was gone into the *Holy-Land*, where by his Reputation rather than his Sword, he had so contrived it, that the Sultan had given him up the City of *Jerusalem*, but dismantled, with part of the *Holy-Land*. The Pope not satisfied with that agreement, had afterwards procured other Adventurers to go, who broke the Truce aforesaid, to the great damage of the Christians; who being mightily weakened; it hapned *Ann.* 1244. that the *Chorasmians*, a People drove out of *Persia* by the *Tartars*; others say of *Arabia*, fell upon the *Holy-Land*, laid it all waste, ruined all the Holy places of *Jerusalem*, and drowned them in the Blood of Christians.

1244.

This news was brought to *St. Lewis* whilst he was fallen sick at *Pontoise*, towards the end of *December*. All those that were about him, despairing of his Life, he made a vow to God, if he restored him to health, that he would go in person to make war against those Infidels: and in truth, being recover'd, he took the Cross from the hands of the Legat, but could not so soon accomplish his pious design.

The Council of *Lyons* was open'd the Monday after *St. John Baptists* Feast, in the Abbey de *St. Just*; and from thence transferr'd to the Cathedral Church of *St. Johns*. The Emperour *Baldwin*, the Earl *Raimond de Toulouse*, and *Berenguer de Provence* were present there, these two soliciting for the dispensation, that *Raimond* might Marry with *Beatrice*, the youngest Daughter of *Berenguer*: but the Kings of *France*, and of *England*, and *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, who had Married the other three Sisters, hindred the Grant of it.

1245.

The Emperour *Frederick* having quitted his Affairs of *Italy* to come there, and having in the mean time sent his Ambassadors thither before, received tidings when he was got to *Turin*, that the Pope and the Fathers had Excommunicated him, with Candles extinguished; and degraded him for divers things imposed upon him: amongst others, That he detained the Church-Lands, That he had intelligence with the Saracens; That he erred in divers Articles of Faith,

1245.

After this deposition all his Affairs crumbled to nothing in an instant. The *Milaneses* beat him, the other Christian Princes took an aversion for him as an impious person; even the Germans, (that they may not reproach the French for contributing to ruine the Empire) rejected him, and for King of the Romans, elected *Henry VII.* Landgrave of *Hesse* and *Turingia*; when as the King in an interview he had with the Pope at *Clugny*, endeavour'd to make up the breach, by an agreement betwixt this unfortunate Emperour, and the Roman Church, by virtue of a Procurator he had from him.

1245.

This year 1245. died *Raimond Berenguer*, Earl of *Provence*, having by his Testament constituted *Beatrice* his fourth Daughter, his Heiress. *James* King of *Arragon* caused some Forcesto march into *Provence*, to secure so good a party for his Son. But the King of *France* did not intend to let a stranger run away with such a prize; He

1245.

He therefore drove the *Arragonians* out of that Countrey, and by consent of the Daughter, as well as her Mother, and her Uncles the Earl of *Savoy*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons*, he so order'd it, that she was promised to her Brother *Charles*, who was Earl of *Anjou*. The Marriage was not consummated till the year following.

1245. The same year on the First of *December*, died also *Jane*, Countess of *Flanders* without having had any Children by her Second Husband *Thomas*, Earl of *Savoy*, no more then by her First, who was *Ferrand* of *Portugal*; her Sister *Margaret* succeeded her.

This *Margret* had had Children by two Husbands, *John* and *Baldwin* by *Bouchard d' Avesue* her first Husband, and *William*, *John* and *Guy*, by *William de Dampierre* her Second. These pretended, that the Sons of *Bouchard* ought not to inherit, because it had been discover'd that he was in Holy Orders when he married their Mother; and for that reason the Marriage was declared null.

1246. Those of the first Bed observing the Mother favoured the others, had recourse to the King. He sent both parties to a Parliament at *Peronne*, and therein it was ordained, that those of the first Bed should have *Hainault*, and the others should have *Flanders*.

1246. The pretended King of the Romans, *Henry Landgrave of Hesse*, being dead in Battle, or of sickness; the Germans, who persisted obstinately, under the pretence of *Riety*, to ruin the dignity of the Empire; elected the year following, *William* Earl of *Holland*, potent in Friends and Alliances, whilst *Frederic* was struggling with his misfortunes, and his enemies in Italy.

1247. and 48. The Duke of *Burgundy* and some French Lords were Leagued with him to defend the Liberties of their Countreys, against the usurpations of the Court of *Rome*; being supported by this League, he leaves *Lombardy* to come to *Lyons*, whether to invest the Pope, or to mollify him by his Prayers: but he was recalled by a blow the *Milanese* had given his bastard Son *Entius*, whom he had left in *Parma*.

These Affairs, and the great preparations for War, detained the King till the month of *May* of this year, from accomplishing the Vow he had made three years before. It cannot be written in Characters so great as it deserves, how this pious King being perswaded that Sovereigns are responsible by Laws, both Divine and Humane, for all the miscarriages of their Officers, caused it to be published thorow all his Kingdom, that whoever had suffer'd any wrong or damage by any belonging to him, should make it known, and he would give them satisfaction out of his own State; which was performed punctually.

That done, and having taken leave of the Holy Martyr, and given the Regency to the Queen his Mother, he quitted *Paris*, being conducted out of the City by all the Orders in Procession: He took his two Brothers *Robert* and *Charles* with him, the Queen his Wife, theirs, and an infinite number of Princes, Lords, Prelats, and Gentlemen. He received the Popes Benediction in his passage thorough *Lyons*, thence he descended by the *Rhone*, and going on board at *Aigues-mortes* in *Languedoc*, the 25th of *August*, set sail two days after, and landed happily in *Cyprus* the 25th of *September*, where he past the Winter, to wait for the rest of his Forces and Ammunition.

In this Island he received at the beginning of *December*, Letters from *Ercathay*, one of the chief Chams of the Tartars, and soon after arrived Ambassadors from the King of *Armenia*. *Ercathay* sent him word how the Great *Cham*, and a good number of his Captains had embraced Christianity, and that he had sent him with a great Army to destroy the Sultan of *Baldac*, or *Bagdet*, the most potent of all the Mahometan Princes. The *Armenian* Ambassadors assured him that this news was true, and that their King had vanquished, with the assistance of the Tartars; the Sultan of *Iconia* or *Cogny*, to whom they were tributary, and cast off the yoke of those Infidels.

1249. The Saturday after the *Ascension*, the Holy King having drawn all his Men together from their Winter Quarters in the Island of *Cyprus*, and received a new reinforcement, brought him by *Robert* Duke of *Burgundy*, came the fourth of *June* into the Road before *Damiata* in *Egypt*. The *Saracens* expected him in good order upon the Shore; he landed in despite of them, and made them give way. They being well beaten, so great a fear seized upon them, that the next day they forsook the Town, after they had set fire to it in several places, and carried off in Boats beyond the River *Nilus*, all their Families, and the richest of their Goods.

The

The overflowing of the *Nile*, which infallibly begins some days before the Summer Solstice, hindered the Army from going on at the same time, to take the City of *Grand-Cairo*, and kept them almost till the midst of *Autumn*, in so much idleness, as brought them into all manner of debauchery and dissoluteness.

In the Month of *September*, *Alphonso* the Kings Brother arrived with new Adventurers of the Cross. *Raimond* his Father-in-law, who had accompanied him as far as *Aigues-Mortes*, where he took Shipping with his Wife, died upon his way home in the Town of *Millau* in *Rouergue*, giving all the demonstrations of a hearty Repentance. He was the last of the Earls of *Toulouse*, who had Ruled over the greatest part of *Languedoc* above 350 years. His Daughter *Jane* being deceased without any Child by her Husband *Alphonso*, his Lordships were re-united to the Crown, in pursuance of the Treaty made in the year One thousand two hundred twenty eight.

The 20th of *November*, the pious King parted from *Damiata*, and marched against the *Saracens*, who had drawn all their Forces about the City of *Massoura*. He encamped on an arm of the *Nilus*, formerly called *Canopus*, and in those times the *Raschit*, which was not foordable; whilst this was doing, their Sultan, named *Melidin* happened to dye, and till his Son could come, they gave the Command to the most valiant of his Emirs or *Sarapes*, who was *Farchardin*.

In fine, the French having passed over the *Raschit*, gained in two several days two Battles against the Infidels, wherein *St. Lewis*, animated with a *Sampson*-like Spirit and Zeal, did prodigious acts of Valour; but in the first which was fought in *February*, his Brother *Robert* was slain, pursuing too inconsiderately the flying enemy thorough the City of *Massoura*.

The Christians Army being Encamped near to *Pharamia*, to refresh themselves, *Melec-Sala*, the Son of *Meledin*, arrives with another Army which he had obtained of the several Sultans of his Religion, wherewith he beset the Christians, stopping up all passages by which they were to receive Provisions, that hunger, and the distemper, now call'd the *Scurvy* or *Scorbut*, reduc'd them to a miserable condition. In this extremity it was resolv'd to lead them back to *Damiata*; but it proved too late, the Army was utterly defeated in their march, and the King taken prisoner with his other two Brothers *Alphonso* and *Charles*, and almost all the Officers; there were but very few of his who escaped from captivity or death. This misfortune hapned the 5th day of *April*.

To this grief of the good King's, the *Barbarian* Conquerours added an outrage, which touched him yet more sensibly, than either the loss of his Army or his Liberty. They scourged a Crucifix before him, defiled it with spitting upon it, and dragg'd it thorough the Mire. However, the Sultan *Melec-Sala* took a particular care of his person, so that he restor'd him to his health again. He also agreed a ten years Truce with him; but thereupon, being murder'd by his Emirs, the King was likewise in great danger of perishing in the same storm of rage; notwithstanding him whom they elected for Sultan (he was named *Turquemir*) preserved him, and confirm'd the Treaty.

By those Articles they gave both him and all the Christian Captives their liberty, with leave to carry away with them all their equipage: they agreed to a Truce for Ten years, and left them all they held beside in the Holy Land, upon condition they surrendred *Damiata*, and should set free the *Saracen* Slaves, and give them 400000. *Liures* ready Money. It is remarkable, that this generous King not enduring they should set a price upon his Person, would needs have that sum to be the ransom for the rest, and the City of *Damiata* for his; and having notice that upon payment of the said Moneys, the *Saracens* had mis-told, and taken less then was agreed by a great deal, he sent them the remainder immediately.

It is a Fable that he should give a consecrated Host to those *Barbarians* for security of his Word: He would have exposed himself a thousand times to death, rather then have deliver'd up his God, to those impious enemies. It is true indeed, that they afterwards coined Moneys, with a Pix stamped upon it, and the Sacred Host over it, and that the same Figures were wrought in some pieces of their *Tapistries*; and to this day there are the Figures of some Chalice Graved or Carved about the Walls of *Damascus*, or *Damur*; perhaps they meant to let the World know by these means, and preserve the memory of it to future ages, what Victories they had obtained against the Christians, and how they had led their God in Triumph.

Qq

The

1250.

The Sum paid, and *Damiata* restored, the King and Princes were deliver'd, and imbarquing upon some Gallies belonging to *Genova*, landed at the Port of *Acon*: but for the rest of the prisoners, such as were sick, being in great numbers, were knock'd at head, and the remainders constrain'd to pay a new Ransom, or to renounce.

"It hath been said, that the *Barbarians* put out the Eyes of Three hundred Gentle-men; and that in memory of those Noble Martyrs, that *St. Lewis* some years afterwards, Founded the Hospital des * *quinze-vingts* at *Paris*; but this is no whit mentioned in the Grant or Writings for this Foundation; and I find far before this time, that a *Norman* Duke built one of the very same sort at *Rouen*, only it was for maintenance but of One hundred blind People.

* Or Fifteen score.

Of above 30000 Fighting Men who follow'd him in this Expedition, there were hardly Six thousand remaining; too scanty a number for any Enterprize. Notwithstanding upon the Christians earnest intreaties who belonged to those Countreys, and because he knew those *Barbarians* would break the Truce as soon as ever he were gone, he resolv'd to stay some time; and in the interim sent his Brothers *Alphonso* and *Charles* home into *France*.

1250.

"Whilst the Emperour *Frederic* was again drawing his Sword to be revenged on the Pope, he died at *Firenze* the 13th of *December*, perhaps stifled or poison'd by *Mainfroy*, one of his Bastard Sons. He left the Empire and *Germany* to his eldest Son *Conrad*, to *Frederic* his Grandson, issue of his eldest Son *Henry*, the Dukedom of *Austria*, and to the above-named *Mainfroy*, the Principality of *Tarentum*. But all that Race was extinct in a few years, for having, say some, opposed the Holy Sec.

1251.

"When Pope *Innocent* had heard of the death of *Frederic*, he went from *Lyons*, where he had staid Six years and a half, to return again to *Rome*.

1251.

Upon the news of the pious Kings imprisonment, a certain Apostate Monk, by name *Master Hungary*, pretending, and affirming he had a particular Mission from God, went picking up all the young Countrey fellows over the whole Kingdom, to go, said they, and deliver their Prince, and the Holy Land. These new Brothers of the Cross were called * *Pastoraux*, i. e. *Shepherds*, or *Graziers*.

* Pastors.

The Bandits, Robbers, Heretiques, and all manner of wicked rascally people lifted themselves in this crew; who took the liberty to commit all manner of disorders, especially against the Clergy, and against the *Jews*. The Inhabitants of *Berry*, with the Nobility, fell upon them and routed them; some of them were hanged, afterwards this rabble was dispers'd and vanish'd to nothing.

1252.

Queen *Blanch* afflicted for the absence of the good King her dear Son, and for the sickness of her other Son *Alphonso*, who seemed incurable, ended her days at *Melun* the Six and twentieth of *November*, aged above Sixty and five years. Her Son having founded the Monastery of *Maubuisson*, of the Order des *Citeaux* for her; She was conveyed thither in great pomp, upon the Shoulders of the chief Nobility of the Court, sitting in a Golden Chair, her Face bare, being clothed in her Royal Robes over her Religious Habit of that Order, which she had taken some time before her death, being besides, and long before that time, of the third Order of *St. Francis*, according to the Devotion of those times.

Some modern Historians are much in doubt, whether she were elder or younger than *Berenguelle*, who was Married to *Alphonso*, King of *Leon*. This had the Guardianship of her Brother *Henry*, and that Prince being dead, succeeded to the Kingdom of *Castille*; but some have believed that it was by Usurpation upon *Blanch* her Sister, who was then a great way off from that Countrey: and they go upon this ground, that amongst the Records, they find Letters from nine *Castilian* Lords to *Lewis VIII.* in which they own and acknowledge his Son for their * King, and say, that *Alphonso IX.* King of *Castille*, had declared by his Will, that in case his Son *Henry* died without any Heirs, the Children of *Blanch* were to succeed by right of Inheritance: but to tell the truth, it does not follow from thence, that *Blanch* was the eldest; it is more probable that these discontented Lords grounded it upon this, that *Alphonso* and *Berenguelle* being of kin, within the degrees prohibited, Pope *Innocent III.* had declared their Marriage to be null, and the Children that should proceed from that conjunction * incestuous, Bastards, and incapable to succeed: So that upon their exclusion, those of *Blanch* came to the succession of *Alphonso IX.* their Grand-father: and this is it that gave a Right to the Kings of *France*, which they held a long time to the Kingdom of *Castille*.

* That is, St. Lewis.

* Vide the Letters of *Innocent III.* Printed at *Colen*.

Some

"Some Months before the death of *Blanch*, there arose a sharp contest between the Secular Doctors of *Theology* at *Paris*, whereof *William de St. Amour* was as it were the Head; and on the other part the Orders Mendicants of Preaching Friars, and Friars *Minors*: because those Monks as the others, reproached them, were so far from submitting to the Statutes and Discipline of the University, that they aimed to make themselves the Masters.

1252.

"The thing was obstinately debated five or six years together, *St. Amour* got the better at *Paris*, but the Dispute being transferr'd to *Rome*, he was worsted, and his Book was condemned, not as Heretical, but as scandalizing those good Fathers. They had great credit in that Court, and obtained great Privileges with so much the more facility; as their trampling on the Laws increased the power of the Doctor, and diminished that of the Bishops, to whose prejudice they were granted.

"About the beginning of this quarrel, *Robert de Sorbonne*, Doctor in Divinity, and very highly esteemed by *St. Lewis*, built the Colledge of the *1000 Masters of SORBONNE*; under which Name the Vulgar are wont to comprehend all the Faculty of *Theology* of *Paris*. In effect, it is the most renowned of all those Colledges.

In the year 1253. died *Thibault*, who was the Fifth of that Name, as Earl of *Champagne*, but only the First, as King of *Navarre*. His Successor in all his Estates, was *Thibault II.* or *VI.* aged Fourteen years, under the Guardianship of his Mother.

1253.

Conrad the Son of *Frederic* did not find himself strong enough in *Germany*, to cope against *William* Earl of *Holland*, pretended King of the *Romans*: he was gone into *Italy* in the year 1251. and some time after, having unhappily caused his Nephew *Frederic* to be strangled, had seized upon his Treasure, and upon his Kingdom of *Sicilia*. But this year 1254. was himself poison'd by *Mainfroy*, to whom, not knowing he was the Author of his death, he left the Regency of the Kingdom, and the Guardianship of his Son *Conrad* the Young, vulgarly named *Conradin*, aged but Three years.

1254.

It was near Six years since *St. Lewis* the King went out of *France*, and Three years and a half that he had been in the *Holy Land*, visiting the Holy Places with an incredible Devotion, fortifying the Towns, and reviving the courage and affairs of the Christians in those Countreys, as much as possibly he could.

1254.

France destitute of any Pilot by the death of his Mother, most earnestly desired his return. He therefore took Shipping at the Port of *Acon*, or *Ptolemais*, on *St. Marks* Eve, and landed at *Marseilles* the Eleventh day of *July*.

1254.

The King of *England*, who was this year come into *Gascongne*, desiring to avoid the long voyage by Sea, obtained leave of the good King to cross thorough *France*, and take Shipping at *Boulogne*. He met the King at *Chartres*, who from thence took him along to *Paris*, where he Treated him Four days together with all the magnificence imaginable. The joy and splendor was the greater, because the four Sisters, Daughters of the Earl of *Provence*, the eldest Married to the King of *France*, the Second to the King of *England*, the Third to *Richard* his Brother, and the Fourth to *Charles*, Earl of *Anjou*, met all there together.

1254.

"*William* Earl of *Holland*, and King of the *Romans*, making War against the *Frieze-landers*, who were Rebels to him, had lately been knocked on the Head by certain Peasants hid amongst the Reeds, when his Horse was sunk into the Snow and Ice. The following year being 1256. the Electors basely selling the Honour of the German Nation, and their Votes, to Foreign Princes, gave the Empire some of them to *Richard*, Brother to the King of *England*, others to *Alphonso X.* King of *Castille*. *Richard* went into *Germany*, and sojourn'd there above two years, having been Crowned at *Aix la Chapelle* in the year 1247. *Alphonso* was no way known to them but by his Money, and both of them disputed their Right and Title before the Pope for divers years, without eve coming to any agreement.

The Son of *Bouchard d'Avesnes*, cast out by *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*, and their Brothers of the Second Bed by the same Mother, took Sanctuary with *William* Earl of *Holland*, who had vanquish'd *Guy*, and taken him prisoner with one of his Brothers. The Mother to be reveng'd, had called in *Charles*, Earl of *Anjou*, and given him the enjoyment of *Hainault* and *Valenciennes* during his life.

Here again those Countreys easily enough from the *Hollander*, because he found him fully enough employ'd against the *Frisons*, where he was kill'd, as we have related. His Son *Florent* who succeeded him, set the two Brothers at liberty for a great Ransom; and *St. Lewis* obliged his Brother *Charles* to restore *Hainault* for

Emp.
Baldwin II.
and Richard,
and Alphonso,
competitors.
1255.

a sum of Money, as likewise the parties concern'd, to stand to the award he had made in Anno 1246.

1256.

There being an universal calme thorough all his Kingdom, he set himself upon the regulating it by good and wholesome Laws, the banishing from it all violence and oppression, the instructing others by his good examples and by all manner of Just and Holy Works, undertaking the protection of the Weak, the Widdows, and Orphans, procuring with all his Power the advancement of Religion, and the Service of God, providing for the nourishment of the Poor, the Marriage of decay'd Gentlewomen, the maintenance of the Church, and above all, the ease of the People, by the revocation of all Tolls, and extraordinary Subsidies and Taxes, which the malignity, or necessity of former times had introduced and imposed.

The Titles of the Chamber of *Accompts* which have been shewed us by Mr. d' Herouval, to whose care the History of our Kings of the Third Race is indebted for the greatest part of the new discoveries made known in these last times, tells us, amongst many other rare and curious things, that this, truly, most Christian King, spared nothing for the Conversion of Infidels: that for this end he took up all the Jewish Children that were Fatherless, or in want, caused them to be bred up in the Christian Faith, and allowed them two, four, six Silver Deniers a day for their Dyet or Keeping, which was paid out of his own Demesnes, and pass'd in Dowry to their Widdows, and oftentimes to their Children; that these were called the *Baptized*, as those who embraced Christianity being of age, were called the *Converted*; That the Duke of Burgundy, the King of England, and some others, practis'd the like in their Countreys, which brought over a world of Jews from their obstinacy; and that the Kings his successors did imitate him therein, till the Reign of King John.

We have by the same means likewise learn'd that when St. Lewis made a journey any where, there was always a Prelate, which was ordinarily the Arch-Deacon of Paris, and a Lord of some note that follow'd some days after the Court, and made inquiry at all the Lodgings, and in all the Countreys and Places they had pass'd, what wrong or spoil they might have done to the Landlords, or to their Lands; and the just King made present reparation and satisfaction with his own Money, without any complaint made by the party agrieved; so far was it from suffering them to spend and squander away what they had in Fees and Charges to get Justice done to them.

1256.

The City of *Marseille* did not give that obedience to Charles as he expected and desired, wherefore he blocked them up with his Army, and brought them to that low condition by Famine, that they surrendred at discretion to this merciless Prince, who caused many of the principal Citizens to be beheaded.

1256.

Three sorts of People of Italy, the Venetians, the Genouese, and the Pisans, were become mighty powerful in the Levant Seas, and for that reason were grown very jealous of each other. The two first having each of them their several quarters; and their Magistrates in the City of Acon or Acre, fell to quarrelling with each other, upon some private pique, and went together by the ears, to their mutual destruction; which compleated the ruine of the Western Christians in the East.

1256.

1258.

In an enter-view at *Montpellier*, the two Kings Lewis of France, and James of Arragon, treated the Marriage of Philip, then Second Son to King Lewis, but who in two years after became the eldest, with Isabella, younger Daughter of James, to whom her Father gave in Dowry, the Counties of *Carcassone* and *Beziers*.

1258.

After this they agreed about their other differences in this manner, St. Lewis yielded up to the Arragonian, the Sovereignty which France had still held upon *Catalonia*, *Barcelona*, *Roussillon*, *Empurs*, *Urgel*, and *Gironde*, from the time the French first conquer'd those Countreys of the Saracens. And on the other hand, the Arragonian yielded to him all the right he pretended, whether by Marriage of his predecessors, or otherwise by any Title whatsoever, to the Counties of *Razès*, *Narbonne*, *Nismes*, *Alby*, *Foix*, *Cahors*, and other parts in *Languedoc*, held in Under-Fief of the Crown of France: as also the Rights he had in *Provence*, to the Counties of *Forcalquier* and *Arles*, and to the City of *Marseille*.

1259.

The English had still a very passionate desire to recover *Normandy*, and the other Countreys they had lost in France: and if Richard could have fixt himself well in Germany, he and his Brother Henry might have attack'd France very shrewdly on both sides. The pious King was not ignorant of it, but he knew likewise that Henry was so dangerously engaged in a quarrel with his Barons, that it would be easie to content him with a little, and even to oblige him to an acknowledgment; and therefore

fore the business having been stated by the Popes Legats, the King of England pass'd over into France, together with his Wife, his Brothers and his Children, and being arriv'd at Paris, confirmed the Treaty.

The substance of it was, That he, his Sons, Brothers and Successors, should for ever renounce all claim to *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Touraine*, and *Poitou*; and that the King gave a great sum of Money to Henry, and released to him and his, that part of *Guyenne* beyond the *Garonne*, and on this side *Limousin* and *Perigord*, upon condition, to do Homage-Liege to the Kings of France, and take place amongst his Peers, in quality of Duke of *Guyenne*.

Immediately upon this, the King of England does this Homage, and the eldest Son of France hapning to dye, he was at his Funeral, and helpt to bear his Corps upon his own Shoulders, with the other Lords, part of the way from Paris to St. Denis.

"In the year 1260, a new and strange heat of Zeal inspired many Christian people, which was to whip themselves in publique with small Cords, or with Thongs of Leather. These whippers were called the *Devots*, and afterwards they were named the *Flagellants*. This Phrensie begun in the City of *Perugia* * in *Tuscany*, by the example and Preaching of a Hermit, named *Ragnier*, spread it self even into Poland, travell'd as far as *Greece*, and in the end degenerated into Superstition and Heresies."

1260, says a h

"In the month of July, of the year 1261, a Lieutenant to *Michael Paleologus VIII.* of that name, Emperour of *Greece*, who returned from making a War against *Michael the Despote* * of *Epirus*, made himself Master of *Constantinople*, getting entrance by a hole under the Walls of the Town, discover'd to him by some Traitors; a thing of great importance, which he effected the more easily, because the Emperour *Baldwin* was abroad, having carried his Naval force to besiege a little City upon the *Black Sea*, or *Pontus Euxinus*."

1261.

"Thus was it that *Constantinople* fell again into the hands of the *Greeks*, from whom about two hundred years afterwards, it fell under the Tyranny of the *Turks*. The *Latins* had kept this fragment of the Eastern Empire, about Seven and fifty years, and as it had begun with a *Baldwin*, it ended with a Prince of the same name."

* Lord Gosvernour;

Emp.
Michael VIII.
and Richard,
and Alphonso.
1262.

The *Venetians* who had a great interest in this loss, put a mighty strong Fleet to Sea, wherewith they Commanded the whole *Archipelago*, and reduced *Constantinople* to such streight, that *Mannuel* was upon the point to abandon it. But the *Genouese* in hatred to the *Venetians*, made a League with him, and relieved him, notwithstanding the intreaties of all the Christian Princes, and the Popes Excommunications. The Emperour *Baldwin* yet held for some time after, the Island of *Eubœa* or *Negropont*.

The bastard *Mainfroy*, not content to have usurp'd the Kingdom of *Sicily*, without consent of the Holy See, domineer'd over the Pope, and the Countreys belonging to the Church most strangely; Infomuch that *Alexander IV.* had offer'd that Kingdom to the King of Englands Son *Edmund*, who had accepted it; and to this end his Father had laid so many Imposts and Taxes upon the People, that most of them made a League against him, and were revolted.

Urban IV. Successor to *Alexander*, having caused the Crusado against *Mainfroy* to be Preached, stirred up some French Lords to go into Italy, who at the very first, forced the passages of *Lombardy*, and beat the Saracen Soldiers, whom *Mainfroy* entertained in his Service; but soon after, their Pay falling short, they came back into France, leaving the Pope more in the Briers then ever.

1262.

The better to fortifie himself against his implacable wrath, *Mainfroy* contracted Alliance with *James III.* King of Arragon, giving his Daughter in Marriage to Peter his eldest Son, who disdain'd not the Match, because it gave him approaching hopes of having the Kingdom of *Sicily*; *Mainfroy* having no Male-Children. In effect, it is by this means, the Kings of Arragon have attained it, and they must needs own they hold their Right from a Bastard, an Usurper, and Excommunicated person.

126.

The pious King Lewis did not understand this false policy, which has quite other Maxims then are practis'd, taught, or allowed by Christianity, and natural Justice. And for this reason it was, that he endeavour'd with all his power, to decide the quarrels between his neighbours, and not to foment them; with this spirit of Charity, he labour'd to happily to compose the business between the Barons of England, of whom *Simon Montford* Earl of *Leicester* was Head, with their King, that they submitted to what he should ordain. He calls his Parliament for this purpose at *Amiens*,

1263.

Amiens, and pronounced the Sentence in presence of King Henry: However, the Barons found some difficulties and exceptions, and would not abide by it.

Insomuch, that the troubles continuing, the Pope sent to revoke the gift of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, which he had made to *Edmund* the King of *England's* Brother, since he could not pursue it, and invested *Charles*, Earl of *Anjou*, Brother of *St. Lewis*. His Wives vanity, which made her greedily long to have the Title of Queen, as well as her other Sisters, inclined and persuaded him to accept of it.

1264. "It hapned this year 1264, in a Village near *Orvieto*, that the Sacred Host cast forth Blood upon the Corporal, or fine Linnen, wherein the Sacrament is put, to convince the incredulity of the Priest that celebrated the Mass. Pope *Urban* satisfied of the truth of this Miracle, instituted the Feast and Procession of the Holy Sacrament, to be solemnized the Thursday after the *Octave* of *Whitsunday*. *St. Thomas Aquinas*, who was then Professor in *Theology* at *Orvieto*, composed the Office for it.

"*Urban IV.* being dead at *Perusia* the third of *October*, the Cardinals after a vacancy of Four Months, elected the Cardinal *Guy* the *Gros*, a native of the Province of *Languedoc*, who had been Married before he entred into Holy Orders. He took the name of *Clement IV.* amongst his Virtues he is admir'd for his rare Modesty, though very little imitated by his Successors: He made a protestation at his first coming to the See, that he would advance none of his kindred; and so exactly did he keep his word, that of three Prebendaries which his Brother had in possession, he obliged him to quit two; and far from Marrying his Daughters to great Lords, as he might well have done, he gave them such small portions, that they chose rather to make themselves Nuns.

"Towards the end of the Month of *July*, about the beginning of the night, a Comet was observed towards the *West*, and some while after, a little before break of day, it appeared in the *East*, pointing its tail *Westward*. It was visible till the end of *September*, lasting two Months and a half.

1265. *Clement IV.* upon his advancement to the Holy See, ratified the Election his predecessor had made of *Charles* of *France* for the Kingdom of *Sicily*, obtained of *St. Lewis*, a Tenth of all the Clergy of his Kingdom for him, and lent him all the Money he could scrape together, having for that purpose engaged the Revenue of the Churches in *Rome*.

1265. *Charles* with this assistance, with the Kings help, and his Wives great care, who sold all her Jewels to raise Soldiers, which she cull'd and chose for the bravest; got a good Army on foot to go into *Italy* by Land, and in the mean time put to Sea with Thirty great Vessels, and sailed to the Port of *Ostia*.

He was received at *Rome* with great Honour by the People, declared Senator of that City (which was as it were Governour, and Sovereign Judge.) And the year following, upon the 28th of *June*, Crowned King of *Sicily* by the Pope in *St. Peters* Church, upon condition, to pay the Pope Eight thousand ounces of Gold, and a white Palfrey every year; never to be elected Emperour, nor to unite that Kingdom to the Empire: For the Popes would have no power left in *Italy* that was not lesser then their own.

1266. His Land-Army arrived not till about the years end, which he compleated in *Rome*. The following he marched to *Naples*, the *Guelphes* flocking from all parts, to list themselves under his Banner. The Earl of *Caserta* quitted the passage *du Gariglian* most basely to him; he afterwards gained the Post of *St. Germain*, guarded by Six thousand Men; and in fine, the Twenty sixth day of *February*, in the Campaigne of *Beneventum*, he gained an entire, but bloody victory against *Mainfroy's* Army, who was slain upon the place.

All submitted to the Conquerour, both beyond, and on this side the *Fare*, except the City of *Nocera*, where *Frederic II.* had placed a strong Garrison of *Saracens*, which yet held out a long time. It then appeared, that *Charles* knew not how to Govern his good fortune with Humanity; for he let *Mainfroy's* Wife and Children dye in prison, with many Lords of that party, and his Army committed horrid cruelties upon the taking of the City of *Beneventum*.

1267. Nevertheless, as he shewed himself very obedient to the Popes Orders, he declared him Vicar of the Empire in *Italy*, with the Title of Keeper of the Peace, and in this quality he by one of his Lieutenants, subdued all the *Gibbelins* of *Tuscany*, especially those of *Florence*, and restored all the *Guelphes* to their Lands and Dwellings.

In the mean time the young *Conradin* had sent a Manifesto to all the Princes of *Europe*, declaring himself to be the rightful Successor to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, and imploring their assistance to recover that Succession of his Fathers. Insomuch, that with the aid of the antient friends of the House of *Souabe*, or *Swaben*, and some adventurers that fought their fortunes, he gathered a huge Army, and came into *Italy* about the end of *October*; observing, and giving ear rather to the importunities of the *Gibbelines*, who pressed him to march on, then the wise Counsels of his Mother, who feared the unexperienced Youth of her Son, scarce Sixteen years of age, would be Ship-wrack'd, against the fortune and courage of *Charles*.

He had brought with him out of *Germany* the young *Frederic*, Son of *Herman* Marquis of *Baden*, who said likewise he was Duke of *Austria*, being Son of a Daughter of *Henry*, Brother to *Frederic*, last Duke of those Countreys; and withal, he held himself certain of the assistance of *Henry* and *Frederic*, Brothers of *Alphonso X.* King of *Castille*, who upon his arrival in *Italy*, were to declare in his favour.

Those Brothers having been driven out of *Spain* by the King *Alphonso*, had retired themselves into *Africk* to the King of *Tunis*, where they had acquir'd a great deal of reputation, Money and Friends. *Henry* having information of the progress of *Charles* in *Italy*, was come to proffer him his Service, with Eight hundred Horse, and had lent him a considerable sum of Money. In requital, *Charles* had gotten him to be chosen Senator of *Rome*: but because he afterwards thwarted him in his designs of obtaining by the Pope, the Kingdom of *Sardinia*, that *Spaniard* was alienated from him, and secretly conspired with *Conradin*, so that he disposed the City of *Rome* to receive him, driving thence, or imprisoning all those that contradicted; and when he saw him approaching near, he set up his Flags and Arms upon the Gates and joyned openly with him.

Conradin having spent the Winter at *Verona*, despising the Popes Thunders, embarked at the coast of *Genoa*, on some Vessels belonging to *Pisa*. Being landed in *Tuscany*, he surprized, and cut in pieces those Forces that *Charles* had left there; and at the same time *Conrad* * being come from *Antioch*, caused all *Sicily* to Revolt, except only *Messina* and *Palermo*.

These prosperous beginnings betraid young *Conradin*, and flattered him to bring him to his death: while he was entering into the Kingdom of *Sicily*, *Charles* quitted the Siege of *Nocera*, and came to meet him, resolved to decide the quarrel by a Battle: it was fought the Five and twentieth day of *August* near the lake *Fucin*, now called the lake *Celano*: the *French* gained it, but not without much hazard, and much blood. *Conradin*, *Frederic* Duke of *Austria*, and *Henry* of *Castille* saved themselves by flight; but being discover'd, they were taken and brought back to the Conquerour.

After this Victory, he took upon him again the dignity of Senator of *Rome*, which he had been obliged to lay down, and by the Pope was constituted Vicar of the Empire in *Tuscany*. His Fame would have been beyond a parallel, had he been but as merciful as valiant, and had not exercised such mortal severities upon his prisoners of War, and such people as revolted from him.

They were so great, that being resolved to pass into *Africk* with *St. Lewis* the King, not knowing what to do with *Conradin* and *Frederic*, whom it was very dangerous to keep, and more to set them free in a Kingdom full of Factions and Rebellion; he caused their Process to be made by the Syndics of the Cities of that Kingdom. Those Judges having condemned them to death as disturbers of the Churches quiet, their Heads were cut off upon a Scaffold in the midst of the City of *Naples* the Twenty seventh day of *October*: an execution which makes posterity tremble yet with horror, but which seemed a retribution of the Divine Justice, for those yet more horrible barbarities, which *Frederic* the Grand-father of *Conradin* had used to all the Family of the *Norman* Princes.

Henry de *Castille* had his Life given him, but was confin'd to a prison, from whence he got not out till Five and twenty years after, to return into *Spain*.

Almost at the same time, this *Conrad* Prince of *Antioch*, Son of one *Frederic*, a bastard of the Emperour *Frederic II.* who was come from the *East*, to the assistance of *Conradin*, and had contributed to make the Island of *Sicily* revolt, being taken by some belonging to *Charles*, was hanged: and thus ended by the Hangmans hands, that famous and glorious Race of the Prince of *Swaben*, of whom there have been so many Kings and Emperours.

1267.

2268.

* See hereafter in Anno 1269.

1268.

1269.

1269.

I should have told you before, that *Conradin* being upon the Scaffold, after he had made bitter complaints of his misfortunes, and the cruelty of his Enemies, threw down his Glove in the Market-place, as a token of the investiture of his Kingdoms to such of his kindred as would prosecute his quarrel: a Cavalier having taken it up, carried it to *James* King of *Arragon*, who had Married a Daughter of *Mainfroy's*.

The abuses and the designs of the Court of *Rome* were grown to such a height, and come to that pass, that the King *St. Lewis*, though very devout to the *Holy See*, made this year a Pragmatique, to stop the current of them in *France*, especially, touching the dispensation of Benefices.

This same year the Marriage of his Daughter *Blanch* was made with *Ferdinand*, eldest Son to *Alphonso X.* King of *Castile*, the Pope having given his Dispensation for the near consanguinity between the parties. The Nuptials were celebrated at *Burgos*; *Philip*, Brother to the Bride, *Edward* Prince of *England*, *James* King of *Arragon* the Bride-grooms Grand-father, *Alhumar*, King of *Granada*, and divers other Princes, and great Lords honoured the Solemnity with their Presence; and it was expressly said in the Contract, that if *Ferdinand* died before his Father, her Children should represent him, and succeed to the Crown.

The affairs of the Christians in the *Levant* being reduced to the last extremity by *Bendocabar*, Sultan of *Egypt*: the exhortations of the Pope, and the zeal of *St. Lewis* stirred up those of the *West*, to make one more great attempt to support them. The King of *Arragon*, and *Edward*, eldest Son to the King of *England*, promised to Second *St. Lewis*, and his Brother *Charles* to go thither with all the force of *Italy*. The number of Adventurers of the Cross, consisted of Fifteen thousand Horse, and Two hundred thousand Foot, which were divided in two Armies, to attack the *Saracens* in two several places at once.

The *Arragonian* and the *English* undertook to go and make War in the *Holy Land*, the *Arragonian* being Ship'd, turn'd back again, and only sent some Vessels Commanded by *Ferdinand* his bastard Son: but *Edward* did generously make good his Vow.

As for *St. Lewis*, he turned his Enterprize against the Kingdom of *Tunis*, the conquest thereof being in his judgment the way to conquer *Egypt*, without which, they could never keep the *Holy Land*. Besides, his Brother persuaded him to it, to make the coasts of *Africk* become Tributaries to his Kingdom of *Sicilia*, as they had been in the time of *Roger* the Norman Prince.

Having therefore left the administration of his Kingdom to *Matthew Abbot* of *St. Denis*, and *Simon*, Earl of *Nesse*, he left *Paris*, as I believe, the first day of *March*, in the year 1270. if we begin it in *January*, or the year 1269. if we make it begin at *Easter*, as they then did in *France*. He was accompanied by three of his Sons, *Philip*, *Tristan*, and *Peter*, his Brother *Alphonso*, his Nephew *Robert II.* Earl of *Artois*, *Thibault*, King of *Navarre*, *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*, and a great number of the Nobility.

He was near four Months, either upon his way, or about *Aigues-mortes*, where he waited some time till his Vessels were ready. He went on board in the beginning of *July* with his Brothers, and set sail the day following; his Forces, and the other Lords took Shipping in several Ports, particularly at *Marseilles*: the Rendezvous for the whole Fleet was appointed to be at *Sardinia* in the Road of *Calary*.

He got first thither with four great Vessels, not without meeting with very bad weather; the rest arrived Eight days after him: and having all held a Council together, they persisted in their design to Land in *Africk*, and secure themselves of *Tunis*, as well because it was thought important to have that coast, as for that the King of those Countreys had given them hopes he would become Christian, if they would but stand by him with their Forces, against his resisting Subjects; but this was only to amuse them.

The Army being then landed on the *African* shore, immediately took the Castle and the City of *Carthage*, built indeed upon the ruins of that famous rival to *Rome*, but which had nothing now that was great but its name. Afterwards they besieged the City of *Tunis*, which is situate at the further end of the Lake of *Goletta*, five miles distant from the Sea.

At five weeks end from the beginning of the Siege, the excessive heats of the Countrey, scarcity of Water, the Sea Air, and the toil the Army endured, having the *Saracens* perpetually upon them, it bred the pestilential Fever and Dyfentery's amongst them, whereof a great many people of note dyed; amongst others, Prince *John*, *Tristan de Nevers*, and *Peter de Ville-Beon*, Chamberlain to the King, and his intimate Confident.

The

The good King himself being seized with a Flux, was some days afterwards taken with a continual Fever, which put an end to his glorious Labours by a happy Death the 25th day of *August*, the Seventy fifth year of his Age, and the four and fortieth of his Reign. Being on his Death-bed, he called for his Son *Philip* to leave most Excellent and most Christian-like Instructions, which he had some time before drawn up and written with his own hand.

He had together all the Vertues of a great Saint and a great King, of a true Christian and a true Gentleman. He was humble to his God, and fierce to the Enemies of the Faith, modest and a hater of Luxury, as to his particular, but brave and pompous in publick Ceremonies; as mild and affable in Conversation, as rough and terrible in Fight and Battle; prodigal to the Poor, and sparing of his Subjects Money more than of his own; liberal to Soldiers and Men of Learning, prompted with a sincere desire to keep the Peace between his Neighbours, enflamed with an incredible zeal for the glory of God, and for the administering of true Justice: in fine, worthy to be the Model of all Princes that desire to Rule according to the will of God, and the good of their Subjects.

Amongst his fervent Exercises of Piety, which never did abate in all the days of his Life, he observed the Fasts Ordained by the Church with great exactness, eating but once that day; and if either his weakness or the unavoidable labour in business did at any time oblige him to eat twice, he redeemed the Transgression according to the Canons of the Church, by some great Alms, feeding an Hundred Poor some other day; I mean an Hundred extraordinary, for he ordinarily entertain'd a very great number, and served Two hundred at Table, upon every great Festival day.

I find that every *Lent*, he distributed Sixty three Muids of Wheat, sixty eight thousand Herrings, and three thousand two hundred nineteen Livers Paris to the Monasteries and Hospitals, and One hundred pence a day to other poor People. And to make this Alms and Charitable Benevolence perpetual, he charged his own Demesains with it, as also with many other Pious Grants and Foundations, which instead of diminishing the Estate of his Successors, hath been as it were a miraculous Leaven that hath increased and multiplied it.

It were to be wished that that great and good Ordinance he made upon his return out of the *Holy Land*, to root out the Misdemeanours of Judges, the Debaucheries of Gaming, Drinking, and Women, were as much in our practise, as it is yet in our Books.

I cannot omit that he did never intermeddle in the naming any to Bishopricks and Abbies, but left the liberty of Elections entirely free. Insomuch as an Ambassador of his having brought a Bull to him from *Rome* which gave him the right of Nomination, he was very angry with him, and threw it into the Fire. For the other Benefices he ever bestow'd them upon the most Worthy, and never on such as were in Employments already, unless they first surrendered the other.

He founded a great many Churches and Monasteries, particularly for the Orders of *St. Dominique* and *St. Francis*; several Hospitals, amongst others that for the * *Quinze-Vingts*, the fair Abby of *Royanmont*, that of *St. Matthew* near *Rouen*, and the *Holy Chappel* in his Palace, where he put in Canons and Chaplains. They attribute to him the Institution of the University, and the first Parliament of *Toulouze*. It is certain he was the first, who out of humility, added the Sign of the Cross to the Ceremony of touching those troubled with the Kings-Evil.)

He had Eight Children, four Sons and four Daughters. The Sons were *Philip* who Reigned, and was surnamed the Hardy * or Daring, *John Tristan* who was Earl of *Nevers*, *Peter* Earl of *Alençon*, these two left no Posterity; *Robert* Earl of *Clermont* in *Beauvoisis*, who espoused *Beatrix* Daughter and Heiress of *Agnes de Bourbon*, (who was so of *Archembald* Lord of *Bourbon*) and of *John III.* Son to *Hugh* Duke of *Burgundy*. From this Marriage issued the Branch of *Bourbon*, who came to the Crown Three hundred years after by King *Henry* the Fourth, surnamed the Great.

The Daughters were named *Isabella*, *Blanch*, *Margaret*, and *Agnes*; *Isabella* was Married to *Thibault* the II. King of *Navarre*, and died without Offspring. *Blanch* à little before this Voyage to *Africk*, Married *Ferdinand*, called *De la Cerde*, eldest Son of *Alphonso X.* King of *Castile*, and had two Sons who were unjustly deprived of the Kingdom by their Grandfather, because their Father had preceded him, and Representation had no place. *Margaret* was Affianced to *Henry* Duke of *Brabant* and *Limbourg*, then that Prince turning Monk, Married to *John* his Brother and Successor; They had no Children. *Agnes* espoused *Robert* Duke of *Burgundy*, and brought him many.

R r

Philip

1270.

* Or Fifteen score.

* Valiant, Stout, Adventurous, Bold, Courageous, &c.

Philip III. King XLIV.

POPE S,

A Vacancy.

GREGORY X. Elected the 1st of September 1271. S. Four years four Months ten days.

INNOCENT V. Elected in January 1276. S. Seven Months.

JOHN XXI. Elected in July 1276. S. Eight Months.

NICHOLAS III. Elected in

November 1277. S. Two years nine Months.

Vacancy of Two Months.

Martin IV. Elected Feb. 21. 1281. S. Four years, one Month, seven days.

HONORIUS IV. Elected in April, 1285. S. Two years, one Month, whereof six Months in this Reign.

* Bold, Resolute, Valiant, &c.

PHILIP III. Surnamed the Hardy*, King XLIV. Aged Twenty five years four Months.

1270.

THE Christian Army wholly disconsolate for the death of their King, and ready to sink under their Toils and Dangers, resumed courage, and received refreshments upon the arrival of Charles King of Sicily, who with his Naval Forces landed at the very time the King his Brother was giving up the Ghost.

Being come ashore he came and paid him his last Duty, and caused his Flesh to be all taken from his Bones, as it was then the Custom when any died in Foreign Countries. He carried the said Flesh to Sicily with him, and buried it in the Abby of Montreal near Palermo; and King Philip kept the Bones, which he deposited in St. Denis in France. The Funeral being over, they continued the Siege, Charles having the Command of the whole Army, because Philip being fallen Sick could not act.

1270.

At the end of three Months, the taking of the place being most infallibly certain, though not till the Winter was over, King Philip's impatience, who much desired to go and take possession of his Kingdom, and yet more the interest of his Uncle Charles who cared for nothing but to get Money, and oblige the King of Tunis to pay him Tribute, were the Motives that made them give Ear to Propositions of Peace with that Barbarian King.

1270.

They allowed him a Truce for Ten years, provided he would defray the whole Expences of that Expedition; and that he would pay to Charles as much Tribute, as he paid to the Pope Annually: That he would deliver up all the Christians he then held in Slavery: That he would grant free liberty of Trade, and exemption of Imposts to all their Merchants; and would permit them to dwell in Tunis and have the Exercise of the Christian Religion.

At the end of the Siege Prince Edward of England arrived there with his Forces, hoping that after the taking of that place, the two Kings would go into the Holy Land, as they had promised: but they thought it fitter to return to their own homes, and left him to pursue his Voyage.

Heaven

Philip the Hardy, King XLIV.

Heaven seemed to be angry at their return: all manner of misfortunes followed them. Part of the Vessels wherein Philip was Embarked, arrived happily enough at the Port of Trapani or Trapos in Sicily: but the others that had King Charles and his on board were overtaken with a most furious Tempest, which destroy'd most of them, with the loss of Four thousand Men, all their Equipage and the Treasure that was in them.

1270.

Besides all this, Thibault King of Navarre being taken Sick, ended his days at Trapani about the end of December, (his Brother Henry the Fat succeeded him) Isabella of Arragon Queen of France being great with Child, hurt her self by a fall from her Horse, and died in the City of Cosenza; Alphonso Brother of St. Lewis was taken off with a Pestilential Fever at Siena: and his Wife Isabella de Toulouse died in the same place about twelve days after him. So that King Philip clothed in Mourning Weeds for the Death of his Father, his Wife, and his nearest Relations, after so much Expence and Toil, brought nothing back into France but empty Chests, and Coffins full of the Bones of the dead.

He staid in Sicily about two Months, departed towards the end of February, crossed Italy and arrived at Paris in the beginning of Summer. He was Crowned at Rheims the Fifteenth day of August, or as others say, the thirteenth, by the Bishop of Soissons, the Archbishops See being vacant. Of the ancient Pairs of the Laity, there was none assisted at this time but the Duke of Burgundy and the Earl of Flanders; Robert Earl of Artois bore the Sword of Charlemaine, they name it Joyeuse; At their going thence he intreated the King to go and visit his Country, and received him in his City of Arras with such Welcom and Expressions of Joy, as hitherto had not been heard of in France.

1271.

This King passing thorough Rome paid his Devotions on the Tomb of the Apostles. At Viterbo finding the Cardinals had been there Assembled for two years together without coming to any agreement concerning the Election of a Pope, he exhorted them to make some end, that the Church might be no longer without a Head. His good Advice did not take effect till Eight Months afterwards, upon their electing of Thibault de Piacenza Archdeacon of Liege, who went Legat into Syria with Prince Edward; he took the name of Gregory X.

The Earldom of Toulouse was vacant by the decease of Jane the Daughter of Raimond and Wife of Alphonso, Philip put himself into possession pursuant to the Terms of the Treaty made with Raimond in the year 1228. but it was King John that annexed it to the Crown.

1271.

This year died Richard pretended King of the Romans. The year after his Brother Henry III. King of England followed him, and his Son Edward I. of that name, who was in the Holy Land, succeeded.

1271.

1272.

In a Bloody Quarrel the Earl of Armagnac had against Gerard Lord of Casaubon his Vassal, it hapned that Roger Earl de Foix, whom the Earl of Armagnac had called to his aid, pursued Gerard and besieged him in a Castle belonging to the King, whither he was fled and had put himself under his Protection. The King angry for the little Respect these Earls had for him, marched into those Countries with an Army capable of striking a terror to the very heart of Spain. He besieged Roger in his Castle de Foix, and being resolved to level a Mountain wich hindered his approach to it, daunted him so much, that he came and threw himself at the Kings Feet; He could not however obtain his Pardon till after he had been detained Prisoner a year in the Castle of Beaucaire.

1272.

At his return from the Holy Land Edward passed thorough France, and did Homage to the King. Being afterwards gone to visit his Countries of Guyenne, Gaston de Moncado Lord of Bearn refused to render him Homage; Edward seized upon his Person, and kept him Prisoner in his Train for a while. From whence making his escape, the King of England made complaint to Philip Sovereign Lord of Guyenne. This King having summon'd his Parliament and Debated the Case, gave Judgment in favour of Edward, and compelled Gaston to hold his Lands of him.

The Viscounty of Bearn was Originally a Member of the Earldom or County of Gasconny which held of the Dutchy, but had been dismembred and held by Lords who were the Issue of those Dukes, till it came to the House of Moncado by the Marriage of the Princess Mary Daughter of Vicount Peter, and Sister of the Vicount Gaston deceased without Children; This was about the year 1170. The Princess being yet a Minor, having put her self, I know not for what reason, under the Power of Alphonso II. King of Arragon, in whose Dominion she had also some Lands, was obliged to do Homage for Bearn to that King, and to Marry William de Moncado; which Advantage Alphonso procured him as

a Recompence for his having brought about the Marriage between Prince Raimond Berenger Earl of Barcelona his Father, and Petronella Daughter and Heiress of Ramir le Moyne King of Arragon. The Family of Moncado is one of the Nine most illustrious of all Catalongne, and are said to be Issue of a Dapifer or Grand Seneschal to Charlemain.

1273. The Electors displeased to see the German Empire so long in confusion, met together at Francfort upon the earnest intreaties of the Pope; and without any regard to the opposition King Alphonso made, resolved never more to make any Emperor that was not of the German Nation. So that at that very time they elected Rodolphus Surnamed Rufus, who had been Master of the Palace to Othocare King of Bohemia. He was Earl of Habsburg, a Family which as well as that of Lorrain, were the Issue of the Earls of Alsatia, and the Mayre Erchinoald.

1273. He was raised to the Imperial Dignity principally by the Suffrage of Vernher Archbishop of Mentz, the only Elector almost that knew him, and whom he had otherwise obliged in some Affair of Importance. Now it was the more easie for this Elector to do him this good Office, because the King of Bohemia, and all the other German Princes refused this Title, as being much more burthensome then gainful or honourable.

1273. Many and different Subjects required the Assembling of a Council; The necessary Regulation for the future in the Election of Popes, the Reformation of Abuses in the Church, and of Morality amongst the Christians, the Differences about the Grecian Empire between Michael and Baldwin, and for that of Germany between Rodolph and Alphonso, the hopes to unite the Greek Church to the Roman, and the pressing necessity for assisting the Faithful that were remaining in the Holy Land, to which the Pope had solemnly obliged himself at the time he received the news of his Election.

1273. For these Reasons he had Convoked a Council in the City of Lyons, which lies, as it were in the midst of the principal Estates of Christendom. He came thither himself about the latter end of this year 1273. and was visited by the King, who let him have several of his Gentlemen and Officers to serve him for a Guard.

1274. The Council was open'd the First day of May in the year 1274. there were present Five hundred Bishops, seventy Abbots, and a thousand others, as well Doctors and Deputies as Chapters. Gregory presided accompanied with Fifteen Cardinals. The Ambassadors from the King, the Emperor Rodolphus, and from several other Western Princes were there. Those from Michael, the Emperor of Greece, arrived there at the Fourth Session, and presented some Letters from him; by vertue of which they were admitted to an abjuration of their Schism, and a profession to follow the Faith of the Roman Church, especially about the Procession of the Holy Ghost. After that, the Pope owned Michael for rightful Emperor of the East, and forbade Baldwin to bear that Title any longer. This was the end for which Michael had feignedly desired the re-union.

The Election of Rodolph was likewise confirmed, but not till after King Alphonso had submitted and referr'd his Right to the disposal of the Pope, upon Condition he might have leave, which was granted him, to take the Tenth's of all the Clergy in his Kingdom, to make War against the Moors. Thus all the Reparations, whatever happens, are ever laid upon the Peoples Shoulders to make satisfaction, who pay for all at last.

There were several Constitutions concerning the Elections, Provisions, and the Residences of Benefices. They Treated about the settling many Differences betwixt the Princes and Cities in Italy: It was Ordained, That the Cardinals should be hence-forward shut up in the Conclave for the Election of Popes; and they made very severe Decrees against Usurers, by vertue whereof the King put them all in Prison throughout the whole Kingdom: but soon after he released them upon the payment of some certain Taxes which he imposed upon them. Which was, to tell the truth, only the way to teach them for the future to take the greater Usury, that so they might have enough both for themselves and for him.

They granted likewise a great many Indulgencies and Priviledges to such as lifted themselves for the Holy Land, or did contribute their Money towards that Expedition; and they suppressed all the Orders Mendicants excepting only the Preachers and the Minors. The Augustines and the Carmelites were tolerated only till a more ample deliberation.

Two great and Holy Scholastick Doctors died in these times, St. Thomas Aquinas near Terracina as he was coming to the Council, and St. Bonaventure in Lyons after he had been assistant there. The first was of the Order of the Preaching Friars, the other of the Minors, and had been made a Cardinal by Pope Gregory X.

Philip

Philip tired with being a Widower four years, cast his Affection upon Mary Daughter of Henry and Sister of John Duke of Brabant, Married her at the Bois de Vincennes in the Month of August, and Crowned her the year following in the Holy Chappel of Paris on St. John Baptist's day. He would needs have the Archbishop of Reims perform the Ceremony, without any regard to the right of him of Sens who was the Metropolitan.

The 21th of July, Henry the Fat King of Navarre died at Pampeluna, his Fat having suffocated him. He left by his Wife Blanch of Artois one Daughter only, named Jane, but Three years of Age. By his Will and Testament he gave the Guardianship to her Mother, and enjoyned she should Marry her in France: but the Lords were divided upon the point, and the greatest Party being against the Mother, gave Don Pedro Sancho de Montagu to the Pupil for her Guardian.

The King of Arragon and the King of Castille had, I know not what, pretences to that Kingdom; under that colour each of them makes his Party to get the Regency, and have the young Heiress in their hands; Peter Infant of Arragon desired to have her for his Son, and Ferdinand Infant of Castille for one of his.

This last entred into Navarre with his Sword in hand, seconding his demand with his force: The Lords of the contrary Party called in the Infant of Arragon and made an agreement with him; but the Widow whose inclinations tended towards France, came and cast her self with her Daughter into the Arms of Philip. Who accepting of the Guardianship, sent Enstace de Beaumarchais to govern the Kingdom in his Name, and immediately all obeyed him.

Ferdinand de la Cerde died in his return from Navarre. He had Two Sons by Blanch of France his Wife, those were Alphonso and Ferdinand, who ought legally to have succeeded to the Crown of Castille after the decease of their Grandfather Alphonso: but Prince Sancho second Son of Alphonso, maintaining that it belonged to him as the nearest, not to his Nephews, (though the contrary was exprest in the Contract between Ferdinand with Blanch) got himself immediately to be acknowledged presumptive Heir. Alphonso their Grandfather, instead of opposing this Usurpation did authorize it with all his might; and to reduce Blanch and her Children to such a low condition that she might not have it in her power to Resent it, he denied that Princess all she was to have by Agreement, and even the means to Subsist.

Queen Yolante could not bear the ill Treatment used towards her Grand-children; so that it was by her Counsel and in her Company that the unfortunate Widow stole away, and fled into the King of Arragons Country. But that Prince being gained upon by Alphonso, suffer'd himself to be persuaded to send her back to him, and detain the young Orphans in a Castle. The Mother fearing to be used like the Children, escaped into France, not without great difficulty. Some say the Castilian set her at liberty upon the earnest intreaty of the King, but the Arragonian still kept the Children in hold.

This year Lewis Son to the King, and the eldest of the first Bed, being dead, Peter de la Brosse, who was not loved by the young Queen, would needs make use of this opportunity to ruine her. He was a Man came from nothing, that had served as Barber to St. Lewis, had been taken into favour by Philip, and by that Prince raised to the highest Degree. In this post, having nothing to fear but the too great Affection the King had for his Wife, he found out an Accuser, that said she had caused Prince Lewis to be Poyson'd. In effect the Child was so made away; And if we believe an Author, she had run the hazard of being burnt alive, if the Duke of Brabant her Brother had not sent a Gentleman who offer'd to prove her Innocency by Duel against the Accuser, who not having courage enough to justify what he had spoken, was Condemned to the Gallows.

There were in the Kingdom three false Prophets, the Vidame of Laon, a wandring Monk, and an old Nun, or Beguine, whom La Brosse, as it was believed, had Consulted and Instructed to foretell something that might cool and change the Kings Affection towards his Wife. Admire the simplicity of this King; Devout as he was, he sends Matthew Abbot de Vendosme, and Peter Bishop of Bayeux to Discourse the Beguine (or old Nun) about that business. The Bishop being of Kindred to La Brosse's Wife, going before, talked alone to the Beguine, to inform her what to say, and brought word back to the King, that she would discover nothing to him, but at Confession. The King dissatisfied with this proceeding, sent again the Bishop of Dol and a Templer to her, who returned with this Answer, That the Queen was Innocent and faithful to her Husband, and all what had been talked to asperse her, was

1274.

1275.

1274.

1274.

1275.

1276.

was Falseness and Calumny. From that time the Credit of the Queen was much strengthened, and that of *La Brosse* began to diminish.

Now after the King, who had undertaken the defence of *Blanch* his Sister, found that Three several Ambassadors whom he sent to *Castille*, could obtain nothing from an unjust Uncle, and an unnatural Grandfather, he at length defies them by a Herald, and having gotten a great Army together, not only of *French*, but *Low-Country-Men* and *Germans*, marches directly to the foot of the *Pyrenean Mountains*, and took a re-view of his Army in *Bearn*.

1276. This Power had certainly overwhelmed the *Spaniards*, had not their Gold, which procured them private Agents and Intelligence, stopp'd them there, contriving it so that there was neither Provisions nor Ammunitions to be had for them. So they could advance no farther. Only one Party of them under the Conduct of *Robert d'Artois* was sent into *Navarre*. The *Castilian* Faction had made them rise up against *Enlace de Beaumarchais* the Kings Lieutenant; and the Rebels who possessed that part of *Pampeluna*, which they named the City or the *Navarrerie*, held him besieged in the other part which they called the *Burrough*.

The Gentry and Souldiery of the Faction having defended themselves for some time, feared they should be over-power'd at length, and retired in the night time; The *Burgbers* forsaken, and knowing not either how to Capitulate or defend themselves, were soon forced, and a great number fell by the edge of the Sword, the rest were Hanged without Mercy, the fugitive Gentlemen degraded of all Nobility, and by these terrible Examples the Regency of the *French* was settled in *Navarre*.

The King was still in *Bearn*: The *Castilian* with design to amuse him that he might enter upon *Spain*, demanded to Confer with *Robert*, and made him lose five weeks time. In so much that the Army wanting Provisions, *Philip* decamps on a sudden and marches towards *France*; whereof the *Castilian* being informed by some Traytor, does immediately give notice to *Robert*, who was much amazed at it.

1277. The suspicion of this Treachery fell upon *Peter de la Brosse*. Now the Court being at *Melun*, a *Jacobin* of the Town of *Mirepoix* delivered a Pacquet to the Kings own hand, which he told he was enjoined to do by a certain Man who died in that City. What it contained was not known, but only that there was a Letter Sealed with the Seal of *Peter de la Brosse*, and that the King having read it stood much amazed. It must be some Intelligence he gave to the King of *Castille*. Whatever it were, he was made a Prisoner, carried to *Paris*, thence transferr'd to the Castle of *Janville* in *Beauvais*, then some days afterward brought back again to *Paris*, where he was Hanged on the publick Gallows, in the presence of the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Brabant*, and of *Robert* Earl of *Artois*. Guilty enough, had he committed no other Crime but the bewitching his King, and fettering both his Sacred Person and Mind in his Artificial Snares. The Fortunes of all those whom he had advanced were utterly ruined, the Bishop of *Bayeux* his Brother-in-Law, made his escape to the Pope, where he remained a long time in Exile.

1277. The boundless Ambition of *Charles* King of *Sicilia* aspired to all. He thought to hold all *Italy* by the Offices of Senator of *Rome*, and Vicar of the Empire; he was contriving the Conquest of the *Grecian* upon the right *Baldwin* had to it, whose Daughter he had taken for his second Wife; and this year 1277. he purchased the Title of King of *Jerusalem* of the Princess *Mary* Widow of *Frederic*, Bastard of the Emperor *Frederic* the II. and Daughter of *Raimond* *Rupin* Prince of *Antioch*, and *Melissinda* Daughter of *Aymeric de Lusignan* King of *Cyprus* and *Jerusalem*. This Kingdom had been already annexed to *Sicilia* by the Marriage of *Tolante de Brienne* who was Heiress to it, and since it hath ever remained so annexed.

1278. But the Pope, the Emperor *Rodolph*, and the Emperor *Michael* Conspired together to put a stop to that Grandeur which run up too fast, and threatened to stifle theirs. And besides the Pope, (it was *Nicholas* III. of the House of *Ursini*) who not only did not desire to have to so Potent a Neighbour, but withall was cruelly offended, for that having demanded one of his Daughters for one of his own Nephews, *Charles* had received his insolent Proposition with raillery and contempt.

1278. "At the same time the power of *Rodolph* mightily increased by the Victory he gained over *Oshocare* King of *Bohemia*, who was left dead in the Field. Of the "Spoils of that Prince, whose Domestick he had been, he got the Duchy of *Austria*, "and invested his Son *Albertus* in it. His Posterity have still preserved it, and have "taken the name of it, as more illustrious then that of *Habsburg*.

Not

Not to thwart the Pope who sought to pick a Quarrel, *Charles* quitted the Title of Senator and that of Vicar. He wanted but little in Anno 1279. of losing *Provence* likewise: Queen *Margaret* Widow of *St. Lewis* his Sister-in-Law disputed it with him as being elder Daughter of Earl *Raimond Berengier*, and implored assistance of the Emperor, of whom that County was held, because of the Kingdom of *Arles*. Notwithstanding the business being brought to Examination, *Provence* was left to *Charles* upon Condition of doing Homage to the Emperor, whose Daughter *Clemence* should likewise be Married to the Son of his eldest Son. His Name was *Charles*, as was his Fathers and Grandfathers.

Edward King of *England* crossed over Seas with *Alienor* his Wife, and came to King *Philip* at *Amiens* to Treat of their Affairs. *Philip* agreed he should have the Earldom of *Aginois*, and surrendered up that of *Pontieu* which belonged to *Alienor* by right of her Mother. She was *Jane* the Wife of *Ferdinand* III. King of *Castille*, and Daughter of the Earl *Simon*, and *Mary* Daughter and Heiress of *William*, likewise Earl of *Pontieu*. Reciprocally *Edward* renounced the Duchy of *Normandy*, but retained Thirty Livers Rent upon the Exchequer or Court of Justice of the Province.

John otherwhile Lord of the Island of *Procida* had been divested of his Estate by *Charles*, for having tamper'd in some Conspiracy. Being therefore prompted by a cruel Resentment, he framed the design to bring the King of *Aragon* as Heir to the House of *Swaben* by his Mother, into the Kingdom of *Sicilia*, and made so many Journeys backwards and forwards to the Pope, the Emperor, and the *Sicilians*, that he brought the Project to his desired issue.

Mean time Pope *Nicholas* who had projected for the most part what we shall find to break out in those Countries, hapned to die, and a *French* Cardinal, it was *Simon de Brie*, was Elected in his room, he was named *Martin* IV. This last knew nothing of the Tragical design contrived by his Predecessor, and had intentions quite contrary: but it being already put in motion, he found the effect of it before ever he could foresee the blow.

The Death of *Nicholas* did not discourage the Conspirators, the Lord de *Prochyda* * continuing his Voyages disguised like a Monk, brought from *Constantinople* Three hundred thousand Ounces of Gold to the *Aragonian*, who was ready to put a great Naval force to Sea under pretence of making War upon the *Saracens*, and had the Craft, the better to conceal his intentions, to borrow Twenty thousand Gold Crowns of King *Philip*, and even, as some say, of *Charles* himself whom he was going to Dethrone.

He lay for some time upon the Coasts of *Africa* to favour the Enterprize agreed upon, and in the mean while *Charles* neglected the Advice was given him to stand upon his Guard and be aware, and employ'd all his Forces for the Conquest of the Eastern Empire, in which he did not succeed very well, his Fleet having been worsted at Sea by that of the Emperor *Michael*. Whilst he is thus lull'd asleep by his ill fate, the *Sicilians* upon an Easter-day, at the first ringing of the Bell to Vespers, cut the Throats of all the *French* that were in the whole Island: which they did execute with so much fury and rage, that the good Friars *Jacobins*, and the *Cordeliers*, did with pleasure wash their hands in Blood, and Murdered their unhappy Enemies at the very Altars; The Fathers ripping up the Wombs of their own Daughters if great with a *French* Child, and dashing little Infants against the Rocks. They killed Eight thousand in two hours space, and pardoned but only one by reason of his rare Probity. He was called *William des Pourcellets* a Gentleman of *Provence*.

Charles who was at this time in *Tuscany*, more enraged then frightened at so terrible a blow, Arms himself powerfully by the assistance of the Pope and the King of *France*, which was brought him by the Earl of *Alencon*, and besieges *Messina*. That City terrified with the glittering of his Arms and the Fulminations of the Holy See, would have surrendered at the very first, and all the Island afterwards, if his just Wrath could have received them to any Mercy: but that Prince being grown inexorable, despair puts some courage into their faint hearts, and the arrival of the *Aragonian* who landed at *Palermo*, about the end of *August*, and was Crowned King of *Sicily* there, re-assured them wholly. So that *Charles*, whether for that, or for some other reason, raised the Siege at the latter end of *September*, and went back into *Calabria*.

The *Aragonian* notwithstanding, finding himself unequal in Strength to *Charles*, whom he observed to be daily supplied out of *France*, bethought himself of a Villanous piece of Subtily, which made him keep *Sicily*, but with the loss of his Honour. He propos'd *Charles* to decide this great Quarrel by a Personal Combat between them, each

1278.

1279.

1279.

1281.

* *Prochyda* Island.

1282.

1282.

each to be assisted with an hundred choice Knights. Charles more brave then well advised, accepted the Challenge, notwithstanding the contrary Counsel and reiterated Commands of the Pope. King Edward being related to both, undertook to secure the Field for them at *Burdeaux*, the day was appointed to be the first of *July* the year following, and upon the word of this perfidious Man, Charles raised imprudently the Siege, and agreed to a Truce.

In the interim the Pope pouring all the Treasures or Viols of his Wrath upon the head of the *Arragonian*, not only Excommunicated him, but likewise degraded him of his Kingship, and exposed his Kingdom as a prey; but he turned all this into raillery; and as though he would obey the Popes Sentence, he would no longer be called King, but the Knight of *Arragon*, Lord of the Sea, and the Father of three Kings.

The day of Combat being come, Charles enters the Field with his hundred Knights, and remained there from the Suns rise till Sun setting. The *Arragonian* appeared not, but towards night comes post thither, goes to the Seneschal of *Burdeaux*, takes Witness that he had presented himself, and leaves his Arms with him to serve for Testimony, then retires in great haste, feigning he was in dread of some surprisal by the King of *France*. A very brave act of Apparence or Comparition, worthy the Courage of a Prince, to whom his Subjects have given the Surname and Epithet of Great.

The Pope who had thundred his Excommunication against him the former year, did re-aggravate it again in this, published a Crusado or Holy War against him with the very same Indulgences and Priviledges as for the Holy Land, and gave his Kingdom to Charles de Valois, the second Son of *France*, whom he caused to be invested by Cardinal John Cholet his Legat, whom he expressly sent into *France*. And certainly the destruction of Peter having place, that Crown was devolved to this Charles by Hereditary Right, since he was the Son of that Kings Sister.

These Threatnings did not daunt the *Arragonian*, he was confirmed in his Crime by the good success of Roger de Lauria his Admiral. This Captain, the ablest Seaman of his Age, having gained several Advantages over Charles's Subjects, came and planted himself before *Naples* in his absence, engaged Charles the Lame, his Son, to a Battle the fifth of *June*, vanquished him, and carried him Prisoner to *Palermo*. His Head ran great danger of serving as a Reprizal for the Head of *Conradin*: The *Sicilians* had Condemned him to Death, *Constantia* drew him subtilly out of their hands, and sent him into *Arragon* to the King her Husband.

The Fathers anguish was the greater, for that he arrived there within three days after the taking of his Son, with a good number of Ships well Armed. He had much ado to keep *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and having wrastled six Months longer with his Misfortunes, he died at *Foggia* in *Apulia* the 17th of *January*, in the year 1285, leaving his Son, Charles the Lame, the Heir to his Misfortunes, as well as to his Crown.

The foregoing year Alphonso King of *Castille* died, dispossessed almost of all his Estate by Sancho his unnatural Son. On his Death-bed he made his Will and Testament, whereby he left him his Paternal Curse, deprived him of the Succession, and recalled Alphonso and Ferdinand, who were the Sons of his eldest Son Ferdinand, and upon their default Philip King of *France*, to whom *Castille* already did belong by right of *Blanch de Castille* the Mother of *St. Lewis*: but Sancho knew how to keep himself securely enough in possession of it.

The 16th of the Month of *August* King Philips eldest Son of the same name, and the Surname of Fair, Aged but Fifteen years, Married Jane Queen of *Navarre*, and Countess of *Brie* and *Champagne*, who was but Thirteen, the Pope having given Dispensation because she was his Cousin German.

A Legat of the Pope having caused the Croisado to be Preached, against Peter King of *Arragon*; King Philip would go himself in this Expedition, to Infall Charles his second Son in that Kingdom. He had no less then Twenty thousand Horse, and four-score thousand Foot. He Shipt part of these Foot-Soldiers in four-score Vessels which he took with him to carry Ammunition, Provisions, and Artillery. James King of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, whom Peter his Brother had devested of his Lands, followed him, or to say better, Conducted him in this Voyage, thereby to recover them.

The Army being drawn together at *Narbonne*, began to march in the Month of *May*. *Perpignau* surrendered to James and received the French. *Elna* was taken by Storm, and all that were within destroy'd, excepting the Bastard de *Roussillon*, who shewed them a passage through the Mountains. These two Cities were belonging to James.

* Emperor
Andronicus,
Son of Mi-
chael, Reigned
Fifty years,
and Rodolph.
1283.

1284.

1284.

1285.

1284.

1284.

1285.

The

The *Arragonian* who guarded the narrow Passages, finding the French at his back, quitted his Posts, and left their entrance into *Catalonia* free. They on the suddain took several little places, and laid Siege to *Geronde*. That King was lying in wait to relieve it: but being beaten and grievously wounded in an Ambuscade, he had designed to intercept the Convoy which was marching from the Port of *Roses*, the place surrendered for want of Provisions, after a two Months Siege.

Three Months after the Fight, that King died of his Wounds in *Valencia*. Alphonso his eldest Son succeeded him in that Kingdom, and James the second Son seized on that in the Island of *Sicilia*.

The rest of the Campagne was not so happy for the French, the Admiral *Lauria* knowing, that out of an imprudent Management and Husbandry to save Charges, they had sent back the Vessels belonging to the *Pisans* and *Genoese* who were under pay, fell upon the rest of the Fleet and defeated them all, except such as escaped into the Port of *Roses*. The scarcity of Provisions and Sicknes, brought the whole Army almost to nothing; The King falling Sick, and hoping for no good by the approaching Winter, took his way towards *France*, and was brought back to *Perpignian* in a Litter.

Geronde, and all the places he had Conquer'd in *Catalongne*, held but a very few days after his departure: The Melancholy he conceived upon this Revolution, and the agitation of the Journey increased his Sicknes so much, that he died at *Perpignau* the 6th day of *October*. He was in the beginning of the Five and fortieth year of his Life, and the Sixteenth of his Reign. His Fleh and Bowels were interred in the Cathedral of *Narbonne*, and his Bones brought to *St. Denis*.

If we consider his Qualities, he was Valiant, Good, Liberal, Just, and very Pious, but too simple, and too easie to be deceived. If his Conduct, it was not over-happy in those undertakings he made abroad, but for his Enterprizes at home they could not succeed better for his Kingdom, since it grew rich and flourishing by a Peace of Fifteen years continuance, without any vexation of Imposts, and the maintenance of a most exact and speedy Justice.

By *Isabella*, Daughter of James I. King of *Arragon*, he left two Sons, those were Philip and Charles; The first Reigned, the second was Earl of *Valois*, and Father of a Philip who came to the Crown. By his second Wife, *Mary de Brabant*, he had one Son and two Daughters, the Son was Lewis Earl of *Euveux*. From him sprang the Branch of *Euveux*, into which the Crown of *Navarre* was brought by Marriage. The Daughters were Margaret and Blanch, Margaret was Married in the year 1298. to *Edward I.* King of *England*; Blanch having been twice Contracted, once with *John de Namur*, eldest Son of *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*, the other time with *John d' Avesnes* Earl of *Ostrevant*, eldest Son of *John d' Avesnes* Earl of *Haynault*, Married at last in the year 1298. to *Rodolph* Duke of *Austria*, eldest Son of *Albertus* the Emperor, by whom she had a Son, but both the Mother and the Child were Poysoned in the City of *Vienna*, Anno 1305.

1283.

1285.

S f

Philip

Philip IV. King XLV.

POPES,

HONORIUS IV. *Eighteen Months.*

Vacancy Nine Months and an half.

NICHOLAS IV. *Elected the 22th of February 1288. S. Four years, one Month and an half.*

Vacancy Two years, three Months.

CELESTINE V. *Institutor of the Celestines, Elected the 5th of July, 1294. S. Five Months and an half.*

BONIFACE VIII. *Elected the 24th of Decemb. 1294. S. Eight years, nine Months and an half.*

BENNET XI. *Elected the 20th of October, 1303. S. Eight Months, seventeen days.*

Vacancy Eleven Months.

CLEMENT V. *Elected the 5th of June, 1305. transfers the See into France, S. Nine years wanting five weeks.*

PHILIP IV. *Surnamed the Fair, King of France XLV. and of Navarre also by his Wife, Aged Seventeen years, and some Months.*

1286.

After Philip had brought back into France the remainder of the Army, and conveyed his Fathers Bones to St. Denis, he went to be Crowned at Rheims by the hands of the Archbishop Peter Barbet, the Sixth day of January, with the Queen his Wife.

1286.

Guy de Dampierre had succeeded in the Earldom of Flanders after the death of his Mother, and had done Homage for it to Philip the Hardy, but neither his Mother, nor himself, for want either of will or power, had not as yet caused the Articles to be Sworn to, and Ratified, which were made in the year 1225. between Philip Augustus and Ferrand, because in truth they were very destructive and ruinous to the Flemings. This year the King having threatned Guy, if he did not perform it without delay, to own him no longer for his Vassal, but to declare a War, the Cities and Commonalty of the Countrey were so alarmed and scared, that they obey'd his Will and Pleasure.

Ever since the death of Philip III. Edward King of England had omitted no endeavour to confirm the Treaties with his Successor. In the year 1286. being landed in France about Pontieu, he was received at Amiens by several Lords whom the King sent to meet him, from thence he came to Paris, where he was Treated magnificently, was present at the Parliament which was held after Easter, and going from thence about Whisontide, went by Land to Burdeaux.

The apparent cause of his Voyage was the desire he had to Compose the business of the King of Arragon, because Alphonso the eldest Son, and Successor of Peter, had Married his Daughter Alienor. He forgot not likewise to press earnestly he might have some reparation for Normandy, and those other Countries which both his Father and himself had renounced, but could obtain nothing in either of these

two

Philip the Fair, King XLV.

two points. Being returned to Burdeaux, he solemnly received the Ambassadors from the Kings of Castille, of Arragon, and of Sicilia, all Enemies to France, which gave no little jealousy to Philip.

John de Launoy Vice-Roy for Philip in Navarre, continued the War against the Arragonians. But a Lord of the Country named John Corbaran, whom he had entrusted with the Command of the Armies, having been worsted by their Forces, a Truce was agreed upon between the two Crowns.

The King of England laboured very seriously to Compose the Difference between the Kingdom of France and that of Arragon and Sicilia. To this purpose he Confer'd with Alphonso and Orlon de Bearn, and afterwards took the pains to make a Voyage into Sicily, that he might Treat with James the Brother of Alphonso, who, as we have related, had seized upon that Island.

The Negotiations of the King of England were somewhat retarded by the Progress some French Lords had made in that Island. But the rest, who were going thither to compleat that Conquest, being beaten and taken at Sea by Lauria the Admiral, they gave a more willing Ear to what was propounded.

The Treaty was carried on so well, that Charles the Lame was set at Liberty, promising he would bring it so about with the Earl of Valois, that he should renounce the Kingdom of Arragon, and with the Pope, that he should invest James of Arragon in that of Sicily, which his Brother Alphonso should yield to him: For security whereof, Charles gave his Three Sons, and Fifty Gentlemen of Quality as Hostages.

When he was deliver'd from his Imprisonment, he did not hold himself obliged to make that good which he had been forced to promise: on the contrary, being in France, he exhorted the Earl of Valois not to desist from his Right to the Kingdom of Arragon, and going afterwards into Italy, he got himself to be Crowned by the Pope, who was then at Geronza, King of Sicilia both on this side and beyond the Fare.

So that James of Arragon perceiving the Treaty was broke, fell upon Calabria, where the City of Catanzara had revolted in his favour. Robert d' Artois laid Siege to it, James and his Admiral Lauria hastned to its relief, and being beaten, went and blocked up Gaeta, thinking to make a Diversion: but Charles and Robert followed at the same time, and besieged the Besiegers so straightly, that they reduced them to Famine.

Then the Sicilian caused, I know not how, the Popes Legat to intervene, who demanded a Truce for two years, and Charles not well informed of the extremity wherein his Enemies were, consented to it a little too easily; at which Robert was so incensed that he retired into France, and carried all his Forces with him.

Don Sancho King of Castille desired earnestly to have a Peace with King Philip; and for that reason he would have given him up the two Sons of Alphonso de Cerda, and to this intent had endeavoured to get them out of the hands of the Arragonian who kept them. Now the Arragonian having denied so to do, he Treated with Philip, obliging himself to give the Kingdom of Murcia to the eldest of those two Brothers, and some other Lands to the second. The Arragonian hearing of this Treaty, made haste to set them at liberty, that so they might be obliged to him, and continue still Enemies to Sancho. In effect, they were so ill advised, as to refuse to stand to the Agreement which Philip their Cousin German had made for them, and immediately took up Arms against the Castilian.

Philip's displeasure for being thus contradicted by these two Brothers was craftily managed by the Castilian, so that those two Kings had Interview at Bayonne, and there made a Treaty; by which Philip, according the Advice of some interested Counsellors, totally abandoned his unhappy Cousins, and withall yielded up and gave to Don Sancho all the rights he might have to the Crown of Castille.

"This year Alexander III. King of Scotland dying without Children, there arose a long and bloody Quarrel for the Succession between two Lords, each of them pretending to be the next Heir. Both of them being of the Blood Royal by their Mothers, who were the Daughters of Scotland; Their names were Robert Bruce, and John de Baliol. This last was Originally of Normandy, History does not mention of what part, for there are divers places have the name of Baliol. These two Competitors, having refer'd their Difference to Edward King of England, he gives Judgment in favour of Baliol, whether he believed his Title to be the better, or whether it were because he made himself his Vassal, as the Scots reproach him, and had promis'd to hold his Crown of him.

1288.

Sicilia on this side the Fare, is the Kingdom of Naples.

1289.

1290.

1291.

"*Alfir* Sultan of *Egypt* had in the year 1288. wrested all the Cities of *Tripoly*, *Syria*, *Lidon*, and *Tyre*, with some other strong Holds out of the hands of the Christians. They had nothing more left in all those Countreys, but the Sea-Port Town of *Ptolemais*, which made a Truce with the Sultan. The *French*, the *Pisans*, the *Genoese*, and the *Venetians* had each of them their distinct Quarters and Magistrates. The Pope, the King of *Cyprus*, the Earl of *Tripoly*, the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and the *Templars* contended for the Sovereignty. Amidst these Divisions there was nothing but Murthers, Robberies, and Plunderings, both within and without the City.

"Besides all this, they were so imprudent as to suffer some numbers of new Recruits that were come to them as Adventurers of the Cross, to break the Truce. The Sultan *Mebee-Arse* who succeeded to *Alfir*, demanded Reparation, but as it was not in their power to deliver up the Violators, he besieged the City, and after Forty days continual attacks, gained it by Storm, putting to the Sword all that were within, excepting only such as could save themselves on Ship-board.

"Such was the end of the Christians Conquests in *Syria*, and their Expeditions into the Holy Land. For although the Popes have since caused the Croisado's to be preach'd for the recovery of it, and several Princes and great Persons have made Vow, to go thither for the same purpose: Nevertheless since the loss of *Ptolemais*, none of them have gone thither, but only some Pilgrims.

†.

1291.

Charles the Lame was in the end forced, that he might free his Children and release those Gentlemen he had given in Hostage, and who were all sent into *Arragon*, to persuade his Cousin *Charles* Earl of *Valois*, to renounce the Kingdom of *Arragon*; upon which Condition King *Alphonso* engaged himself to go with his Forces into the Holy Land, and in his passage through *Sicilia*, to do his utmost to induce his Brother *James*, Usurper of that Island, to restore it to *Charles* the Lame. Who in the mean while gave his Daughter *Clemence* in Marriage to *Charles de Valois*, and for a Portion the Counties of *Anjou* and *Maine*.

1291.

Otheline Earl of *Burgundy* ready to be trod under foot by *Robert* Duke of *Burgundy*, who would have the Earldom to hold of the Dutchy, and do him Homage; cast himself head-long into the protection of King *Philip*, bringing to him his eldest Daughter named *Jane*, that he might Marry her to one of his Sons: and in favour of this Alliance, he from that time gave him up his Earldom, reserving only to himself the Revenue during his Life. This *Jane* was afterwards Married to *Philip* the Long, the Kings eldest Son, who was then but in his Cradle, and her Sister *Blanch* to the second, who was called *Charles* the Fair.

1291.

The excessive Usury of the *Italian* Bankers, sucked all the Substance of the poor People: The King had need of Money, he was glad of such an opportunity and pretence to do Justice to get some from them. He therefore caused them all to be seized upon May-day night; This was a sweet Knot or Nose-gay of May-Flowers: but since under the same pretence, they laid hold of many honest Merchants likewise, and raised great Fines or Taxes upon them, as well as upon the Blood-sucking Leeches, this inquiry, which in it self was just and necessary, was converted into a most odious Robbery.

1291.

* The Annunciation.

"It is believed, that this year the holy Virgins little House at *Nazareth*, where the Incarnation* of the Word was declared to her, was by Angels transferr'd to the top of a little Mountain in *Dalmatia*, on the other side of the *Adriatique-Sea*. That from thence, three years afterwards, it was brought to the hither-side in a Wood that belonged to a Widow named *Loretta*, and that it was removed at two other times into two several places, in the last whereof, the Angels left it. There is a Magnificent Church built there and a pretty good Town, and both are called by the name of *Loretta*.

1291.

"The Emperor *Rodolph* ended his days in the Burrough of *Genesheim* near *Spire*, the last day of *September*, having Reigned Eighteen years. He laid the foundation of the prodigious Grandeur of the House of *Austria*, but undermined that of the Empire in *Italy*, by neglecting to go thither, and selling the Sovereignty to divers Cities of *Tuscany* in the year 1286. especially to that of *Luca* and *Florence*, who bought it of him with their Money.

1292.

"In his room *Adolph* Earl of *Nassau* was elected the 6th of *January* and Crowned at *Frankfort*; a brave and generous Prince, who would have maintained that Title better than any of his Ancestors, had he but had as much Riches as Vertue.

The Peace between *France* and *England* had lasted to this time, to the great satisfaction of both Nations, when the accidental Quarrel of an *English* Mariner with a Mariner of *Normandy* upon the Coast of *Guyenne*, where they had landed to take

in

in fresh Water, set them against one another. First, Ship and Ship endeavour'd to plunder or take what they could singly on each side, then they brought Fleet against Fleet. The *English* had the worst, their King *Edward* demanded restitution of such Merchants Goods as had been made Prize in these Scuffles. *Philip* on the contrary Summons him to appear in his Court of Parliament as his Vassal, *Edward* sent his Brother *Edmund*, but *Philip* not satisfied with that, caused him to be declared Contumacious, and ordered his Lands should be seized.

In Execution of this Decree, the year following the Constable *Rodolph de Nesle* seized several Cities in *Guyenne*, and even that of *Bordeaux*, which was the Capital.

Thus a Riot between Private Men blew their little Sparks of Contention into a flame of War, which, one may say, proved very fatal to *France*, since it gave way to the overthrowing of her ancient Laws and Liberties, and the introducing and establishment of divers Charges and Subsidies on the People. The increase and burthen whereof is ordinarily followed with Revolutions and Seditions, as it fell out this year by a great Commotion hapning at *Rouen*; but which had the same end and event as all the like Enterprizes generally come to, that is to say, the Hanging of the most forward and hottest, and the Banishment or Ruine of the rest.

The King of *England* vexed at the loss of those places in *Guyenne*, solicited all Princes against *France*, particularly the Emperor *Adolph* with great Sums of Money, and *Guy de Dampierre* Earl of *Flanders*, with the hopes of the Marriage of his Son, Prince of *Wales*, with *Philippetta*, that Earls Daughter. *Adolph* sent to defie the King in haughty language, but they gave him no other answer but a Sheet of white Paper; For which he shewed no other Reientment but by Threats, and so turned his Arms against some *German* Rebels.

As for *Guy*, having been allured to *Paris*, with his Wife and Daughter, by Letters from the King, fraught with Expressions of Kindness, he was much amazed to find himself made a Prisoner there. It is true, that about a Twelve month after, himself and his Wife were set at liberty, but his Daughter they kept still to break the Measures of that Match, too pernicious to the *French*.

In the year 1294 the Cardinal *Benedict Cajetan*, by intrigues, or by deceit and fourbery, obliged Pope *Celestin* to resign the Popedom, and by the same Methods got himself to be elected, he was named *Boniface VIII*. His Ancestors were Originally *Catalonians*, and had taken the name of *Cajetan* because they first dwelt near * *Cajeta*, before they transplanted themselves to the City of *Anagnia*, where he was born.

At his advancement to that Dignity, he endeavours to mediate a Peace between all Christian Princes. He could not procure it between *France* and *England*: but he settled that between *Arragon* and *France*. King *Alphonso* was dead, and *James* his Brother succeeded him. It was agreed, that *Charles* Earl of *Valois* should renounce the Kingdom of *Arragon*, wherein he had been invested by Pope *Martin V*. upon which Condition the *Arragonian* repudiating *Isabella de Castille* for being too high of Kin, should Marry his Daughter, set the three Sons of *Charles* the Lame, and other Hostages at liberty, and surrender *Sicily*, and what he had Conquer'd in *Abruzzas*: but *Frederic* his younger Brother, to whom *Alphonso* had by his last Testament will'd that Kingdom, got himself to be named King by the *Sicilians*.

"Since then, that which we call the Kingdom of *Sicilia*, was dismembred in two, that beyond the *Fare*, which was the Island, and that on this side which they called the Kingdom of *Naples*. They were again re-joynd in Anno 1503. and are to this day in the same hands.

"The Sons of *Charles* the Lame being set at liberty, the eldest named *Charles* entered into the Order of the Friars Minors. The following year he was by the Pope promoted to the Archbishoprick of *Thoulouze*, which he accepted not of till after he had made his Vows.

The King of *Englands* heart was much set upon two things, the one to Subject the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the other to recover the Towns in *Guyenne*; He thought the first was pretty well advanc'd, having obliged *Baliol* to render him Homage; and to compass the second, he prepared a mighty Fleet, and had strengthened himself with Friends and Alliances. But *Philip* to prevent his designs, induced the King of *Scotland*, already threatened by his Subjects, who scorned to subject themselves to the *English*, to break the Treaty he had made with *Edward*, and Allie himself with *France*; and for security of this new Bond of Alliance, he promised to give the eldest Daughter of the Earl of *Valois* to his eldest Son, whose name was *Edward*.

At the same time he caused the People of *Wales* also to rise, who out of a wild and un-

Emperor *Adolph*, and *Adolphus* of *Nassau*, Reigning Six years and an half, is slain in a Battle.

1292.

1293.

1294.

1294.

1294.

* *Gaeta* or *Gartan*.

1294.

1295.

untamed humour for Liberty, were easily heated and drawn into the Field. The great devastations and spoil they made this time in *Pembrook-shire*, and thereabout, broke all the King of *England's* Measures. He was forced to go in Person that way to stop their progress, and lay aside the business of *Guyenne*, till he had quell'd those hot and stubborn old Enemies; as he did, having overmaster'd almost all of them, in four Months time.

"About this time the Principality of *Milan* and Neighbouring Cities was fixed and "perpetuated in the Family of the *Vicounts*, to which *Otho Vicount* Archbishop of "*Milan* contributed not a little. *Matthew* his Brothers Son was created the first

1295.

"Duke, this year 1295. and took the Investiture of the Emperor *Adolph*, who like-

"wife gave him the Vicarship, or Vicegerency of the Empire in *Lombardy*.

1295.

"In *Pistoia*, a City in *Tuscany*, as then powerful enough, it hapned that the rich "and numerous Family of the *Cancellary* were divided in two Factions, the one of "the White, the other of the Black; The first joyned themselves with the *Guelphes*, "the second with the *Ghibelins*; and that fury and madness spread over all *Italy*, and "caused infinite Seditions and Murthers.

1295.

Pope *Boniface* was Proud, Haughty, Imperious, and Undertaking, he thought all the Princes of the Earth must bow to his Commands: but he found a *Philip* of *France* at the head of them, a young Prince of no very patient Humour, more Potent than any one of his Predecessors, and who had a Council consisting of People that were stout and impetuous. So that *Boniface*, who ardently pursued the Design he aimed at to oblige all Kings to the Holy War, having sent to tell both him and the King of *England*, that they must make a Truce upon pain of Excommunication, he made Reply, That he took no Rule or Law from any one in the Government of his Kingdom, and that the Pope had in this case no right, but to Exhort and Advise, not to Command. This was the first occasion of Enmity betwixt these two great Powers.

1295.

There were two more almost at the same time; The one, that *Boniface* received the Complaints of the Earl of *Flanders*, who implored his Justice, because *Philip* denied to restore his Daughter to him; The other, for that he erected the Abby of *St. Antonine de Pamiez* to a Bishoprick, and put the Abbot of *St. Antonine* into it. Observe, *en passant*, that this City was otherwhile called *Fredalas*.

1296.

King *Philip* was offended at this Erection, and more yet with the choice of the Bishop, (his name was *Bernard Saiffet*) because he believed him a Factioned Man, and too much devoted to *Boniface*. Nor would he suffer him to take possession, and therefore *Lewis* Bishop of *Toulouse* administered in that Church for two whole years together.

1295, and 96.

The War was still carried on in *Guyenne* by the Earl of *Valois* and the Constable *de Nesle*, and then by *Robert* Earl of *Artois*. The *English* had for Commanders there, *John* Earl of *Richmond*, and *Edmond* the Kings Brother. To what purpose would it be to relate the taking of many petty places, and the divers small Skirmishes? The *French* say they won two Signal Victories, one of them was gained by the Earl of *Valois*, and the other by the Earl of *Artois*. It is certain, that *Edmond* being beaten by the first near *Bayonne*, was forced to retire into that City, where he died; and the Earl of *Lincoln*, who commanded that *English* Army afterwards, having lost many of his Men before *Dags*, durst not stay for *Robert d' Artois*, and retreated.

1296.

In the mean while a most dangerous Storm was forming against *France*. A League was made at *Cambray*, by the Interest of the King of *England*, whereinto he entred with the Duke of *Brabant*, the Earls of *Holland*, *Juliers*, *Luxemburgh*, *Guelders* and *Bar*, *Albert* Duke of *Austria*, the Emperor *Adolphus*, and the *Flemming* himself; all which sent their several Cartels of Defiance to King *Philip*; but none of them vexed him so much as the Challenge from the Earl of *Flanders*, because he was his Vassal.

* Or Walter:

The Earl of *Bar* began the Attaque, by ravaging *Champagne*: but he retir'd when he heard how *Gaultier * de Crecy* Lieutenant of the Kings Army, burnt and plundered his Country. Soon after the Queen being advanced that way to defend her Country of *Champagne*, he was so faint-hearted as to surrender himself to her without making any defence. They sent him Prisoner to *Paris*; from whence he could get no Release but upon very hard Conditions. For he did Homage to the King for his Earldom, which he ever had pretended to hold in *Franc Aient*, or Free-Tenure; and moreover he was condemned by a Decree of Parliament to go and bear Arms in the Holy Land till the King were pleased to recall him.

1297.

As for *Florent* Earl of *Holland*, he was kill'd by a Gentleman whose Wife he had Dishonour'd. His Son *John* died soon after him, by eating of some ill-Morsel. *John d' Avelines*

Avelines Earl of *Haynault* their Cousin and nearest Relation, inherited *Holland* and *Frisland*.

The greatest burthen of the War fell upon *Flanders*: King *Philip* marched into the Country with a vast Army, to whom the Queen joyned her Forces after she had subdued the Earl of *Bar*. He took *L'Isle* by a three Months Siege, and *Courtray* and *Douay* without much difficulty; whilst on the other hand *Robert* Earl of *Artois* gained the Battle of *Furnes*, where the Earl of *Juliers* was so ill handled, that he died of his Wounds.

1297.

Adolphus detained in *Germany* by the private Troubles the *French* started amongst them, or the Sums of Money *Philip* gave him under-hand, did not bring the *Flemming* that Relief which he expected. Withall they found a way by the all-powerful influence of Money to debauch *Albertus* Duke of *Austria* from the Party, who brought over with him the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Earls of *Luxembourg*, *Guelders* and *Beaumont*. As for the King of *England* who was there in Person, and had his Navy at *Damm*, and his Land Forces in the Country Towns, he brought more inconvenience than assistance to the *Flemming*. Besides we may add, that the greatest Cities in *Flanders*, as *Ghent* and *Bruges*, had been against the making of this War, and amongst them a Faction had declared for the *French*, who called themselves the *Portes-Lys*, or the *Flower-de-Luce-Bearers*.

1297.

Now the King being retired to *Ghent* with the Earl of *Flanders*, could find no other way to Charm the Swords of the *French* in those Countries, but by a Truce. The intercession of the Earl of *Savoy*, and *Charles* King of *Sicilia* obtained it with difficulty for them, from the Tenth of *October* till *Twelfth-day*, for *Guyenne*, and to *S. Andrews* Holy-day for *Flanders* only.

Edward knew how to employ that time to good purpose; Having passed the Sea, he went against the *Scots* who had shaken off the Yoke; and not only forced their King *John* and his Barons to do Homage to him a second time, of which a Charter written in *French* was Signed and Sealed, and to renounce the Alliance with *France*: but likewise kept him Prisoner a while with some of those Lords, confining them in the Tower of *London*, resolving not to release him till he had made an end of his Disputes with the *French*.

The Truce being expir'd, he made ready to return into *Guyenne* by the Month of *March* in the year 1298. Nevertheless, as either of these Kings had partly what they desired, that is, the King of *France* the Towns in *Flanders*, and the King of *England* the Kingdom of *Scotland*: it was not difficult for their Ambassadors, who met about it at *Montreuil* on the Sea Coast, to prolong the Truce to the end of the year.

1298.

It was agreed, That the Allies of both Kings should be Comprised, by consequence *John* *Balol* ought to have been so, but they could never obtain his liberty; and that all the places Conquer'd in *Flanders* should be in the hands of *Philip* during that Truce. The King of *England* had obliged himself by Oath to the *Flemming*, not to make a Peace till they were restor'd: but in the mean time he agreed his Marriage with *Margaret* the Sister to *Philip*, and that of his Son *Edward* with *Isabella* the Daughter of that King.

The Money that *Adolphus* had received on both hands, from the Kings of *France* and *England*, was the cause of his Ruine, and on the contrary, what *Albertus* had taken for the same end, served to raise his Fortune. For this last having made use of some of it to corrupt the Princes of *Germany*, who were displeased for that *Adolphus* had given them no share of his, it hapned that in an Assembly they had at *Prague* for the Coronation of King *Venceslaus*, they easily suffer'd themselves to be persuaded, that the Pope was consenting to the Deposition of *Adolphus*, as being useless to the Empire; And in effect, the Cabal was so strong that they did Depose him, and elected *Albert* Duke of *Austria*. The two Competitors came to blows about it near *Spire* the Second of *July*, *Adolph* fighting valiantly, but betray'd, or at least forsaken by his Men, lost his Life there.

1298.

The Election of *Albert* was illegal, to rectifie it he was fain to lay it down, at least seemingly, in the hands of the Electors, who elected him the second time with all the Formalities, the Seven and twentieth of the same Month. But the Pope still refused to approve it, and designed that Crown for *Charles de Valois*, for whom he had a particular Esteem.

1298.

He seemed now as if he would have sweetned the sharp Humours of *Philip*; for the year preceding he Canonized *St. Lewis* his Grandfather, and he interpreted the Bull, by which he had forbidden the Clergy to pay any Tenths or Contributions to Princes, very favourably. *Philip* believing he had done it expressly to choquer him,

Emperor *Andron.* and *Albert*, elected in *Anno* 1298. Reigned Ten years.

was

was offended, several Letters had been written on that Subject to each other, and things were like to have proceeded to the greatest Extremity. However Boniface upon the intreaty of some French Prelats, yielded to reason, declaring, that he intended not to forbid voluntary Contributions, provided they were made without Exaction. He added, that they might be levied without permission from the Pope in times of the Kingdoms necessity; and that, even upon urgent necessities, they might be constrained by the Authority Apostolick, Spiritually and Temporally.

But as their Spirits were already exasperated on either side, the Wound burst open afresh in a short while afterwards. Boniface had been chosen Arbitrator of the Differences between the King, with the English and the Flemming; After the hearing of their Deputies, he gave his Sentence of Arbitration, which ordained, That the Flemmings Daughter should be set at liberty, and his Towns restored; and as if he had been the Sovereign Judge, he caused it to be publicly pronounced in his Consistory. Which so touched the King and his Council, that it being brought to Paris by the English Deputy, the Earl of Artois snatched it out of his hands, rent it, and threw it into the Fire.

The Queen on her part made use of the means within her power to highten the King her Husbands Wroth against the Flemming, for whom she had a mortal hatred. So that the Truce being expir'd, the Earl of Valois had order to enter into Flanders, and carry things on to the last push.

He pursues him so smartly, that having taken Dam and Dixmude from him, he besieged him in Ghent with all his Family. That unfortunate Prince destitute of all succour, and forsaken even by his own Subjects, was advised to render both himself and his two Sons into his hands. The Earl of Valois promised he would carry him to Paris to Treat with the King himself, and assured him, that if within a Twelve-month he could not procure a Peace, he should be set again at liberty, and brought back to the same place where they had taken him. But the King would have no regard to what his Uncle had sworn, detains the Flemming and his two Sons, and disposes them into several Prisons asunder from each other.

The Earl of Valois being picqued for that they violated the Faith he had given the Flemming, or by some other motive of Ambition, went out of the Kingdom, and passes into Italy, whither the Pope had earnestly invited him for at least Three years. He there Married Catharine the Daughter and Heiress of Baldwin the last Emperor of Constantinople, and the Pope gave him that Empire, and made him his Vicar or Lieutenant over all the Lands belonging to the Church, hoping by his means to carry on that great design of the Holy War which was ever rumbling in his Head.

For the third time the Truce was prolonged betwixt the two Kings, by virtue whereof the Prisoners on both sides were set at liberty, and particularly John Baliol * King of Scotland, who was brought into Normandy, and left in the keeping of some Bishops who were willing to take that Charge upon them.

The Emperor Albert could not obtain his Confirmation of Boniface, and Philip was apprehensive of the audacious Undertakings of this Pope: for this reason, both the one and the other to prevent him from taking advantage of their Divisions to ruin them, Conferred together at Vanconleurs. In that Interview they renewed the ancient Confederations of the Empire with France; and to unite themselves more closely, Treated the Marriage between Rodolph the Son of Albert, and Blanch the Daughter of Philip. It was not compleated till the following year.

"At the end of the Thirteenth Age of the Christian Era, the Pope publish'd a general Indulgence or Relaxation of Canonical Pains due for Sins, for all those who being Confessed and Penitent, should visit the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, for a certain number of days. Since that, Clement VI. reduc'd it to Fifty years, and called it the Jubile.

"Boniface hath been reproached, that on this Ceremony he appeared sometimes in Pontifical Habit, sometimes in Habits Imperial, causing two Swords to be carried before him to signify his double power, Spiritual and Temporal. He had so in effect; but the last only in his own Territory. However he did not understand it thus: as his Actions, and the Sixth Book of the Decretals, wherein he boldly affirms, that there is but one Power, which is the Ecclesiastical, does but too plainly shew.

"This Institution of the Jubile seems to have its Original from Secular Pass-times. The Ancient Romans Celebrated them once in every Hundred years; Paganism being abolished, the People did not lay aside their Custom of coming from all parts to Rome the first year of every Age: but sanctifying that profane Solemnity, they paid their Devotions on the Tombs of the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul.

"Seve-

"Several do in this year place the beginning of that dreadful Family, or House of the Oibomans, and tell us that the Turks having conquer'd much of the Countreys belonging to the Greeks in Asia, divided those Lands into seven Principalities, of which the Province of Bithynia fell by Lot to Osman, or * Oiboman, Son of Ortogules, "who was in great reputation of probity and valour amongst his Country-men. His Succellors have devoured, not only the other six Principalities, but the Grecian Empire, the Kingdom of Egypt, and so many Countreys of the Christian Princes, that "it is to be feared they may swallow up the Western Empire likewise.

* Or Ottoman.

Boniface was grown obstinate in his design for the expedition to the Holy-Land, and perswaded himself he had a right to oblige all Christian Princes to it. He therefore sent Bernard Saisset, Bishop of Pamiez to Philip, with a charge to exhort him to this voyage, and also to summon him to make good his word to the Earl of Flanders, by setting his Daughter at liberty. He acquitted himself of his Commissions in such high terms, and it was told the King that he held discourses upon several occasions so injurious to his Person, and so factious against the quiet and peace of the Kingdom, that he made him be seized and kept prisoner.

Then their hatred ran up to the extremity, the King besides all this being mightily heated by the ill reports of William de Nogaret. For he informed him, that when he was sent Ambassador to the Pope, to acquaint him of his Alliance with the Emperor Albert; he perceived that his Holiness was very ill inclined towards him, that he had bad designs, and that he led a scandalous life, and most unworthy of the Succession to the Apostles.

On his part, Boniface dispatched the Arch-Deacon of Narbonne to Command him to set the Bishop of Pamiez at liberty, and let him know there was a Bull, importing, that the King was under his correction for the sins he committed in his Temporal Administration, as well as for others; That the collation of Benefices did not appertain to him, and that the Regalia was an usurpation. By another Bull he suspended all the privileges granted by his predecessors to the King, to those of his House, and to his Council. And by a Third he ordered all the Prelats of the Kingdom should come to Rome, to find out some remedy against Philips disorders, and the Enterprizes he made upon the Ecclesiastical State.

The King upon the earnest intreaties of the Clergy, put the Bishop of Pamiez into the hands of the Arch-Bishop of Narbonne, his Metropolitan: but he forbid the Prelats for going out of the Kingdom, or the transporting of any Gold or Silver. And for that point which he believed did concern his Sovereignty, he thought it best to support himself with the Authority of all the Estates of his Kingdom against Boniface. The Estates assembled in Notre-Dame the 10th of April, in the year 1301, declared, that they owned no other Superiour in Temporals besides the King; and in conformity to that, the Clergy wrote to the Pope, as the Nobility, and the third Estate did to the Cardinals; who in their answers assured, that it had never been the Popes intention to attribute that Superiority to himself.

"During these quarrels a prodigious Comet appeared in the Heavens; it began to shew it self in Autumn, towards the West, and in the Sign of Scorpio, darting its Rays sometimes to the Eastward, and sometimes to the Westward. It was seen but one Month.

The Earl of Artois, Nogaret, Peter Flote, Chancellor to the King, and the Colona's, whom Boniface had thrust out of all, proscribed and imprisoned, exasperated all things more and more. Many nevertheless were scandalized, that they should contend against the Pope, and therefore it was thought decent to maintain that he was not so, and that by opposing his Person, they did not oppose the Vicar of Jesus Christ, but an ill Man that had intruded himself into the Papacy.

The King being therefore at the Louvre, Nogaret in presence of divers Princes of the Blood, and Bishops, presented a Petition the Twelfth day of March, accusing him of Heresie, Simony, Magick, and other enormous crimes, and demanding the Kings assistance, that there might be a general Council called, to deliver the Church from this oppression.

The Pope had dispatched into France a Cardinal, named John Le Moyne, a native of the Diocess of Amiens, a knowing Man, and very Learned, upon pretence of negotiating some agreement with the King: but indeed, to sound the inclination of the Clergy in his favour. Now being but ill satisfied with the answers the King made to his Quæries; he sent another Bull which declared him Excommunicate, for having hindered the Prelats from going to Rome, forbid them to admit him to the

1300.

1301.

1302.

1301.

* Or, de Bail-
leul, is a
Frenchman by
Descent.

1299.

1300.

the Sacraments or Mass, Commanded them to be at Rome within three Months, and summoned some by name, upon the penalty of being deposed.

1302.

"During these Contrasts, Charles Earl of Valois was gone into Sicilia with a great Army, with design to reduce it to the Obedience of Charles the Lame his Nephew. He made so little progress, that he thought fitter to make peace between both parties. In effect, he succeeded better in it than in his War. The conditions of the Treaty were, That Frederic should marry his Daughter Eleonor, for whose Portion Sicilia should remain to him under the Title of the Kingdom of Trinacria: but if he had no Children by her, the Island should return to Charles the Lame, or to his Heirs, upon their payment of a hundred thousand Ounces of Gold.

"Before his expedition into Sicilia, he had been sent to Florence by the Pope, to calm the Factions wherewith that Republick was most horribly tormented. During five Months time that he remained there, his Care nor his Authority could by no means prevent the Guelphs and Black from proscribing the White, who were for the most part Gibbelins, and from ruining their Houses. Dante Aligeri, one of the rarest wits of his time, who was of the faction of the White, though otherwise he were a Guelph, was put into the number of the banished, and could never obtain to be recalled. He lays the fault upon the Earl of Valois, for not having provided against those injurious proceedings, and tried to place his revenge upon all the House of France, by the cruel bitings of his Pen; which certainly would have made some impression upon their posterity, had there not been proofs much clearer than the Sun at Noon-day, which dispelled that Satyrical calumny.

1302.
* Or Melfe.

"There are some Authors that assign in this year 1302. the Invention of the Mariners Compass, or Needle, by one Flavio a native of Melfus; * However, since we find some mention of it in Authors long before this time, we can at most but give this Flavio the honour of having brought it to greater use and perfection.

This same year 1302. Flanders revolted, and was lost as to the French. Those people, irreconcilable enemies to Taxes, and heavy oppressions, could not endure the violence and imposts wherewith their young Governour James de Chastillon vexed and tormented them, by the evil Counsels of Peter Flote, a violent and most covetous Man; and indeed he was one-eyed. They therefore called in William Son of the Earl of Juliers, and a Daughter of Earl Guy's to be their Chief, whose younger Sons, with the Sons of his Brother John, came into the County of Alost to support this Rising.

1302.

The Fire began at Malan, but broke out more fiercely at Bruges, where the French Garrison, being all knock'd on the Head, the Towns of Furne, Bergh, Bourbourg, Cassel followed, and Guy Earl of Namur, one of the Flemmings Sons, laid Siege before the Cittadel of Courtray.

The King raised a great Army to chastise the Rebels, and gave the Command of it to Robert d' Artois. That Prince marched to relieve Courtray, with Ten thousand Horse, and Forty thousand Foot; The Flemmings though they were but ill Arm'd, had neither Nobility, nor Cavalry, durst resolutely wait his coming, and gained the Victory, with the slaughter of Twenty thousand French, amongst which number was that Prince himself, above Twenty great Lords with him, and Peter Flote, principal cause of those misfortunes. This was on the 9th of June.

1302.

To revenge this bloody affront, the King takes the Field himself, with above an Hundred thousand Men, but the assurance of the Flemmings, and the intelligence sent him by his Sister the Queen of England, that if he hazarded a Battle, he would be betrayed to his own Men, hindered him from proceeding any farther than Donay; besides the Autumnal Rains rendered his march very difficult.

1303.

This War very troublesome in it self, would have been much more so, had the King of England meddled in it; as he ought to have done after he had engag'd the Flemmings. Their troubles help'd to advance his Affairs, after his having prolonged the Truce two or three times with the French, he converted it at last to a final Peace. The Treaty was concluded at Paris the Twentieth day of May 1303. It was agreed that Philip should restore to him all what he had taken from him in Guyenne, and should grant him a Patent for the investiture of that Dutchy. John Baliol was set at full liberty; but the Scots despised him as a Man of little courage, who had twice bowed the knee before the King of England, and would not own him for their lawful King; so that he remained in France, where he ended his days as a private person. It is not said what the fortune of his Son Edward was. However, although the English had wholly subdued Scotland, it nevertheless hapned, that some years

years afterwards, Robert, Son of Robert Bruce raised that Kingdom again, which seemed to be extinguished, and freed it from the bondage of England.

Now the courage of the Flemmings being untameable, their old Earl who grew weary of his imprisonment, obtained a Truce, by the means of Ane Earl of Savoy, during which interval they permitted him, leaving his Sons in hostage, to go to his Towns in Flanders, to endeavour to bring them back again to the obedience of the King.

The same year the King having had information, that there was a dangerous Faction brooding in Languedoc, and in Guyenne, took a progress into those Countreys, where he visited, and highly caressed the chief Cities and Nobility: At his return Guy de Luzignan Earl of Angoulesme, and Lord of Cognac having no Children, resigned his Lands to him, to the great prejudice of three Sisters he had, The King, to make those Sisters some manner of reparation, gave them I know not what Lands in Angoulmois.

Queen Jane his Wife, Heiress of Navarre, Champagne and Brie, built and founded in the University of Paris, that famous Colledge that bears the name of Navarre, and which, even to this day has been the Cradle, or rather Nursery of the most illustrious Nobility of France. She died about the end of the same year.

The Earl Guy not having been able to gain any thing upon the Flemmings, the King resolved to make them bend by force. He got together the most numerous Army that had been levied of a long time of French, Germans, Spaniards, and Italians, and put himself at the head of them. At the same time he had a Fleet at Sea, commanded by the famous Roger de Lauria. This Admiral gained a bloody Battle against Philip, one of the Flemmings Sons, who besieged Zirczee, that held for John Earl of Holland, who by this means preserved Zealand and kept it. The King soon after gained another at Land near Mons, the Eighteenth of August, but not without great danger to his Person. Above five and twenty thousand Flemmings were slain there.

For all these rebukes they would not stoop, nor give over; but having shut up shop in all their Cities, and got an Army on foot of Sixty thousand fighting Men, they came before P'Isle, which he then held besieged, demanding Peace, or a Battle. This furious resolution obtained them a Peace, upon condition that they should enjoy their Liberties, Goods, Priviledges, and strong Holds; that the Earl should be restored to his Earldom, excepting those Lands on this side the River Lys, which should remain to the King, as likewise the Cities of P'Isle and Donay, till the Earl should be more fully agreed with him, and the Flemmings paid down the sum of 800000 Livres.

The prisoners set at liberty, the Earl Guy went to visit his Countrey and his Children. Being returned to Compeigne upon his faith, as he had promised to finish the Treaty; he died some few days after, aged Four score years. His eldest Son Robert de Betune succeeded him in his Earldom.

The preceding year before he undertook this Expedition, King Philip had considered how to pre-arm himself against the Bulls of Boniface; and for that purpose had convoked a second general Assembly of his Subjects at Paris. The Earls Guy de St. Pol, John de Dreux, and William du Pleffis, Lord de Vezzenobre, did there accuse the Pope of Heresie, and divers things so horrible, that a Christian can hardly tell how to name, much less to believe them. Du pleffis offer'd to prosecute him before the Council, adhering to the Appeal heretofore brought by Nogaret, and putting himself under the protection of the Council, and the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul.

The King promised to procure the Convocation, and in case Boniface should any way proceed against him, formed his Appeal as Duplessis had done.

Moreover, fearing his People too much oppressed with Imposts, and dissatisfied with the Government of his Ministers, should chance to fail him in his necessity, he found it necessary to prevent all stirs and factions that might be set on foot in favour of the Pope, to have Writings or Letters of all the Provinces, Cities, Corporations, Churches, Religious Houses, Prelats, and Lords of his Kingdom, who approved of his Resolution, and joyned therein with him.

During these proceedings Nogaret was gone into Italy to seize upon the Person of Boniface, under pretence of bringing him by fair means or by foul to the Council. The Pope had retired himself to Anagnia, the place of his Nativity, where he thought himself in greater security than in Rome; and there he was upon the Birthday of our Lady, to publish a Bull, by which he Excommunicated the King, dispenced his Subjects of their Obedience to him, and gave his Kingdom to the first occupier.

1303.

1303.

1304.

1304.

Emp.
Androni. and
Albert.
1303.

1303.

1303.

occupier. He had already offer'd it to the Emperour *Albert*, and to engage him to it, had confirmed his Election.

But the Eve before, *Nogaret*, who was in a Castle near at hand, assisted by *Sciarræ Colonna*, whom *Boniface* had kept in the Galleys, with some other Gentlemen of the Countrey, enemies to *Boniface*, and Two hundred Horse of those Troops as *Charles de Valois* had left in *Tuscany*, enters into *Anagnia*, gained the People, and having forced his Palace, seized on his Person; which was not done without some sort of Outrage worthy an Italian revenge, and by plundering his Treasures, which were immense, together with the Houses of three or four Cardinals.

1303. The fourth day the People of *Anagnia* repenting of their baseness, drove the French and their Soldiers out of the Town. The Pope being thus at liberty withdrew to *Rome*; and there that haughty spirit was assailed by a burning Fever, of which he died upon the Twelfth day of *October*.

1303. *Nicholas*, Cardinal of *Ostia*, of the Order of the Preaching Friars, elected by the Cardinals the Two and twentieth of *November* (he was called *Benedict XI.*) carried things with more sweetness, received the Ambassadors sent by the King very honourably, not admitting *Nogaret* however at their Audience, who was one, and sent three other Bulls which annull'd all those of *Boniface*, and restored all things to the same condition they were in formerly. He also revok'd the Condemnations of the *Colonna's*, excepting only that he did not restore those two again to the dignity of Cardinals, who had been degraded: but he proceeded severely against *Nogaret*, and all such as had assisted at the Capture of *Boniface*, and the robbery of the Churches Treasure.

1304. He died the Eighth Month after his Election, being the Seventh of *July*, in the year 1304. The two Factions of Cardinals, whereof the one were French, the other *Italians*, and friends to the Pope, were almost eleven Months in the Conclave at *Perugia*, before they could come to an agreement; in the end the *Italians* named a French man, which was *Bertrand Got* * Arch-Bishop of *Bourdeaux*, whom they knew to be a great enemy to the King; and besides, a Subject to the *English*. The French before they would consent to it, gave speedy notice to the King, who having sent privately for him, and conferr'd with him near *St. John d' Angely*, declared to him, it was in his power to make him Pope, provided he agreed to Six things which he required of him, whereof he named five of them to him, but reserved the sixth to time and place. The Arch-Bishop a *Gascon*, and Vain, cast himself at his Feet, and promised him all; by this means he was elected, being absent, the fifth day of the year, 1305.

* Or *De Got*,
de *Agatis*.
He was the
Son of *Ber-*
trand, Lord of
Villandraud,
near *Bourde-*
aux.

1305. Instead of going into *Italy*, as the Cardinals be'ought him, he sends for them to *Lyons*, to assist at his Coronation, which was performed the Fourteenth of *November*. The King, his Brother *Charles*, a great number of Princes and Lords, and infinite multitudes of People came to be present at this Ceremony. The King having for some space held the Reins of the Popes Mule, left that Office to be done by his Brother *Charles*, and *John Duke of Bretagne*, whilst he mounted on Horseback, to march along beside the Holy Father. As they were in their march, an old Wall over-charged with People, tumbled down, and by its fall, overwhelm'd the Duke of *Bretagne*, and a Brother of the Popes, hurt *Charles* most grievously, the King somewhat lightly, and beat the *Tiara* off from the Head of the Pope. A presage of the misfortunes the translation of the Holy See into *France* was to bring to the Kingdom, and to all Christendom, nay, to the Papacy it self, which by this means did submit to the discretion of the secular Power.

1306. Departing from *Lyons* the Pope returned to *Bourdeaux*, where he sojourn'd all the year 1306. went the following year to *Poitiers*; then in *Anno* 1308. to exempt himself from the importunities of the Court of *France*, removed his See to the City of *Avignon*, which belonged to *Charles*, King of *Sicilia* his Vassal.

1307. The Residence of the Court of *Rome* in *France* hath introduced three grand disorders, Simony the off-spring of Luxury, and Impiety; Litigious Law-suits, the exercise of Scratch-papers, and idle fellows, such as were the swarms of puny Clerks who follow'd that Court; and another execrable irregularity, to which nature cannot give any name.

1306. To make good his promises, *Clement* continued the Absolution which *Benedict* had given the King, restored the *Colonna's* to their Dignities of Cardinals, made a promotion of Ten Cardinals more, Nine of them being French, and explicated or revoked all the Bulls which *Boniface* had made, that prejudiced the Kings Authority.

Nogaret

Nogaret, and the other persons of the Kings Council, by the despair they were in of obtaining their Absolution, persisted still in their accusation against *Boniface*; and the King pressed *Clement* to condemn his Memory, and cause his Body to be burnt, not believing he could otherwise wash himself clean of those censures and reproaches he had bespatter'd him withal; but *Clement* to elude that pursuit, referr'd it to a general Council, which was assigned to be three years after that at *Vienne* in *Dauphine*; and in the mean time there were divers proceedings and instructions towards carrying on that business.

The Jews were still the execration of *Christians*, and especially of the common people, because they grated, and even slayed them by their cruel Usury, and by the exactions of new Imposts, of which they were the Farmers. And truly in revenge, or retaliation, they were liable to all sorts of affronts; in any sedition, in their Crusado's, they ever fall upon them; and they were every day accused, either of having committed some insolence against the Sacred Host, or the having crucified some Children upon *Good-Friday*, or for having affronted the Image of our Saviour; and if they did get out of the Judges Hands, they could hardly save themselves from the fury of the Populace. The Princes after they had made use of those cursed Instruments, made them disgorge again, and often drove them out, that they might have Money to recall them back. This year they were seized upon thorough out all *France*, the Two and twentieth day of *July*, banished the Kingdom, and their Goods confiscated. Was this Zeal or Avarice?

The King had Ministers obdurate, pitiless, and resolved to squeeze to the last penny. The chiefest and most in power, was *Enguerrand le Portier*, Lord of *Marigny*, who in scraping and levying great sums of Money to bring to his Master, did not forget to fill his own Coffers, and to enrich his Family with more Lands, Employments, and Benefices, then a faithful and disinterested Servant ought to do. So the People had extream troubles and vexations to undergo; one of the greatest was the changing of Moneys, they had made it light and weak, of too base alloy, and put too high a value; then they would set them at a lower rate, the loss was great, the people of *Paris* mutined, pillag'd and ruined the House of *Stephen Barbet*, Treasurer; from thence ran to the Temple where the King lay, and committed a hundred insolences there: but the sedition over, a great many were hanged in several places.

The Templers were observed to have contributed to this mutiny; it was believed they had done it, because having a great deal of Money, they lost much by this abating the value of the Coin. It is likely that the King, who never forgot an injury, kept the remembrance of this in his mind, and it was one motive that induced him to revenge himself upon the whole Order.

In completing the peace with the *Flemmings*, several Articles were changed or added; amongst others it was allowed that the King might banish Three thousand of the most factious; that the Cities of *Ghent*, *Bruges*, *Ipre*, *P Isle* and *Donay*, should be dismantled, and that if the Countrey in general, or any particular person offended the King, or his Officers, they should immediately be liable to the thunderings of Ecclesiastical censures.

Lewis Hutin the Kings eldest Son, visits his Kingdom of *Navarre*, fallen to him by the death of his Mother, and is Crowned at *Pampelona*, the Fifth of *June*. Before his return, he took off the two Heads of the Factions that had much troubled *Navarre*, these were *Fortunio Almoravid*, and *Martin Ximenes de Aybar*.

The effect of that secret promise the Pope had made to the King, began to appear in his revenge upon the Templers. The too great riches of those Knights, their unsufferable pride, their coverous and disobliging behaviour towards such Princes and Noblemen, as went into the Holy-Land, the little esteem they made either of Temporal or Spiritual Power, their dissolute and libertine Humours, had rendred them obnoxious and very odious, and furnished those with a specious pretence, who were resolved to exterminate them.

This year therefore upon the discovery and confession of some villains amongst themselves, the greatness of whose crimes, or the desire of the Kings mercy and reward had prompted to it; the King by consent of the Pope, whom he had newly held conference with at *Poitiers*, caused them all to be laid hold on in the same day, the Twelfth of *October*, throughout the whole Kingdom, seized their Goods, and took possession of the Temple at *Paris*, and of all their Treasures and Writings.

The Great Master, whose name was *James de Molay*, a *Burgundian*, being sent for by Letters from the Pope, to come from *Cyprus*, where he valiantly made War upon the *Turks*, presented himself at *Paris* with Sixty Knights of his Order, amongst whom

whom was *Guy*, Brother to the Dauphin de Viennois, *Hugh de Peralde*, and another of the principal Officers. They were all arrested at the same time, and their Process was immediately made, excepting the three I have mentioned, whom the Pope would reserve to his own judgment. Fifty of them were burned alive in a slow Fire, but who denied at their deaths what they had confess'd upon the wrack.

Without doubt they were guilty of many enormous crimes, but not perhaps of all the things (I cannot tell whether I should say horrible or ridiculous) that were imposed upon them, and laid to their charge in general. In the mean time upon King *Philip's* importunity, the Templars were likewise seized on in all the other States of Christendom, and severely punished, yet not with death in many places. This prosecution lasted to the year 1314.

1307. As *Edward I.* was going to make War upon *Robert Bruce*, who disputed for the Crown of *Scotland*, he died upon the borders of that Kingdom.

His eldest Son *Edward II.* succeeded him, but was neither like his own Father, nor his own Son, but only in Name. This Prince suffered himself to be Governed, first by his Favourite *Peter Gaveston*, then by the two *Spencers*; caused great troubles and commotions in his Kingdom.

1307. "This year the first lineaments of the *Helvetian Alliance* were rough-drawn in a "generous conspiracy of the Three Cantons of *Swits*, *Uren*, and *Undervald*, against "the oppressions of the Lieutenants for the House of *Austria* who possessed the Duchy of *Scamben*. But it was not till the year 1315. that they drew up conditions "in writing, and got them confirmed by the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*.

1308. In Anno 1308. the Emperor *Albert* was slain near *Rhinfeldt*, under the ancient Castle of *Habsbourgh*, by the conspiracy of *John* the Son of *Rodolph*, Duke of *Scamben*, whose Countreys he kept from him. King *Philip* importun'd the Pope extremely, to make the Empire fall into the hands of *Charles* Earl of *Valois*: but the Pope dreading the too great power of the House of *France*, sent to the Electors to make haste, so that they named *Henry* Earl of *Luxemburg*, who was the Eighth of that Name.

Emp.
Andronic and
Henry VIII.
R. Five years.
1308.

"The Sixth of May, *Charles* the *Lame*, King of *Sicilia*, on this side the *Fare*, a "Prince unfortunate in War, but very illustrious in Peace, and highly beloved of his "Subjects, ended his Life and Reign in his City of *Naples*. He had nine Sons, the "Eldest was named *Charles Martel*, the Second *Lewis*, and the Third *Robert*. The "First was King of *Hungary*, by *Mary* his Mother, Daughter of King *Stephen IV.* "but he was dead before his Father, having left a Son, whom they named *Carobert*, "Successor in his Kingdom. The Second was Bishop of *Toulouse*. For the Third "which was *Robert*, a great question was started between him and *Carobert*, to wit, "which is preferable to the Succession, either the eldest Son, or the Uncle; and "whether the Son represented the Father to succeed his Grandfather. The Lawyers "of those times, and the Pope himself (as well upon motives for the publique good, "as Reasons and Grounds of Right and Title) were for the Nephew; the Pope admitted him to Homage, Invested him, and Crowned him in *Avignon*, the first Sunday of the Month of *August*.

"Observe that *Carobert* had two Sons, *Lewis* and *Andrew*; that *Lewis* was King of "Hungary after his Father, and of *Poland*, by his Wife *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *Ladislas*, and that *Andrew* Married to his great misfortune, *Jane I.* Queen of *Sicilia*, "Daughter of *Charles* Duke of *Calabria*, who was Son of King *Robert*. As likewise "that *Lewis* had two Daughters, *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, who Married *Sigismund* "of *Luxemburg*, afterwards elected Emperor; and *Hedwige* Queen of *Poland*, who "was Married to *Jagelson*, Grand Duke of *Lithuania*, in which Family that Kingdom "remained till the year 1572.

1310. The Council of *Vienne* coming on, the Pope to hinder the obstinate pursuit of the Kings people against the memory of *Boniface*, gave all the Bulls they could desire for the justification both of the King and his Officers. Nay, even for fear lest *Nogaret* should blow up the flame anew, he granted him Absolution; but upon condition he should go on certain pilgrimages, and also travel into the *Holy-Land*.

1310. The Knights of *St. John* of *Jerusalem* were retired to the Island of *Cyprus*, after the loss of *Ptolemais*; but finding themselves ill Treated by the King of that Island, they sought another Habitation, and gained themselves one by the taking of the Island

Island of *Rhodes*, and five other neighbouring Islands: they gained it from the *Turks* after two years Siege; the *Turks* had taken it from the *Saracens*, and the *Saracens* from the *Grecian Empire*.

A year afterwards the *Turks* made great attempts to recover it, but the Knights maintained it bravely, by the assistance of the generous Earl of *Savoy*, named *Ame V.* who got the Surname of *Great* by it, and preserved it, as well as he had gained it, by many other generous actions. To this might well be applied the Simbol or Devise *FERT*, which his Successors retain to this day, and the four Letters might be thus made to say, *Fortitudo Ejus Rhodum Tenuit*: but it is certain, the Princes of this House bear it a long time before.

The General Council was open'd at *Vienne* the First day of *October*, in the year 1311. the Pope declaring it was for the Process of the Templars, for the recovery of the *Holy-Land*, for the reformation of Manners and Discipline; and for the extirpation of Heresie. *Philip* came thither the year following about *Mid-Lent*, with a stately Train of Princes and Lords, assisted at the opening of the Second Session, and took his Seat at the right Hand of the Pope, but on a lower Chair. The Order of the Knights-Templars was there condemned and extinguish'd, their Goods left to the disposal of his Holiness, who bestow'd part of it upon the Knights of *St. John*. That of the * *Begards* and *Begardes* was likewise abolished; they were a sort of Monks and Religious People, that made profession of Poverty, but not of Abstinence nor Celibacy, and who besides were accused of many errors.

As for the most important point, which was the Process against the memory of *Boniface*, the King, though there present, had no satisfaction in it. For it was declared that Pope *Boniface* had always been a good Catholique, (the other crimes were not mention'd.) Three famous Doctors, one in *Theology*, another of the *Civil-Law*, and the Third of the *Canon Law*, made it out to the King by several reasons and particulars; and there were two *Catalonian* Gentlemen that offer'd to justify it by combat, throwing down their Gantlets, which no man there would take up. However, the Pope and Cardinals made a Decree, importing, that the King should never be hereafter reproached for all, or any thing that he had done against *Boniface*.

The City of *Lyons* had for a long time held of the Kings of *Arles*, who had given the Temporal Lordship thereof to the Arch-Bishop: but since the Kings of *France* taking advantage of the weakness, and the distance of the Emperours, who were Kings of *Arles*, had by little and little drawn to themselves the Sovereignty of this Kingdom, and the City of *Lyons* had began to hold of them. Now during the War between *Savoy* and *Dauphiné*, the Citizens fearing they might be plundered, had recourse to *Philip*, who gave them a Warden; who coming within the City, contrary to what had been agreed upon; the Arch-Bishop stirred up the People against him. Prince *Lewis Hutin* going thither with an Army, brought the Bishop away prisoner and he could never get clear, but by yielding up the Temporal Jurisdiction to the King, for which the Pope helped him to some recompence. But afterwards *Philip* the Long gave it to him again.

The Emperor *Henry* who was gone into *Italy* from the year 1310. thinking to "restore the dignity of the Empire there, found so much opposition from the *Guelphs*, "the great Cities, and *Robert King* of *Naples*, that he perished there, as well as his "Predecessors. He died the Four and twentieth day of *August*, in the territory of "Sienna, having been poyson'd, as it was reported, with the Sacred Host, by a Dominican Monk, a *Florentine*.

Robert Earl of *Flanders* would needs have again his Cities of *P'Isle*, *Donay*, and *Orchies*, affirming that he had paid down the redemption to *Enguerrand de Marigny*, who governed absolutely both King and Kingdom. The *Flemmings* refused also to dismantle their Towns, or to pay either the Principal or Interest of those Sums they owed the King; They were therefore forced to begin another War.

To provide for the charges of it, the King summoned the Notables of the People, and from a Theatre raised high, he shewed them his Necessities. The Deputies had suffer'd themselves to be perswaded, and granted him by the mouth of *Stephen Barbere*, the Impost of Six Deniers in the Livre, and other Subsidies more troublesome yet; but the Cities of *Picardy* and *Normandy* oppos'd it highly, and all the rest called for the justice of Heaven to fall upon the Head of *Marigny*, the Author of all these galling and slaying extortions; These moans and curses did not move him: on the contrary, he aggravated their misery by making new Coins of very bad Gold and Silver.

1311.

1311.

1312.

* Or both
Sexes of that
Order.

1312.

1310.

1313.
Vacancy of
the Western
Empire
One year.
1313.

After

After all, none but himself and the Exchequer-men, or Receivers could get any profit by it. The King having past over the River of *Lys*, and the Armies in sight of each other, *Marigny*, who had done his own business, took advantage of the interposing of the Popes Legats, to bring the parties to an agreement, and persuaded the King to an ignominious Truce. Thus that great Army which ought to have conquer'd all *Flanders*, vanished in smoke.

This disgrace of *Philip* was followed with one much greater. All the Wives of his three Sons were accused of Adultery; *Margaret*, *Jane*, and *Blanch*. The First the wife of *Lewis Hutin*, and the Third the wife of *Charles*, being convicted of that crime with *Philip*, and *Gautier de Launoy*, Brothers and Gentlemen of *Normandy*, were by decree of Parliament, the King being present, confined to the Castle *Gail-lard* of *Andeley*; and their two Gallants slay'd alive, dragg'd into the Field de *Mau-briſſon*, which was newly Mow'd, those parts cut off that had committed the Sin, then beheaded, and their Bodies hung up, being fastned under their Arm-pits upon a Gibbet. *Margaret* the most guilty of the three, perish'd in prison; *Blanch* was divorced seven years after, upon pretence of Parentage. As for *Jane*, who was wife of *Philip the Long*, after she had been confined almost a year, her Husband was willing to own her for honest, and took her to himself again; Happier, or at least wiser then his two Brothers.

Molay, Grand Master of the *Templers*, and his three Compagnons, had confessed all whatever they would accuse them of, in hopes of gaining their liberty: but finding they were still kept prisoners, *Molay* and the Dauphin's Brother retracted; but they were burnt alive upon the eleventh day of the month of *March*. *Molay* by his marvellous constancy made every one judge he was innocent. It is related, but without any proof, that he summon'd the Pope to appear before the Tribunal of God Almighty within Forty days, and the King within that year; and indeed neither of them out-lived that time.

"As for the Pope, being tormented with troublesome and cruel distempers, and going to his native Countrey to take the Air, he died at *Roquemaure* upon the *Rhose*. He gave order for his Corps to be carried to the Church of *Uzest*, a Burrough in the Diocese of *Bas*. The Cardinals met at *Carpentras* to elect another, after four Months debate, not being able to come to an agreement, and growing weary of their confinement, they set fire to the Conclave and retired some to one place some to another. Thus the See remained vacant two years and three months.

"And afterwards the Empire was so likewise for a time, then fell into a dangerous Schisme, one party of the Electors having given their Votes for *Lewis Count Palatine of Bavaris*, and the other for *Frederic the Fair*, Duke of *Austria*.

About the end of the year, King *Philip* was seized with a grievous fit of Sickness, which put a period to his days the Four and twentieth of *November*, whether proceeding from some occult cause, or a fall from a Horse, while he pursued a wild Bore too eagerly. *Fountainbleau*, which had been the place of his birth, was that of his death, in the Forty eighth year of his age, and the Twenty ninth of his Reign. His Monument is at *St. Denis*.

Being on his Death-bed, touched with a very late repentance, he took pity of his poor People, put a stop to the Levies of new Imposts, and gave his Son order to moderate them, to Coin good Money, and have a care of the Justice and Polity of his Kingdom.

He had by his Wife *Jane* Queen of *Navarre*, three Sons, *Lewis Hutin*, *Philip the Long*, and *Charles the Fair*, who Reigned after each other, and left no issue-male. He had likewise three Daughters, *Margaret*, who married *Ferdinand* King of *Castile*, Son of *Sancho* the Usurper; *Isabel*, who was wife to *Edward II.* King of *England*, and *Blanch*, who died young.

He was the handsomest and best shap'd Prince of his time. He had a proud and haughty Heart, a lively and quick Spirit, a firm and resolute Soul, was magnificent and liberal, and yet very greedy of Money, severe even to hard-heartedness, and more inclined to revenge than pardon.

As to the rest, the furious exactions on his People, the frequent change and alterations of Moneys, and the little progress he made in *Flanders* with the many vast sums he had raised, the absolute power of his insolent and covetous Minister, his proceedings against his Daughters-in-law for Adultery, and his bitter repentance at death for having so greatly oppressed his Subjects, demonstrates what his Reign was, and his Conduct.

The

The zeal for *Croisado's* lasted yet all this age, and beyond it. The Popes who were the promoters had found a way to make use of them, not only against the Infidels and Heretiques, but even against their particular enemies, which at first acquired them some kind of grandeur; but at length a great deal of jealousy and hatred from the most Christian Princes, who besides were concern'd to see them undertake to do acts of Sovereignty in Temporals upon every occasion. For they gave away the Lands of Heretiques to those that should conquer them, as they did those of the *Albigensis* to *Simon de Montfort*, and reserved a quit-Rent or Tribute to themselves; they took other Lands and their Lords under their protection, and the protection of *St. Peter*: for in the War or Feuds between particulars, which were then allowed of, and very frequent, there was always safety for the Lands of the Church: they enjoyned Christians to list themselves under the badge of the Cross, gave their Legats the conduct and absolute command of those Armies, imposed Tenths and Subsidies on the Clergy for those expeditions, and distributed them to such Soldiers and Officers, or Noblemen as they pleased. They exhorted Sovereigns, and if they found them a little weak, commanded them to take up, or to lay down their Arms, constituting themselves the Arbitrators and Judges between Kings; and when one party made application to them, they would forbid the other to prosecute him. In fine, they made themselves absolute Masters of Privileges, Dispensations, and of all Discipline; even of most of the Benefices, to which they nominated upon divers pretences.

Councils were held almost every where by their Legats, and none without their consent. As for those of this age, some were called for the extirpation of Heresies, some concerning the quarrels between the Emperour and the Pope, several for the reformation of abuses, others for particular facts.

For the Heresie of the *Albigensis*, there was a Council de *Lavan* in 1213. upon the request of the King of *Arragon*, who desired an accommodation for the Earls of *Toulouze*, *Foix*, *Cominges*, and *Bearn*; he obtained of the Pope a Truce between the *Toulouzeian* and *Simon de Montfort*; but the Holy Father revoked it immediately. That of *Montpellier* in 1215. gave unto *Montfort* the Lands he had conquer'd of the *Albigensis*. This was an act of Sovereignty which Treated the King as a Vassal, and those Countreys as Under-iefs.

That of *Toulouze* assembled in the year 1228. to compleat the ruine of those Heretiques, confirmed what had been done the same year at *Paris*, with *Raimond* Earl of that Countrey. The Cardinal *Romain* Legate, had assembled one at *Bourges* in the year 1226. to judge of the said Earls Lands, to which his Son demanded to be restored. There met seven Arch-Bishops; but he of *Lyons* pretending the Primacy over him of *Sens*, and he of *Bourges* over those of *Bordeaux*, *Ausich* and *Narbonne*; they took their Seats as it had been in a Counsel * rather then in a Council. At their breaking up, the Legat endeavour'd to make valid some Bulls, by which the Holy Father reserved the Revenue of two Prebendaries in each Cathedral Church, and of two Monks places in every Abbey, to increase the Revenue of his Court. The Churches grew hot against this enterprize, and stickled so highly, that the Legat was forced to let it fall, and to own the injustice of it.

There was one held at *Narbonne* in Anno 1235. wherein the Legate, Arch-Bishop of the place presided, to give advice and assistance to the Jacobins, in order to their rooting out the Heretiques. They regulated the method of proceedings against them in the year 1245. in that of *Beziers* which was composed of Prelats of the *Narbonnesian* Province. And that of *Terragona*, Anno 1242. did the same thing against the *Vaudensis*, whose Opinions were creeping into those quarters.

Besides the *Albigensis*, the *Vaudensis*, and that swarm of different Sects which had got in, nestled and increased greatly in *Languedoc* and *Gascogne*; there was one *Amaury* * of *Chartres*, a Doctor of *Paris*, who went about teaching his fancies for Truths; saying amongst other things, That if Adam had not sinned, Men would have been multiplied without Generation; that there was no other Paradise but the satisfaction of well-doing, nor any other Hell besides the ignorance and obscurity of Sin; That the Law of the Holy Ghost, or Spirit, had put an end to that of *Jesus Christ*, and to the Sacraments, as these had accomplished that of *Moses*, and the Ceremonies of the Old Testament; and that all such actions as were done in charity, even Adulteries, could not be evil. This Doctrine being a great encouragement to lewdness and Scandal, the Author was obliged to go and give an account to the Pope, who forced him to retract, which having done with his Mouth only, and not

U u

from

* Or Holy Expeditions

Councils.

Those that were held against the Heretiques.

* Or Cabal.

* Or Almeric.

Emp. *Antonin*, and *Lewis* of *Austria*, R. 33 years. *Frederic* of *Austria* his Competitor.

1314.

from his Heart, his Disciples persisted in his whimsies, and added many others to them. *Peter II.* Bishop of *Paris*, and *Frier Guerin*, Principal Counsellor to King *Philip*, having made discovery both of the Persons, and the Secrets of these Sectaries; by an Emisary who crept in amongst them, caused a great number of Men and Women, Clergy and Laity to be laid hold on. These People having been convicted in a Council held at *Paris*, in the year 1209. were delivered over to the Secular power, who gave the Women their Pardons, and ordered the Men to be burnt.

The *Friers Preachers*, and the *Friers Minors* endeavouring to out-vie each other in Scholastic Subtilties, there were some that lost their way in that Utopian, or Imaginary Countrey, of *Terra incognita*, and who were as soon restrained and corrected by the Sacred Faculty, or by the Bishops. Thus by Bishop *Stephen II.* at the Council of *Paris*, which met in Anno 1277. was *William* the *Frier Minor* corrected, who had published divers Heterodox propositions touching the Soul, Free Will, the Resurrection, and the worlds Eternity: but as soon as they were condemned, he retracted them with great submission, contrary to the custom of those singular Spirits, who having once taken their flights, do hardly ever stoop again. We find likewise a certain *David* of *Dinand*, who maintained, that God was the *Materia Prima*; *St. Thomas* hath Learnedly refuted him. In the Fourth Tome of the Library of the Fathers we read; That Anno 1242. *William* Bishop of *Paris*, in an Assembly of the Doctors of *Theology*, condemned some errors touching the *Divine Essence*, the *Holy Spirit*, the *Angels*, and the place where *Souls* remain after death, and several other propositions, either rash or false, which all proceeded from the contentious subtilties of Scholastique Doctors.

It would be too tedious to quote all those Councils that were held about Discipline, and for other matters. The two most famous were those of *Lyon*. Pope *Innocent III.* presiding in the First, Anno 1245. pronounced a Sentence of Excommunication against the Imperour *Frederic II.* In the Second, which was in the year 1274. the most numerous that ever was, for there were Five hundred Bishops, Seventy Abbots, and a Thousand other Prelats; Pope *Gregory X.* made divers Constitutions, amongst others, that which directs the Cardinals should be shut up in the Conclave for the Election of a Pope; and he admitted the Emperour *Michael* and the *Greek Church* to a reconciliation with the Church of *Rome*. *Robert de Corceonne*, Cardinal Legate, assembled one at *Paris* in the year 1212. for the reformation of Abuses, and of Clerks, as well Secular as Regulars. *Gerard de Bourdeaux* held one of his Province at *Cognac*, in Anno 1238. for the same purpose, and to maintain the Rights of the Church. *Vincent de Pilonis*, Arch-Bishop of *Tours*, likewise one of his Province at *Rennes*, in the year 1263. for the Second point. In that of *Bourges* in the year 1276. held by *Simon de Brie*, Cardinal Legat; they Treated of the Liberty of the Church, of Elections, of the power of Judges Delegates, or Ordinaries, of Bishops Courts, of Tithes, of Wills and Testaments, of Priviledges, of Canonical punishments, of the *Jews*. *Simon de Beaulieu*, Arch-Bishop of *Bourges*, Assembled one in the year 1287. where he Collected and Reformed all the Constitutions his Predecessors had made in the divers Councils of that Province.

The Bishop of *Beauvais* pretending that the King (it was *Saint Lewis*, but as then very young) had usurped on the Rights of his Church; *Henry de Brienne*, with all his Province of *Rheims*, undertook this Cause very vigorously, and held three Councils to have satisfaction, two at *St. Quentin* in 1230, and 1233. and one at *Laon* in 1232. when he put the business so home, that in fine, the King gave them satisfaction.

Before *Charlemain*, the Arch-Bishop of *Bourges* pretended to no Primacy over the other Metropolitans of *Aquitain*; but that King having made this City the Capital of the Kingdom of *Aquitain*, composed of the three Provinces of that name, and the *Narbonensis Prima*, which is *Languedoc*, would needs, to link them together the better, that they should all resort for Spirituals to *Bourges*; and the pope authorized this Novelty, the colour for it being, that *Bourges* was the Metropolis of *Aquitania Prima*. Thus this Bishop took up the Title of Primate, and that of Patriarch, over the Arch-Bishops of *Narbonna*, *Bourdeaux*, and *Auscb*. He of *Narbonna* shook off the yoke at the time the Earls of *Toulouze* became *Marquis de Gotsia*; He of *Bourdeaux* would have done as much when *Aquitania Tertia* was left to the Kings of *England*, under the Title of *Ditchy of Guyenne*. He of *Bourges* stood upon

Such as were
Fate for the
Discipline,
and upon
other occasi-
ons.

upon the possession for at least three ages, and the Judgment of several Popes: but the other defended himself by his common Right, and the antient usages of the *Gallican Church*. The quarrel lasted a long while; he of *Bourges* assembled many Councils for that business, one amongst the rest in that City, in the year 1212. proceeding always against the other as his inferior; even so far as that *Giles de Rome* about the year 1302. caused *Bertrand de Got* to be Excommunicated, by * *Gautier de Bragan* of the Order of the *Minors*, and Bishop of *Poitiers*, because he, like himself, took up the Title of Primate of *Aquitain*. *Bertrand* was so offended, that *Gautier* who was his Suffragan should joyn with that party, and have the confidence to fulminate against him, that when he was raised to the Papacy, being at *Poitiers* in 1308. he Deposed him, and sent him hack to his Convent: A terrible punishment for a Monk! and indeed he fell sick upon it; and it was easier for him to go out of the world, then get out of the Town of *Poitiers*, where he died.

The attempts the *Friers Preachers* and the *Friers Minors* made for Confessions and Pennances against the Rights of the Ordinaries, by virtue of some Bull they had gotten from Pope *Martin* the IV. obliged *Petr Barbet*, Arch-Bishop of *Reims*, to assemble a Council in his Metropolis, Anno 1487. where it was ordered they should pursue that business in the Court of *Rome*; the Bishops not finding in themselves a sufficient power to apply any remedy.

In the beginning of this age, *France* had four Orders of Religious People, which were called the four *Mendicants*, that is, the *Preachers*, *Minors*, *Carmelites*, and *Augustins*, who took deep rooting in her Territories, and increased wonderfully; the two latter have no certain Instituters; but were composed of a mixture of several pieces, as we shall observe. That of the *Minors** was instituted by *Saint Francis*, a Merchants Son of the Town of *Assise*; That of the *Preachers* by *Saint Dominique de Guzman*, a Spanish Gentleman; and Canon of *Osma*; each of them have their Nuns living under the same Rules. *Sancta Clara*, a Native of *Assise* was the first that lifted her self in that of *Saint Francis*. They both had their beginning at the same time, about the year 1208. and were both confirmed in the Council of *Lateran*, Anno 1215. by Pope *Innocent III.*

That of the *Friers Minors* was the first that renounced to the propriety of all Temporal Possessions, and made profession of an Evangelique poverty, to be conformable to *JESUS CHRIST* and his Apostles. Afterwards the three others were stirred up to follow their example.

It hath multiplied into above Fifty several Branches, produced by different Reforms, Additions, or Retrenchments; notwithstanding the History of them does expressly mention, that the First, who would be particular in the change of his Habit, though he were one of the Eight oldest Compagnons of *Saint Francis*, was smitten with the Leprosie, and hanged himself in despair.

Now the Patriarch *Saint Francis* Preaching on Mount *Carmelio* near *Assise*, was followed by a vast number of People, both of the one and other Sex, who would never forsake him, till he had received them all for Brothers and Sisters. From whence the Order of the *Penitents* took its birth, which they named the Third Order, in regard to that of the *Minors*, and of *Sancta Clara*. The *Friers Preachers* would be sure not to want one likewise. Those that enrolled themselves were only Seculars, and for the most part Married; The Religious could not admit them under any Vows, nor have any Superiority over them, because they were Subjects to the Hierarchical Jurisdiction. Since then, at least amongst the *Minors*, there hath some sort of Religious Institution been made, tied to some Vows, and a *Capouch* as well as the rest.

The Order of the *Carmelites* began in *Syria* after this manner. Several Pilgrims of the *Western* Regions lived in Hermitages, scatter'd up and down, exposed to the incursions and violence of the *Barbarians*. *Aymarie* the Popes Legat, and Patriarch of *Antioch*, gathered them together, and placed them all upon Mount *Carmel*, which having formerly been the retreating place of the Prophet *Elias*, gave them occasion to call themselves his Disciples and Successors. *Albert* the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, a Native of the Diocess of *Amiens*, and Nephew, once removed to *Peter* the Hermit, drew up their Rules, or approved them about the year 1205. Pope *Honorius III.* confirmed them, Anno 1227. *Saint Lewis* at his return from the *Holy Land*, brought some into *France* with him, and settled them in *Paris*. There were however already some of this Order in divers places,

* Or *Gualter*, or *Walter*.

Religious
Orders.

* The *Minors* are called *Cordeliers*, because they wear a Cord for their Girdle. And the *Preachers Jacobins*, because their first Convent was in the street of *St. James* in *Paris*.

* Or *Almeric*.

especially at *Bourdeaux*: for we find that *Simon Stock*, an *English* Man by Birth, their Prior-General, died there in the year 1250. (Their first Habit was White, the Coat or Mantle laced at the bottom with several rows of Yellow.) Pope *Honorius* having commanded them to change it, they left off lacing their Mantles: but not to lose any of their colours; they took a light * reddish Yellow for their under Garment, with the White Mantle over it.

* Ora Soot and Gray, called *Minime* in French.

As for the *Augustins*, that Order was composed by the bringing, or assembling together of several Congregations of Hermits in the *West*, who were of different Habits, and under different Rules. I have taken notice of one amongst the rest, named, *Of the Penitence of our Lord JESUS CHRIST*, which had been instituted at *Marseilles* by the order of Pope *Innocent IV.* towards the year 1251. and had spread it self in *France* and *Italy*. Pope *Alexander IV.* by his Constitution of the month of *May*, of the year 1256. assembled them all in one, under the Rule of Saint *Augustine*, gave them the Black Habit, and for their first General, *Lanfranc Septimana*, a *Milanese*. Then they quitted the *Deserts*, and willingly came to dwell within the Cities.

* Saccati.

(The minds of the Religious in this age, was so much taken with the Wallet, (therefore most of them were named *Walletiers*, or *Budget-bearers* *) and in believing the highest perfection consisted in that humble poverty, which begets peoples admiration; that there swarmed great numbers from all parts of these Sects of *Mendicants*, or *Beggars* of both Sexes. The most famous, besides those already mentioned, were the *Begards* and the *Beguines*: but the Church finding they were over-stocked with these new bands of idle drones, who besides, were proud of their vain poverty, and let loose their fancies to sow new Doctrines: she suppressed them all, and reserved only those four that remain to this day.)

* The Valc of Scholars.

Under the Rules of Saint *Augustin*, was also established the Congregation of Saint *Catherine du Val des Escoliers*, in Anno 1217. in the Diocese of *Langres*, by one *William*, who having studied in *Paris*, and afterwards taught in *Burgundy*, retired into that solitude with his Scholars, and got his Institution to be approved by his Diocesan Bishop. Seven or Eight years before, there was another Order began of the *Cisterciens*, in the place called *Le val des Choux*.

* Non a sanctis fabricatus, sed a solo summo Deo.

That of the *Holy Trinity*, of the *Redemption of Captives*, was confirmed by the Pope in the year 1209. They vaunt their not being of the invention * of Men, but the appointment of God, who gave the Form and Design of it to the blessed *John de Mata*, a Gentleman of *Provence*, and Doctor in Divinity at *Paris*, and to the Hermit *Felix* who were both retired into the solitude of *Cerfroy*, near *Meaux*. I find that the Religious of this Order, called themselves otherwhile the *Friers of the Asses*, because they used to ride on them.

* Our Lady of Mercy.

That of * *Nostre Dame de la Mercy*, instituted to the same end, owes its being to *James King of Arragon*, in the year 1223. to *Raimond de Peguafort*, a Dominican his Confessor, and to *Peter de Nolasque* a Gentleman, Native of the Diocese of Saint *Papoul* in *Languedoc*.

* Servants of St. Mary the Mother of Christ.

The Congregation of *Des Serfs* * de Saint *Mary Mere de Christ*, was instituted at *Marseilles*, in the Monastery of *Sainte Marie des Arenes*, by the Prior, and the Religious of that House, and confirmed by Pope *Alexander IV.* Anno 1257. The people because of their Habit, called them *White Mantles*; and the Convent given to them at *Paris*, retains that name still; it was bestowed on them in 1268. the *Benedictins* have the House at present.

Devotions.

All these Orders, particularly the *Mendicants*, applied themselves much for the stirring up peoples Devotion towards the Sacrament, and the *Virgin Mary*. Saint *Dominique* instituted the *Rosary*, which is composed of a certain number of *Ave Maria's*, and *Pater-nosters*, which are repeated, and whercof as one may say, they make a Hatband or Coronet of Flowers to put upon the Head of that Queen of Angels. The *Carmelites*, not to come behind them in their Zeal to the *Holy Mother* of God, established the Devotion of the *Scapulary*, to which they attribute great Virtue, particularly to redeem them from the pains of Purgatory, and not to die without Confession. They affirm that Saint *Simon Stoe*, their General, instituted it upon a Vision he had of the *Holy Virgin*.

* A Hat is On Chapeau, whence the word Chaplet for Beads.

The

The peoples Devotion towards the Reliques of Saints was still very warm and zealous. *Charles the lame*, King of *Sicilia*, and Earl of *Provence*, at his coming out of his imprisonment, being persuaded by the Revelation of two Friers, whereof one was his Confessor, caused a certain place, named *Ville-late*, in the Diocese of *Aix*, to be digged, where they found a Corps, believed to be *St. Mary Magdelins*, said to be buried by Saint *Maximin*, and afterwards removed and hid in another place, not far from the first in the time of the *Saracens* incursions. *Charles* caused it to be taken out with great ceremony, and built a fair Convent in the same place for the *Preaching Friers*; the resort of people by succession of time, hath added a Town to it, which bears the name of *St. Maximin*.

The *Benedictine* Monks of *Vezelay* in *Burgundy*, were notwithstanding able to aver, they had the full possession of this Holy Corps, which had been brought to them from *Aix*; or as others say, from *Jerusalem*, by the care of *Gerard de Konfalon*, Founder of that Abbey about the year 882. The universal concurrence of the whole Nation, the Bulls of divers Popes, even after this invention of *Ville-late*, the Authority of two Kings *Lewis VII.* and *Lewis IX.* who had paid their Devotions in this place, made this believed to be a Truth, above contradiction amongst the *French*. But that of the *Greeks* destroyed equally both the pretences of the Monks of *Vezelay*, and of the *Jacobins*. For we find in some of their Writers of the Seventh age, that the Body of *Magdeline* was at *Ephesus*; and their Historians relate, how the Emperor *Leo* the Philosopher, who began not to Reign till the year 886. transferr'd it from that City to *Constantinople*, as also the Corps of *Lazarus* from the Island of *Cyprus*.

However it were, after this new discovery at *Ville-late*, they told how this Holy Woman flying from the persecution of the *Jews*, had made her escape by Sea into *Provence* with *Lazarus* her Brother, her Sister *Martha*, *Marcella* servant to *Martha*, and Saint *Maximin*, one of Seventy two Disciples of our Lord. That *Maximin* was the first Bishop of *Aix*, and *Lazarus* of *Marseilles*. That *Martha* preached the Faith in the Diocese of *Aix*, and that she vanquished the Dragon whom they called the *Tarasque*, which hath given name to the City of *Tarascon*, where the Den of that Monster was. That *Magdeline* retired into a * *Baulme* or *Grotto*, where after Twenty years solitude and mortification, the Angels carried her Soul up to the Region of the Blessed; and many other things unknown in the former ages.

* This is that they call the Holy Baulme.

(The Sciences flourish'd with great luster in the University of *Paris*, *Theology*, the study of the Civil and Canon Law, *Physick*, and *Philosophy* with the Arts: but not being accompanied, or joyned with humane and polite Learning and Eloquence, which came not into play or use till a long while after, they expressed themselves but in barbarous terms, and learned more Sophistry and shuffling then solid Truths.)

(All the substitutes of the University being Ecclesiastiques,) the skill and knowledge of the Law and *Physick* was in their hands, and the Pope was owned for Head of that Body, and of all the Men of Learning. As for *Physick*, they taught little more than the Theory, under the name of *Physick*, leaving the practical part of Medicines to the Laity. For the Law, the Popes would willingly have reduced it all to the Canons and their own Decretals: (from which we must acknowledge, that *France* hath taken most of her Forms and judicial Orders,) that so all Christendom making use of the same Laws, both in Temporals and Spiritualls, might accustom themselves to own but one Head, to wit, him who hath all the Laws both Divine and Humane in his own Breast.

(It was for this in my opinion, that *Honorius III.* by his Bull of the year 1219. did forbid, upon pain of Excommunication, to Teach the Civil Law at *Paris*; and all other Cities in *France*: and *Gregory IX.* renewed it as to *Paris*. Some are apt to believe those two Popes did it upon the request of the two Kings, *Philip Augustus* and *St. Lewis*. In effect, the Letters of King *Philip the Fair*, for the Institution of the University of *Orleans* speak the same: but some doubt of the truth of their exposition, and believe the prohibitions of *Honorius*, and of *Gregory*, was only intended to have respect to the Ecclesiastiques, whom they would fain have weaned from that too great affection they had to the study of a thing which being very gainful made them lay aside, and desert their Divinity.

Now whether one or other of these Opinions be the Truth, it is certain, that since they forbore not to Teach the Civil Law in the University of *Paris*, till in the year 1579. that advantage was taken away from them, by virtue of an Article found in the Ordonnance of *Blois*: but truly it did not flourish there so much as in those of *Toulouse* and of *Orleans*.

The

The University of *Toulouze* was instituted in *Anno* 1230. by Saint *Lewis*: that of *Orleance* was not till the year 1312. by King *Philip the Fair*. It is true, that above One hundred years before, there was in this last City, as also in *Toulouze*, *Angers*, and divers others, a famous School: but which had no Seal, nor the power of making Graduates, and other marks of a Company formed and approved by the Prince. *Clement V.* in acknowledgment of his having studied there, gave several Bulls, all in the year 1303. to make it an University; The Scholars thinking to have the benefit in the year 1309. before they were approved of by the King, the Burghers opposed them with Sword in hand; and those troubles were not quieted, till the King in 1312. had given a Being to that Body by his lawful Authority.

That of *Montpellier*, otherwhile very famous for the Art of *Physick*, because of the commerce and correspondence they had with the *Arabian* Physicians that were in *Africa*, had been erected by Pope *Nicholas IV.* and by the Kings Letters Patents in the year 1289. The others of this Kingdom which are now Ten in number, *Angers*, *Poitiers*, *Bourges*, *Bourdeaux*, *Cahors*, *Valence*, *Caen*, *Reims*, *Nantes*, and *Aix*, were instituted in the following ages, and at several times.

Learned Men.

Now the University of *Paris*, which excepting that of *Toulouze*, was as yet the only singular one in *France*, drew thither, or bred there all that were then Men of Parts and Learning. *Albert the Great*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Vincent de Beauvais*, all three of the Order of the *Preaching Friars*; *John Gilles*, or *Joannes Egadius*, who was also of the same Order, *Rigord* of the Order of *St. Bennet*, and Chaplain to *Philip Augustus*, and *Richard* of *Oxford*, all three Philosophers and Physicians; *James de Vitry* Cardinal, *John de Sacrobosco*, who excelled in the *Mathematicks*, *Roger Bacon* an *English* man by birth, and of the Order of *St. Francis*, a very subtil Genius, and thoroughly versed and accomplished in all manner of Learning, particularly in *Chymistry*, in whose Works is to be found the secret for making Gun-powder. *Michael Scot*, who to acquire the knowledge of these Arts more perfectly, and that of *Astronomy* and the *Mathematicks*, Learned the *Oriental Languages*. *Alexander de Hales*, *Bonaventure* his Disciple, and a long time after him, *John Duns Scotus*, all three of the Order of the *Friers Minors*, and great Scholastiques. *Scotus* lived Ten years in the following age, they called him the *Subtil Doctor*, and he was so indeed. He was excited to some Opinions, opposite to those of *St. Thomas*, as their two Orders were, which produced in the Schools those two Sects, the *Thomists* and the *Scotists*. They also reckon amongst the Learned, *Guy le Gros*, and *Gilles de Rome*, famous Lawyers; the first had been Married, and yet became Pope, the other was an *Augustine* Monk, then Arch-Bishop of *Bourges*; he lived many years in the age following, and wrote *Anno* 1302. in favour of *Philip the Fair* against *Boniface*, demonstrating, that the Popes Authority does not extend to Temporals. *Robert de Sorbonne*, a native of the Village of that Name near *Sens*; *William de St. Amour*, and *Christian de Beauvais*, born in those places, and rough adversaries of the *Friers Preachers* and *Minors*; *William III.* and *Stephen II.* Bishops of *Paris*; *Henry de Grand*, a famous Doctor in *Divinity*, *Hugh* the Cardinal, *William* Arch-Bishop of *Tyre*, and Chancellour to *St. Lewis*.

Many of these Learned persons joyned a Holiness of Life to their exquisite knowledge. The Church implors the Suffrages of *Albert the Great*, of *Thomas Aquinas*, and of *Bonaventure*; as likewise of *Peter de Chasteau-neuf*, of the Order of *Cisteaux*, and Legate from the Pope, Martyr'd by the *Albigens* in the year 1208. Of *Bertrand*, Bishop of *Cominges* who rebuilt that City, to which the name of its Restorer hath been given. Of *William de Nevers*, who daily fed Two thousand Poor. Of *Stephen de Die* in *Dauphiné*, taken out of the Order of the *Char-treux*. Of *Gefroy de Meaux*, who renounced his Bishoprick, and retired himself into the Monastery of *St. Victor* in *Paris*, which then was, as it is now at this day, most flourishing in Doctrine and Piety. Of *William de Valence*, under whom the Bishopricks of *Valence* and *Die* were united in the year 1275. and of *Robert de Puy*. This Man very Noble for his Birth, and much more so for his Virtue, being slain by a Gentleman whom he had Excommunicated for his Crimes, the People in revenge razed all the Houses belonging to the Murtherer; and the King banished both him and all his Race out of the Kingdom.

We ought to add to this immortal company, *Eleazar de Sabran*, a Gentleman of *Provence*, Earl of *Arim*, whose perpetual celibacy in Marriage, made him the companion of Angels; and his charitable liberalities the Father to the Poor;

Tves

Tves Priest, Curate and Official of the Diocess of *Treguier* in *Bretagne*, a good Lawyer, and who by a more noble interest than that of Money, was ever the Advocate of the Indigent and the Orphan. The Men of that Calling own him for their Patron, but imitate him seldom. He died in the year 1303.

Amongst those that wear the Crown of Glory in Heaven, the great King Saint *Lewis*, who wore the Royal Crown here below; and his Nephew of the same name, the Son of *Charles II.* King of *Sicilia*, are of the highest rank. This last buried the Grandeurs of this World in the Sack-cloath of his penance, turning Monk of the Order of *St. Francis*, from whence he was drawn out against his Will, to be made Bishop of *Toulouze*. He died in the year 1298.

Lewis

Lewis X. called Hutin, King XLVI. Aged XXV, or XXVI years.

*Vacancy, which began at the end of the Reign
of Philip the Fair, and lasted in all Two years,
Three Months and a half.*

AS soon as Philip was dead, his eldest Son Lewis succeeded him, but he could not get to be Crowned at Reims, till the Third day of August in the following year, as well because he waited for his new Spouse Clemence, Daughter of Charles Martel King of Hungary, as because all the Kingdom was in combustion for the vexation of Imposts, and the alteration of Moneys.

1314.
and 15.

Though he was in his majority, and had been employ'd in Affairs for divers years: nevertheless Charles de Valois his Uncle, put himself in possession of the Authority, displaced many Officers to advance his own Creatures; and there being no Money to be found for the expences of the Coronation, he upon that score took occasion to inquire into, and examine the Officers of the Treasury, especially Enguerrand de Marigny, with whom he before had some rude-bustlings.

Enguerrand sent for before the King to give an account of the Treasury, had the impudence to tell him who was his Masters Uncle, that he had had the greatest part, and even to return him the Lie: That Princes Sword had punished him at the same time, if Heaven had not reserved him for a more infamous chastisement. He was therefore seized upon some weeks after as he was coming to the Council: this was on the Tenth of March, put in prison in the Tower of the Louvre, and from thence transferr'd into that of the Temple.

* Devoet ab-
sentes simula-
craque cerea
singit, &c.

1315.

The prosecution being slow, it was discover'd that his Wife abused by some Enchanters, sought to bewitch or charm the King, and make him languish to death by means of some waxen Images; Those rascals being taken, the King gives him up to the Law. There were four chief Heads of accusation against him, his having alter'd the Coins, loaden the people with Taxes, stollen several great sums, and degraded the Kings Forrests.

His Process was made in the Bois de Vincennes, by the Lords Pairs, and Barons of the Kingdom, who condemned him to the Gallows the Saturday before the Festival of the Ascension. The Saturday following he was transferr'd from the Temple to the Chasteler, and from thence they carried him to Montfaucon * Where on the highest part of the Gibbet, with the other Thieves he was hanged. His immense Riches sufficiently proved the Justice of this Sentence.

* These are
the words of
the great
Chronicle of
St. Denis.

1315.

Afterwards those Receivers or Officers of the Treasury who were of his gang, were laid hold on, and several put to the Wrack: they would confess nothing however; so well those Caterpillars know how to wind up their bottoms, desiring rather in the greatest extremity to lose their Lives, then part with their Money.

They carried on this search even to his very friends, and particularly, Peter de Larilly, Bishop of Chaalons, and Chancellor of France. He was accused of giving the Morfel, that is to say, of having poyson'd the Bishop his Predecessor, and also the late King. He was put out of his Office, and left a prisoner in the hands of the Arch-Bishop of Reims his Metropolitan.

The

The execrable Custom of Poysonning was grown very common in France, and it grew so in my opinion, because the Ministers of the deceased King had been so extream Violent and Vindicative. This Prelat accused of so Villanous a Crime, was referr'd to the Judgment of the Bishops of his Province. To that end there was a Council Assembled at Senlis in the Month of October of this year 1315, where the Archbishop of Reims was present with his Suffragans. The Party accused, upon his request, and according to Law, was first reintegrated to his Liberty, and his Bishoprick; and afterwards it having been proved, that four Women had been Convicted and Punished for Poysonning his Predecessor, he was absolved fully and wholly.

The Gentry and Commonalty of the Country of Artois, having divers causes of Complaint against their Countess Mahaut, the King sent for her, in presence of Ame the Great, Earl of Savoy, and obliged her to give him her Hand, that he might take notice of it.

1315.

"This Ame the Great was one of the most considerable Princes of his time. He acquir'd the Title of a Prince of the Empire, which was granted him by the Emperor Henry VII. in Anno 1310. He increased his Territory with the Lordships of Bresse and Bugey, by his Marriage with Sibilla the only Daughter of Guy Lord de Bugey; as likewise with a part of the little Country of Revermont by Purchase of the Duke of Burgundy, who had it of Humbert Dauphin of Viennois, and the Earldoms of Apt and Tress, the first whereof came to him by the Concession of the Emperor Henry VII. the second by the voluntary subjection of the People. His Wisdom made him reign in all the greatest Courts in Europe, the Emperors, King Philip's of France, Edward King of England's, and made him find the Art to be so much a Friend to all these Princes, who were at great variance, that he became the perpetual Mediator, concerning those Differences which Interest and their Jealousie bred amongst them.

1315.

The Truce with the Flemming being at an end about the very time of the Coronation, the King assembled his Forces, and whilst on the other side William Earl of Haynault ravaged the Country along the Scheld, he besieged Courtray. The unseasonable Weather did what the Flemming durst not undertake, and forced him to raise the Siege: but the infinite havock and spoil the Soldiers made, caused a horrible Famine in Flanders.

1316.

About the end of the Month of May, in the year 1316, King Lewis began to feel the effects of those Poysonnings, grown so rife in France; They had given him a Dose so violent (by what hand was not known) that it carried him off the Fifth day of June. An Accident which the Vulgar thought to be presag'd by a Comet, which had display'd its terrible Train in the Heavens the One and twentieth of the Month of December before. He died at the Bois de Vincennes, the Nineteenth Month of his Reign, and the Eight and twentieth of his Age.

1316.

He left Clemence his second Wife with Child, being four Months gone. By his first, which was Margaret Daughter of Robert II. Duke of Burgundy, he had had a Daughter named Jane, to whom belonged the Kingdom of Navarre, and the Counties of Brie and Champagne: but the Kings, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair, found out pretences to detain them.

REGENCY without a KING for Five Months.

WHEN Lewis Hutin left this World, Philip the Long Earl of Poitiers his Brother was at Lyons, where in pursuance of his Orders he laboured to make them elect a Pope, to supply the See that had been vacant for above three years. He had employ'd himself with so much zeal, that at length he got all the Cardinals to Lyons, and had shut them up in Conclave, in the Jacobins Convent. They had been there together some days, when the news was brought him of the death of Hutin, this made him return to Paris with diligence, after he had left the guard of the Conclave with the Earl de Fores.

1316.

After the end of fourty days, the Cardinals could come to no other agreement about the election of a Pope, then to refer it to the single Vote of James Dossa a Cardinal, Bishop of O Porto, who without hesitation named himself, to the great astonishment of the whole Conclave, who notwithstanding let it pass so. He took

X x

the

the name of *John*, the Twenty second of that name. He was of the Country of *Quercy*, the Son of a poor Cobler, but very Learned for those times.

The Succession of the Males to the Crown was established, not by any Written Law, but by the inviolable Custom of the *French*: nevertheless, because in all other Kingdoms, and in great Fiefs the Daughters succeeded, and that in *France* of a long time no occasion had been offer'd to exclude them: The Friends and Parents of little *Jane*, particularly *Eudes* Duke of *Burgundy*, Brother of her deceased Mother, were on the Watch, pretending the Crown belonged to her, in case the Fruit of Queen *Clemences* Womb should come to no Perfection.

In the mean time they named *Philip* the Kings Brother for Regent till the time of her delivery.

Philip

Philip V. King XLVII.

P O P E,

JOHN XXII. Elected the 7th day of August 1317. S. Eighteen years and Three Months, whereof Five years under this Reign.

PHILIP V. Called the Long, because he was Tall, King of France XLVII. and enjoying the Kingdom of Navarre, Aged Twenty six years.

THe Fifteenth of November the Queen brought a Son into the World, whom they named *John*, but he went out of it again eight days after. He was buried in *St. Denis*; and in the Funeral Pomp was declared King of *France* and *Navarre*. Which hath given some occasion to some Modern Authors, to increase the number of the Kings of *France*, and to call him *John I.*

Then the Dispute touching the Crown was renewed with more heat then before. *Charles* Earl of *Valois* seemed to favour little *Jane*, and the Duke of *Burgundy* her Uncle claimed and stickled for her: but the *Grandeess* of the Kingdom, and the Pairs assembled in Parliament towards the Feast of the Purification, confirmed the Right of the Males, and gave Judgment in favour of *Philip*. Who, well attended, went to be Crowned at *Reims* the Ninth day of *January*, the Gates of the City being shut, fearing some might have come to make opposition. The Bishop of *Beauvais*, though only a Count-Pair, carried the Precedency from him of *Langres*, who hath the Title of Duke.

The Estates being Assembled at *Paris*, where were present most part of the Lords, the Deputies of Corporations and Cities, and above all the Burghers and the University of *Paris*, gave their Oaths to the Chancellor, (*Peter d'Arablai*, afterwards Cardinal) not to acknowledge any other King but *Philip* and his Heirs Male, to the Exclusion of Females.

Robert II. Earl of *Artois* had had a Sister named *Mahaut*, and a Son named *Philip*. *Mahaut* was Married with *Othelin* Earl of *Burgundy*, and from that Marriage were issued two Daughters, whom the Fair gave unto two of his Sons. Now *Philip* died in the War of *Flanders* before his Father: but he left a Son who was named *Robert* as his Grandfathers name. The Earldom of *Artois* ought to have belonged to this fame, however the Fair had adjudged it to *Mahaut*, upon this pretence, that it was not a Fief Masculine, and that according to the Custom of those Countries, Representation did not take place. *Robert* Armed himself during the Regency of the Long; and got himself into the possession by force: but the business being examined, the Lands were sequestred into the hands of the King, and at last adjudged to *Mahaut*, whose Daughter *Philip* the Long had Married. This partial or interested Judgment caused a world of mischief.

For three several times in less then Eighteen Months they began a War against the *Flemmings*, and three several times it ended in a Truce.

Eudes Duke of *Burgundy*, could not forbear mentioning the wrong they did to young *Jane* by detaining the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and the Earldoms of *Brie* and *Champagne* from her. The Long desiring to appease him, gave him his Daughter also named *Jane*, in Marriage, with the Earldom of *Burgundy*.

Notwithstanding this tie, *Eudes* insisted so highly for his Niece, that the King was obliged to Marry her to *Philip* the Son of *Lewis* Earl d' *Euveux*, (this *Lewis* was

1316.

1317.

1318, &c.

1318.

Paternal Uncle to the King) with the Rights she could have to the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and the Earldoms of *Brie* and *Champagne*.

The great Peril *France* was in after the death of *Hutin*, about the doubt of Succession, and the cruel War that had afflicted *Scotland* for a business almost of the same nature after the decease of *Alexander IV.* was cause, that upon the renewing the Alliance which was made between the two Crowns, they added this Condition, That if ever there hapned any difference for the Succession of one of those two Kingdoms, he of those two Kings that should survive, should not suffer any other to step into the Throne, but him that should have the Judgment of the Estates for him; that he should come in Person to defend it, and should oppose whomsoever would contend for the Crown against him.

1319. The Countess *Mahaut* was so obstinately bent to change the Customs of the Country of *Artois*, that the Lords and Commonalties revolted against her; and nevertheless they got nothing by it, being subdued by the Assistance the King and the French Princes lent her.

1319. The Citizens of *Verdun* molested by *Thomas de Blamont* their Bishop, put themselves under protection of the King.

A fourth time *Robert de Bethune* Earl of *Flanders* broke the Truce; but *Ghent* and the other Cities in his Country, who in all these Wars had gotten a Power that counterbalanced his, being risen up in Arms against him, he was fain to consent that the Popes Legat, who was a Cardinal, and had been chosen Arbitrator, should come to *Paris* the following Spring.

1320. The Peace was then concluded the Twentieth of May. The Cities of *Douay*, *L'Isle*, and *Orchies* remained to the King. The *Flemmings* obliged themselves to pay Thirty thousand *Florins* of Gold, and gave Oath not to assist their Earl in case he contraven'd to this Agreement. The King promised his Daughter *Margaret* to *Lewis* Earl of *Nevers*, and *Rethel* Son of another *Lewis* eldest Son of Earl *Robert*, upon condition he should succeed his Grandfather in the Earldom of *Flanders*, though his Father should die before his Grandfather.

1319, & 20. The *Gibbelins* growing powerful in *Italy*, Pope *John XXII.* solicited the King so earnestly, that he sent thither his Son *Philip* Earl of *Valois*, who was afterwards King, to relieve *Vercel*, whom the Sons of *Matthew*, Viscount, Lord of *Milan*, held besieged. He had but Fifteen hundred Horse, but the Pope, *Robert* King of *Sicilia*, the *Florentines*, and other *Guelphs* were to send him Forces to make up a great Army while he was at *Mortara*; *Matthews* eldest Son had so wrought upon his Lieutenant by Money, and upon himself by submission and fair words, that he persuaded him to return into *France* without once drawing his Sword, after he had made I know not what kind of Treaty, which plaistered up a reconciliation between the two Factions in *Lombardy*.

1320. A like Frenzy, to that we have already seen in the time of *St. Lewis*, seized the Peasants and Pastors for the recovery of the Holy Land, upon the instigation of a renounced Monk and a Priest put out from his Cure. They made their Muster in the *Pre au Clerks* at *Paris*, marched into *Aquitain*, from thence to *Languedoc*, massacring the *Jews* every where, and Plundering their Magazines. The Earl of *Foix* gave them Chase so smartly that he dispersed them all.

Robert de Cassel second Son of the Earl of *Flanders*, having accused *Lewis* his elder Brother, that he would have poisoned his Father, *Lewis* was made Prisoner, his Servants and Confessor put to Torture; but not being able to make out any proof, he was set at liberty, but upon condition, however, that he should never enter into the Country of *Flanders*. By this means *Robert* would chalk out his way to the Succession, to the prejudice of his elder Brother.

* Or, Sheriff. History has not thought it unworthy its Remarks, that in this year 1320. the Prevost * of *Paris*, named *Henry Capperel*, for having caused an innocent, but poor Fellow, to be Hanged in the stead of a Rich Man condemned for great Crimes, was by a Sentence of Parliament tied up to the same Gibbet. We every day see his parallels, save the rich Man that is guilty, and punish his innocent Purse.

The Lepers did not give only a horror to all the World, but envy likewise, because they enjoy'd great Wealth, and that loathsome Distemper did not render them incapable of enjoying their pleasures, add, that they paid no Subsidies, wherewith the rest were so overladen. It was perhaps for these reasons they were accused for having by a Compact made with the *Jews*, (these had been restored in the Reigu of *Lewis Hutin*) and Intelligence with the *Turks*, cast some of their Ordures, or some Bags of Poyson into the Wells and Fountains, thereby to infect all those that were

were in Health with their fowl Leprosie, or else to poyson them. They were besides guilty of several Crimes against nature: so that great numbers were condemned to the Fire, the rest shut up very close within their Lazar-Hospitals. As for the *Jews*, the Populace did Justice upon those themselves, and burned a great many. The King drove the whole Nation of them out of the Realm.

His Council had resolved to settle over all *France*, the same Weights, the same Measures, and the same Coyns: but as under the pretence of some Expence and Charges they would be at, they would likewise take the Fifth part of the Subjects Goods; The Princes and Prelates who had a right of Coyning Money, would not suffer the Kings Commissaries to go on in this Reformation, they appealed to the Estates, and Leagued themselves with the Cities; so that the Impost being not raised, the Reglement was let alone.

During these Disturbances, *Philip* loaden with the Curses of his People, and hated of the Clergy, because of his too frequent exaction of the Tenth, fell sick of a Quartan Ague, wherewith he languished five whole Months, and in the end died at *Bois de Vincennes* the Third day of January. He lived One and thirty years, and Reigned Five years and six weeks. His Corps was conveyed with Ceremony to *St. Denis*, his Heart to the *Cordeliers* at *Paris*, his Bowels to the *Jacobins*. Ever since *St. Lewis*, these good Fathers claim it as a special Right, to have some part of the Entrails of our Kings, which were not given them without Foundations.

He Married but one Wife, to wit, *Jane*, who was Daughter of *Otheline* Earl of *Burgundy*, and was also his only Heiress, her Sister *Blanch* having been forced to Encloister her self to expiate her Crime. By this *Jane* he had Three Daughters, *Jane* Countess of *Burgundy* and *Artois*, who Married *Eudes IV.* Duke of *Burgundy*, and brought him these two Earldoms; *Margaret*, who had for Husband *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*, *Nevers*, and *Rethel*; and *Isabella*, who first Married *Guignet* Dauphin of *Viennois*, and afterwards *John* Baron de *Faulconmey* in *Franch-Comté*.

Charles

Charles IV. King XLVIII.

P O P E,

JOHN XXII. *During all this Reign.*

CHARLES IV. *Called the Fair, King of France XLVIII. and enjoying the Kingdom of Navarre, Aged Twenty eight years.*

1322.

THe Succession of the Males being well settled, *Charles* came to the Throne, and was Crowned at *Reims* the Eleventh of *February* without any opposition, all the Pairs assisting thereat, excepting the King of *England* and the Earl of *Flanders*.

The named *Gerard de la Guerre* Native of *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, and of mean Parentage, had held the Sovereign management of the Treasury under *Philip* the Long, and had been the grand Projector of the Imposts. In the beginning of this Reign being sought for and taken for his Depredations, he was put to the Wrack and Examined, which they did so rudely, that he died in the midst of those Torments. This prevented not the dragging his Body thorough the Streets, and hanging him on the Gallows at *Paris*.

There was afterwards a general search made for all the Farmers, and such as were any ways concerned in the Revenues, who were for the most part *Lombards* and *Italians*, horrible Usurers and Exacters. Their Goods were all Confiscate, and they sent back into their own Country, * as beggerly as they came thence.

The King had been indulgent enough in not putting his Wife *Blanch* to Death, who had been condemned for Adultery: When he came to the Crown, the desire of having Children prompted him to repudiate her under pretence of Parentage; and after she had taken on the Vail at *Manbuisson*, he Espoused *Mary* Daughter of the Emperor *Henry* of *Luxembourg*. Who dying in the year 1324. in her first Child-bed, and the Infant some few days after, he Married for the third time *Jane* Daughter of *Lewis* Earl of *Eureux* his Uncle, having to that end obtained a Dispensation from the Pope.

After the death of *Lewis de Nevers*, Earl of *Rhetel*, which hapned at *Paris* (for he had retir'd himself into the Court of *France*) and also the death of *Robert de Be-thune*, his Father, Earl of *Flanders*, which followed soon after, the eldest Son of *Lewis* bearing his Fathers name, enjoy'd all those three Earldoms.

But *Robert de Cassel* his Uncle, pretending to be the nearest by one degree, because he was the Son of *Robert*, whereas *Lewis* was but Grandson, presented himself to the King, demanding the Investiture of that of *Flanders*. In the mean while, *Lewis* went immediately to take possession, without rendring him that Devoir. Which so irritated the King, that although this young Prince were his Nephew, he caused him to be summoned before the Parliament, and kept him Prisoner.

The Parliament taking this weighty Affair into their Cognisance, pronounced in favour of *Lewis*; who being set at liberty, did Homage to the King, and gave Oath never to re-demand the Cities of *Lisle*, *Donay*, and *Orchies*. The King confirmed the Appennage given by the Father to *Robert de Cassel*. He likewise made an Agreement between *William* Earl of *Hainault* and *Holland* with *Lewis*, who desisted from disputing with him for the Islands of *Walcheren*.

One

Oue Jurdain Lord of the Island in *Aquitain*, had committed many enormous Crimes, and Murthered an Usher of the Kings with his own Mace, as he was summoning him to appear in Parliament. He was notwithstanding so much a fool as to come to *Paris*, trusting to his great Alliances, and upon his having Married the Niece of Pope *John* XXII. But for all those Considerations, he was committed Prisoner to the *Châtelet*, and by Sentence dragg'd at a Horses Tail, and hung up on the Gallows at *Paris*.

The King had cause to complain of *Edward* because he had not assisted at his Coronation, and that his Seneschal of *Bourdelois* had placed a Garrison in a Castle which the Lord *de Montpesat* had built in a place which was Land belonging to *France*. Wherefore after some Negotiations, in which the *English* seemed not to proceed fairly; he sent *Charles de Valois*, his Uncle, into *Guyenne*; who set so close upon the Skirts of *Edmond* Earl of *Kent*, Brother to King *Edward*, in the City of *la Reonle*, that he obliged him to Capitulate, and then pass immediately over into *England*, to persuade his Brother to give the King satisfaction, promising, that if he could not obtain it, to return as his Prisoner. In the mean time the Earl of *Valois* made an end of the Conquest of *Guyenne*, excepting only *Bordeaux*, *St. Sever*, and *Bayonne*.

The Council of *England* found it necessary that Queen *Isabella*, who was Sister to *Charles* the Fair, should pass over into *France* with *Edward* his eldest Son to Negotiate the Peace.

She managed the business with a great deal of Skill, and finished the Treaty, contriving it so, that her Son *Edward* was invested in the Dutchy of *Guyenne* and the Earldom of *Pontieu*, for which he did Homage to the King.

The King of *England* had too near him the two *Hugh Spensers*, Father and Son: the last having been bred with him in an unbecoming familiarity, had an absolute empire over him, and made him do what ever he desired. The *English* Lords having made some Conspiracy, and taken up Arms against this Favourite, he drew them to a Parly, where he caused them also to be seized against the Publick Faith, and afterwards chopt off the Heads of Two and Twenty Barons, amongst whom was *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster*, Son of Prince *Edmond*, who, when living, was Brother to King *Edward*. Pursuing his design, he kept Queen *Isabella* and the Earl of *Kent*, the Kings Brother, at distance from the Court; and likewise did privately seek to destroy them, whether for that they had been in the Conspiracy with the Lords, or that he apprehended their Credit or Interest; and this was the chief ground for their coming into *France*.

King *Charles* received his Sister with all the tenderness of a good Brother, kept her a great while in his Court, Treating and Honouring her according to her Quality; and promised her assistance both of Money and Men, as much as he well could, without breaking with the *English*, to Chastise that insolent favourite, who continued to take off all those Heads that stood in the way which his Ambition led him to.

Unhappy *Flanders* was hardly ever without Troubles. The *Flemmings* had but little affection to their Earl, because he was too much *French* by inclination, and resided but little in that Country. He had a long and bloody Contest with the Citizens of *Bruges*, *Robert de Cassel* supported them because he would have had him been kill'd. They made *John* Earl of *Namur*, his Uncle, Prisoner, and a while after they also did detain himself. But when the Pope had laid an Interdict upon the Country, when those Mutineers had been beaten by the *Ghentois* *, and they found the King was sending Forces to his relief, they were forced to bend the Knee and humble themselves before him. He Chastised them by great Fines, the loss of their fairest Privileges, and by the banishment of a great number of the hottest Spirits.

It was above a year that *Charles* Earl of *Valois* languished with a Distemper which was very odd, and yet more painful. Who knows whether it were not the effect of some cruel Poyson. The Physicians not knowing either how to find out the true cause of the Malady, nor any Remedies, the poor Prince falls into an imagination that it was a Divine Punishment, for the too eager and severe pursuit he had made against *Euguerand de Marigny*. They have not forgot to mention his Penitence, and to enumerate the satisfactions he offer'd to his Memory: but perhaps these proceeded from a Mind as sick and as much out of tune as his Body. After all, if God so severely Chastised a Prince for persecuting a publick Robber, and bringing him to Justice by unjust Methods and with an ill intent; what did not that Robber deserve, who for so long a time had tormented Millions of innocent Souls?

The *Spensers* dreading the Storm which threatned them from the Coast of *France*, obliged *Edward* earnestly to re-demand his Wife: and they made use of so many Arts,

1323, and
24.

1324, and
1325.

1325.

* Those of
Ghent were
then true to
their Prince.

1325.

1325, and
26.

* This is the
greatest of
Punishments
to such Ras-
cals.

Arts, and scattered so much Money in King Charles his Court, and even in the Popes, to make him bestir himself for them, that at length Charles, won by their Presents, or frightened with the fears of a Rupture, not only retracted those Promises he had made his Sister, but likewise, upon pain of Banishment, forbid all Knights to assist her, and Commanded her to go out of his Countries.

1326. One Roger de Mortimer, a Gentleman of Normandy, was very much in the favour and good opinion of this fair Princess; the Spensers had taken occasion to raise some Jealousie in the King her Husband, and detain this Roger in the Tower of London: but having found means to escape, he was come over into France; and perhaps this was none of the least Arguments for which King Charles, who was an Enemy to that unclean Folly, would endure her no longer, and so abandon'd her.

1326. At her leaving the Court of France, she retired disconsolate into the County of Pontieu, then into Hainault: where she was so happy, that John Brother of William, the Earl, declared himself her Knight-Errant, caused her to be well and kindly received in his Brothers Court, and having mustred Three hundred Knights more, he carried her back into England.

No sooner was the news of her being landed known, but Henry Earl of Lancaster, the Brother of Thomas came to her, the Earls, Barons, and Knights flock'd thither from all parts. She besieged the King and both the Spensers in Bristol; Spenser the Father, and the Earl of Arundel, Son-in-Law to the younger Spenser, were taken in the City and beheaded. The King and Spenser the Son, who were retired into the Castle, and from thence thought to make their escape in a Bark, were taken at Sea. The Favourite, according to his Sentence given by the Barons, was drawn on a Hurdle thorough the Streets of Hereford, then led to the top of a Ladder, where the Executioner cut off those parts that had transgress'd, and plucked out his Heart, then threw it into the Fire, and quarter'd his Body.

1326. As for the King, the Lords made his Process, degraded him of his Royalty, and condemned him to perpetual Imprisonment, to put his Son Edward III. in his stead. Afterwards, the Friends to this unfortunate Prince, by practising several means to save him, completed his ruine; It was resolv'd to dispatch him out of the World, and that after a most cruel manner. They thrust a red hot Iron up into his Fundament through a Pipe of Horn, fearing the burning should be discovered. His Wife in her turn was punished by her own Son in the same horrible manner of revenge.

1326. In the mean time young King Edward Married Philippa, the second of the four Daughters which the Earl of Hainault had by Jane Daughter of Charles Earl of Valois.

Divers Bands of Gascon Adventurers, whom they called the Bastards, perhaps because their Chiefs were such, ravaged Guyenne; They went into Saintonge, where they seized upon the City of Xaintes: but perceiving that the Captains whom King Charles had sent thither, were resolv'd to give them Battle, they withdrew in the night having set Fire to the City.

1327. Alphonso of Castille surnamed de la Cerda, who had brought some Forces against them, was fallen sick in that Country; from whence being returned to Court, he died in the Village of Genilly near Paris, at the Inn * of the Duke of Savoy. He had a Son named Charles, who was afterwards Constable, but the cause of great Mischiefs.

* Hostel, Princes Houses are called Inns, as Audley Inn.

1324, and the following.

At the request of the Romans, who were troubled that their City was deprived so long of the presence and emolument of the Papacy, Lewis of Bavaria had passed the Mountains in the year 1324. without coming to any agreement with the Pope. Thus these two great Powers set all Italy in a flame, the Guelphs and the Gibbelins by their Factions renewing their horrible Tragedies.

1327. France it self felt it in the excessive Levies the Pope made upon the Churches to maintain that War, and to revenge himself upon the Milanais, the most obstinate of all the Gibbelins, and his worst Enemies. At the first beginning the King opposed it with vigour, but he relaxed as soon as the Pope had permitted him to levy the Tenth upon his Clergy for two years together. "Thus both the one and the other taught their Successors to share those Sacred Goods between them, and gave the Church a Wound which is so far from closing up, that it grows wider every day."

1327. Upon Christmas-Eve of the year 1327. King Charles grew sick at the Bois de Vincennes, and after he had languished six weeks, died at last on the First day of February, Aged Thirty four years, having swayed the Scepter Six years and one Month. He

He oppressed the People as his Father and his Brother Philip had done; Though he were otherwise of a Nature very liberal and gentle, and loved to take Counsel of those he thought to have the clearest Judgments, and most honesty, having ever about him Noblemen and Prelats of known Prudence.

1328.

He Married three Wives. The first was Blanch Daughter of Otheline Earl of Burgundy, who being proved faulty, he was contented only with a Divorce, and chose to cover her Shame under a Sacred Veil. The second was Mary Daughter of the Emperor Henry VII. who having hurt her self when going with her first Child, died with the Fruit of her Womb. The third, which was Jane Daughter of Lewis Earl d'Euveux her Uncle, had only two Daughters; whereof the one named Mary survived her Father but a few years, and the other which was Posthumus, and was called Blanch, Married Philip Duke of Orleans, Son of King Philip de Valois.

R E G E N C Y.

AS Charles the Fair had no Male Children, and that his Wife was pregnant, the Regency of the Kingdom, and Guardianship or Care of the Fruit to come were given to Philip, eldest Son of Charles Earl of Valois, and the nearest Male to the deceased King, whom it was said had so ordained it in his Testament, and last Will.

Two Months afterwards the Queen was delivered of a Daughter, she was named Blanch, who in due time was Married, as we have hinted.

1328, in April.

Thus died up at the Root and perished the whole Descent of Philip the Fair. Whereupon one might say, as a famous Author hath done, That the Divine Providence would not permit that those who had sacked the Kingdom by so many Exactions and Violences, should have any Descendants that should possess it, were it not that the Branch of Valois hath used them yet worse then they had done.

The end of the First Volume.

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A
Chronological Abridgment,
OR
E X T R A C T
OF THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
F R A N C E

By the *Sieur de Mezeray.*

TOME II.

Beginning at King *PHILIP de VALOIS*, and
Ending with the Reign of *HENRY II.*

Translated by *John Bulteel Gent.*

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Thomas Basset, Samuel Lowndes, Christopher Wil-
kinson, William Cademan, and Jacob Tonson.*

Philip VI. King XLIX.

The Second Part of the Third Race.

The first Collateral Branch.

POPES,

JOHN XXII. *Near Seven years under this Reign.*

BENEDICT XII. *Son of a Miller of Saverdun in the Country of Foix; Elected the 20th of December 1334. S. Seven years four Months.*

CLEMENT VI. *Elected the 14th of May 1342. S. Ten years seven Months, whereof Eight years and three Months during this Reign.*

PHILIP VI. De Valois, Surnamed the Fortunate,
King XLIX. Aged Thirty six years.

Although *Edward King of England* had been excluded from the Regency during the Queens being with Child; he did not hold himself excluded from the Kingdom when that Princess had brought forth only a Girl. He agreed most readily that the Daughters could not attain to the Crown of *France*, because of the imbecillity of their Sex, neither did he claim it for his Mother: but he maintained that the Sons of the Daughters having not that defect, were not incapable, and that on this score they ought to prefer him, being a Male and Grandson to *Philip the Fair*, before *Philip de Valois*, who was but his Nephew.

The Pairs and high Barons were called together at *Paris* immediately after the death of *Charles*, upon this great Question: Both Parties made their private and underhand Interests with all the pains and craft imaginable: *Robert d' Artois Earl of Beaumont*, whose Quality, Eloquence, and Reputation could do a great deal in that Assembly, employ'd himself with all his might for *Philip*, as thinking the advantage that Prince would receive by his Interest, might be of service to himself in his Cause against *Mahaud*. In fine, his vehement Persuasions, the force of the *Salique Custom*, very conformable to the Law of Nature, and that aversion the *French* had for the Government of a Stranger, obliged the Assembly to preserve the right of the Males, and to declare that the Crown belonged to *Philip*. *Edward* acquiesc'd in the Sentence, and confirmed it by several Acts during some years.

Philip was Crowned at *Reims* with the Queen his Wife the Eight and twentieth of May upon *Trinity-Sunday*. He was surnamed the Fortunate, because Death had taken his three Cousins out of the World to set the Crown upon his Head.

1328.

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The

The Estates of *Navarre* having sent to intreat he would send them back their Lawful Queen and the King her Husband, he granted their just Request, having taken the Advice of his Lords, whom he called together in Council upon a business of that weight. However he still detained *Brie* and *Champagne*, giving to the Queen of *Navarre* and her Husband several Lands in exchange, which all together were to yield the same Revenue as those two large Counties. They were not Crowned at *Pampelonna* till the Fifth of *March* in the following year.

1318.

Since the time of *Hugh Capet*, there was no Reign so much stained with the Blood of War as this same. The beginnings were signalized by the gaining of the famous Battle of *Mont-Cassel*. The great Cities of *Flanders* had mutinied against their Earl *Lewis*, and misused him so strangely, that he durst not go into any of them but *Ghent*. The King as his Lord and of near Parentage, took his part, and entred *Flanders* with an Army of Twenty five thousand Men. The *Flemmings* had posted Sixteen thousand upon a Hill near *Cassel* to guard their Frontier. He coming to encamp in a Valley beneath them, they had the confidence to go and attack him, and appointed three Bodies at the same instant to make their way to his Tent, to the King of *Bohemia's*, and to that of the Earl of *Hainault*; thinking to surprize them all three unawares. His Person was in great danger, but whilst the bravest of his Men stood as a Rampart and put a stop to the Enemy, the rest Armed themselves and charged the *Flemmings* so stoutly, that the three Princes defeated those three Parties, not one Man of them escaping.

All *Flanders* quell'd by this great shock, submitted to his Mercy. He caused several hundreds to be Hanged, Banished, and Confiscated, and the year after dismantled five or six of their Towns; which allay'd their heat for some time, but did not extinguish it.

✠.

The severest punishment for those that are corrupt Officers of the Treasury, and indeed the most beneficial to the Publick, is not the hanging of them, but to pare their Rapacious Talons so close, that they may not be in a capacity to deserve it. *Peter Remy* Sieur de *Montigny*, had succeeded to *Marigny* and *la Guette* in the management of the Treasury: their sad example had not so great influence upon him, as the passion to enrich himself as they had done. So that by Sentence of Parliament; where there were Eighteen Knights, Five and twenty Lords and Princes, and the King himself present, he was Condemned to be Drawn and Hanged as a Traytor, at the Gallows of *Montfaucon*, which he had caused to be rebuilt. His Confiscation amounted to Twelve hundred thousand Livers*, a prodigious Sum for those times.

* It was more then Fifteen Millions is now.
* Perage.

"Of the Six great * Pairries of the Laity, the Kings had appropriated four to themselves, to substitute others in their place, and erected many new; to wit, *Beaumont le Roger* in Anno 1328. for *Robert d' Artois*, and Anno 1329. the Barony of *Bourbon*, this with the Title of Duchy, that with the Title of Earldom; Then afterwards in several years *Alençon*, *Evreux*, *Clermont* in *Beauvoisis*; all for Princes of his Blood, and upon Lands, truly of much lower Dignity and Consideration than those of the former six Pairries, but as much above those of this Age, as the Princes of the Blood are above Private Gentlemen.

* Who was his Ki. Son.
1329.

"*Edward* Earl of *Savoy*, was come into *France* to demand assistance of the * King, against the Dauphin de *Viennois* and the Earl of *Geneva*, his perpetual Enemies. Dying at *Paris*, and leaving only a Daughter, *John III.* Duke of *Bretagne*, Husband to this Princess, made earnest sute to have the Succession: but the Estates of *Savoy*, wherein presided *Bertrand* Archbishop of *Tarentaise*, declared, That the *Salique* Law took place there, and called *Aymon* Brother of the deceased, to that Crown.

1329.

Upon the first Summons they sent to *Edward* by two Lords who had express Commission, according to the custom of Fiefs, he promised to come and do Homage to the King of *France*. The seizure of his Fiefs of *Guyenne* and *Ponthieu* was therefore deferred, and he came to *Amiens* in great Equipage. After he had there in vain demanded the restoring of what had been taken in *Guyenne* from his Father, he did Homage. But it was with his Tongue, and in general words only, intending to Advise first with his Barons what was to be done. When he was returned into *England*, he sent Letters to King *Philip* under his great Seal, in which he declared, That that Homage was Liege, and that he owed it for the Duchy of *Guyenne*, and the Earldoms of *Ponthieu* and *Monstrenil*.

"The

"The Troubles that hapned in *England*, had hindered him from performing that Devoir sooner. His Mother with her *Mortimer* had made him believe, that his Uncle *Edmund*, Earl of *Kent*, had plotted to take away his Life: Indeed that Earl endeavour'd to get King *Edward II.* out of prison, who was his Brother, and as he thought yet living. Upon this Information young *Edward* causes him to be seized and condemned to death somewhat too lightly: but afterwards *Mortimer* and the Queen his Mistress were Treated in the same manner. For the young King weary of their scandalous deportment, caused the Gallant to be hanged * upon pretence of several Crimes, and his Mother to be shut up in a Castle, where they fastned her end: a very just act, had it been done by any other hand but that of a Son.

* Beheaded.
with Mortimer.

"The discord between Pope *John XXII.* and the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, grew to that extremity, that *Lewis* being in *Italy*, after the example of the Emperour *Otho*, degraded *John* of the Papal Dignity, and in his place substituted *Michael de Corbiere* a Frier Minor, under the name of *Nicholas V.* *Michael de Cefenna*, General of that Order, and divers of his Monks, supported him mightily by their Preachings and Writings.

"These Monks, and others of the Imperial party, having spread many reproachful and bloody Invectives thorough all Christendom against Pope *John XXII.* an Assembly of the Clergy was held at *Paris*, where the Bishop in his Pontifical Habit, attended by many other Prelats and Clergy-men, declared to the People in the Church-Porch of *Notre-Dame*, the Attempts and Mistakes of *Corbiere*, and pronounced Excommunicate both the said *Corbiere*, the Emperour *Lewis*, and *Michael de Cefenna* with their Adherents.

"Two things ruined this Party, the Emperours ill Conduct, which forced him to go out of *Italy*, and the disagreement between the Friars Minors, many of whom having forsaken their General, it weakned his Interest so much, that in the end he was disowned by all of that Order. So that *Corbiere* after many Adventures, being caught and brought to *Avignon* in the year 1330. begged pardon of *John XXII.* with a Rope about his Neck: but he could not get off so; they put him in prison, where he died some Months afterwards.

We must not confound this Assembly above-mentioned with another which was held in the same City, and the same year 1329. upon complaint the Kings Judges made by the Mouth of *Peter Cugnieres*, Kt. Counsellor and Advocate-General of the Parliament, touching the Usurpations and Attempts of the Clergy upon the Secular Jurisdiction.

1329.

The business was discussed in a Council held at *Vincennes*, then again in the Assembly of Parliament. *Cugnieres* spake earnestly, and to the good liking of all the Nobility who applauded him. *Peter Roger* elected Archbishop of *Sens*, afterwards made Pope, and *Bertrand* Bishop of *Autun*, who was a Cardinal, having undertaken the defence of their Body, replied very eloquently. The Clergy was in great danger, not only of being lost off in part, but quite rooted out of their Jurisdiction. The King at last by a Decree of the Twenty eighth of *December* maintained them in their possession, protesting it was his hearty desire to augment the Rights and Priviledges of the Church, rather than any way diminish or infringe them: for which reason they gave him the Surname of the Good Catholic. Notwithstanding after this shock, the Authority of that Body hath been so much weakned, especially by Appeals in all Cases, that now they really believe they have more just cause of Complaints against the Secular Judges, then the Seculars had in those times against them.

France being in Peace, King *Philip*, following the foot-steps of his Predecessors, had conceived a desire of undertaking an Expedition into the Holy-Land. To this purpose, upon his return from a Pilgrimage he made to *Marseilles* with a very small Attendance, in performance of a Vow he had made to *St. Lewis* Bishop of *Toulouse*, he visited the Pope in *Avignon*, and discoursed in particular with him about his design.

1330.

Towards the end of the year he summon'd the Estates of his Kingdom, and laid before them the passion he had for the Holy War. By their advice, he sent to demand permission of the Pope to levy the Tenth of all the Clergy in Christendom, and many other things, but so extraordinary that he could obtain no favourable Answer.

The English could not well digest that *Edward* had so easily renounced to the Crown of *France*; They ceased not from spurring him on, opportunity seeming to present it self

1331.

* Vide, Before touching Scotland.

self favourably, because Scotland, which France was wont to make a counterpoise to England, was extremely embroil'd. For Edward the Son of John Baliol*, who for a long time led a private Life at his House in Normandy, with a final Force had recover'd that Crown, and driven out King David who was retired to the Court of France together with his Wife and Children.

After the death of Mahaut, the Earldom of Artois fell to Jane of Burgundy, Wife of Philip the Long, and according to the Articles of Marriage, was given to Blanch her Daughter, the Wife of Eudes Duke of Burgundy. Robert d' Artois who could not yet forbear his pretensions to that Earldom, renewed the Process, and produced certain Grants under the great Seal, which he said he had found by Miracle. He believed the King, being his Brother-in-Law, and owing him so great obligation, would not search too deep after the truth of it. But the King, because it concerned the interest of his Daughter, who was much nearer to him than his Sister, caused these Letters Patents to be examin'd so exactly, that they were found to be false; and a Gentlewoman of Artois that had counterfeited them, was burnt alive for it, they having accused her as being a Sorceress.

Robert enraged for the loss of his Process and of his Honour, flew to reproaches against the King, so much the more injurious as they were true, and so exasperated his anger, that he was pushed on to the utmost extremity against him. They seized upon his Confessor, whom they obliged by force or promises, to bear Witness against him: his Wife was laid hold on, though she were the Kings own Sister; and after some delay, for want of appearing, he was Banished by sound of Trumpet and Proclamation through all the Suburbs of Paris, and his Estate was declared to be Confiscate.

He then knew there was no more quarter for him, and would have taken Sanctuary at the Earl of Hainault: but the Kings wrath did not suffer him to be so near, he excited the Duke of Brabant to make War upon the Hanover. Robert not to be a Cause of the ruine of his Friend, went out of those Countries, and resolved to all the extremities whereunto despair does usually hurry Men of courage; he goes to the King of England, and by force of blowing the Coals, kindled the Flame that set all France on Fire.

1332. In the mean time the King of England strengthened himself with Alliances, Moneys, and all sorts of Ammunitions for some great Enterprize. He had in his Party the Earl of Hainault, the Emperor Lewis his Brother-in-Law, several German Princes, with the Cities of Flanders; and to have the greater power in the Low-Countries and over the Princes along the Rhine, he purchased at a dear rate the Quality of Vicar of the Empire. The King was secure of the Earl of Flanders, the Duke of Lorraine, the Earl of Bar, the Kings of Castille, of Scotland, and of Bohemia: but especially of this last, whom he had made fast by many several ties. For besides that he had Married a Sister of his, and his Son Charles born of that Wedlock had been bred in the Court of France, he also Married his Daughter Bonne to John Duke of Normandy. The Nuptials were compleated at Melun.

Emperor Andronicus the Young Reigned eight years and an half, and Lewis of Bavaria.

1332.

The Designs of the English being not yet formed, gave Philip no apprehension; so that he was taking up the Cross for the Holy Land, and with him three other Kings, Charles of Bohemia, Philip of Navarre, and Peter of Arragon, with a great number of Dukes, Earls, and Knights. The Clergy took but small joy in it, so mightily were they oppressed with extraordinary Exactions, as if they had a design to ruine the Churches of France to go and restore those in Palestine.

1333. Upon the design of this War, Philip endeavour'd to make Peace between all his Neighbour Princes, he brought the Duke of Brabant to an agreement with the Earl of Flanders, and the Earl of Savoy with the Dauphin de Viennois. The difference betwixt the first was for the City of Malines. It belonged to the Bishop of Liege and to the Earl of Guelders: the Bishop had sold his part to the Earl of Flanders, the Duke of Brabant claimed it, saying, he was the Lord of the Fief. It was concluded it should remain to the Flemming, unless the Duke would rather chuse to reimburse him 85000 Crowns. With that was agreed the Marriage of three Daughters of the Brabanders, with Lewis eldest Son of the Flemming, William Earl of Holland, and Renauld Earl of Guelders.

Pope John XXII. had publickly preached at Avignon; * That the Vision, or Joyes of the Blessed Souls, and the Pains or Torments of the Damned were imperfect till the final day of Judgment, and endeavour'd to make this opinion pass current for the Doctrine of the Church. The Faculty of Theology of Paris courageously opposed it; He tried to get them to own it by two Nuncios whom he sent to them;

1333. * This opinion had been common enough in the former Ages.

them; the one was the General of the Cordeliers, the other a famous Jacobin Doctor. The most Christian King did not judge the Pope to be infallible, but order'd the question to be discuss'd by Thirty Doctors of the Faculty of Theology, who confounded the Cordelier Nuncio; whereupon a Decree was made, and Sealed with their Thirty Seals, which he sent to the Holy Father, exhorting him to believe those who understood Divinity better, then did the Canonists of the Court of Rome. So that the Pope, perceiving his Opinion was not well received and entertained, said he had propos'd it only by way of Disputation, or Argument.

"He died the year following, leaving an immense Treasure, scraped together by his exactions made upon the Clergy of France: Peter Fournier Cardinal, of very mean and low birth, but greatly eminent for his Moderation and Frugality, succeeded him in the Holy See, and took the name of Benedict, or Beuet XII.

1334.

Arthur II. Duke of Bretagne had married two Wives; the First was Mary, Daughter and Heiress of Guy, Vicount Limoges. The Second, Yoland Daughter of Robert IV. Earl of Dreux, and one Beatrix, Daughter and Heiress of Amaury V. Earl of Montfort; by Mary came three Sons, John II. who was Duke after his Father; Guy, who had for his part the Earldom of Pontieu (and from whom came a Daughter named Jane;) and Peter, who died without Children. Of Yoland, came a Son named John, who had the Earldom of Montfort, as his Great Grandfather by the Mother had.

1335. and the following.

Duke John II. having no Children, and his Brother Guy being dead in the year 1330. leaving only a Daughter, which was Jane; it was easie to foresee, that great troubles would arise for the succession of the Dutchy, between this Daughter, and John de Montfort; for this last pretended, that he was one degree nearer then she was; and besides, being a Male he ought to exclude her. Now as Duke John had a particular affection for the House of France, from which he was descended by the Male line, he had it in his thoughts, to avoid the destruction of Bretagne, for to exchange this Dutchy with the King, for that of Orleans, or to leave it in Sequestration in his hands to restore it to which of the pretenders he pleased. The Lords of the Country not able to endure either of these two methods, he bethought him of Marrying his Niece to Charles de Chastillon, Brother of Lewis Earl of Blois, and Nephew by his Mother to King Philip de Valois, upon condition he should take the Name, the Motto, and the Coat of Arms of Bretagne. The Marriage was consummate in Anno 1339. The Duke kept him with him, and Treated him as his presumptive Successor; John de Montfort dissembling those pretences he had to the contrary.

Edward having attained to full majority, prompted by his own great courage, and the Favours Fortune had newly bestowed in a Victory over the Scots, was easily led by the continual instigations of Robert d' Artois, animating him to recover the Kingdom of France by the Sword. He thought it convenient to begin with complaints, and accused Philip before the Pope, for having ravished that Crown from him, during his Minority.

1336.

The Pope having given him no other Answer, but an exhortation not to disturb a Prince, who had taken on him the Cross for an expedition to the Holy Land, the young King impatient of such long delay, sent to desie King Philip. All his Allies, every one in particular, except only the Duke of Brabant, accompanied his Cartel with their own; and the Bishop of Limoges was the bearer.

1336.

Some time before, the King having intelligence that they were preparing to make the Rupture, went to Avignon with John Duke of Normandy his eldest Son, to visit the Holy Father Benedict XII. as well to justify himself of the accusations of the King of England, as to cut out work for the Emperour Lewis of Bavaria, by rendering his agreement with the Pope more difficult.

The defiance being signified, Gautier de Mauny began first by opening the War on the Flanders-side, surprizing the City of Mortagne, not the Castle, then that of Thin l'Evêque; which he kept to bridle Cambrai, that shew'd it self for the French. The King of England's Lieutenants likewise began the War in Saintonge, by the taking of the Castle of Palencour; the Governour whereof, for having but poorly defended himself, lost his Head at Paris.

1336.

Thus the expedition to the Holy Land was broken off, the King called back the Forces he had at Marseilles, and kept the Genoese in his pay, the best Men for Sea-service in those days, with theirs, and the assistance of the Castilians, he sent a Naval force to the coasts of England, where they did a great deal of mischief, there being no less then Sixty thousand of them under pay.

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1336. At the same time his Land-Army, commanded by *Rodolph* Earl of *Eu*, and *Guisnes* his Constable, entred *Guyenne*, and gained the Lands of the Vicount *de Tartas*. The Earl *de Foix* who succeeded him in that employ, did likewise conquer many other petty places.

1337. The Cities of *Flanders*, whercof *Ghent* is as it were the Head, hesitated some time between the fear of the power of the *French*, and the distress and indigence the *English* drove them into, expressly having prohibited the carrying to them any Wools out of *England* into their Countrey; but when an *English* Army had defeated one of theirs in the Island of *Cadfant*, *James d'Artevelle*, whom *Edward* had gained by the power of Money and Presents, introduced his Ambassadors into *Ghent*, and Treated his Alliance with that City.

This *Artevelle* was a private Brewer and Beer-Merchant, but crafty, undertaking and politique, who had acquired almost the absolute Government in *Flanders*, and maintained Agents in all the Cities. So that the Earl could not possibly stop the torrent, and was constrained to quit the Countrey.

1338. During all this, *Edward*, who after the Declaration of War, had returned to his own Island, came and landed at *Schuse*, with an Army and Fleet of Four hundred Sail, went by Land to *Colen* to confer with the Emperour, who confirmed the Title of Vicar of the Empire to him, and promis'd to attaque *France* with the Forces of *Germany*, provided he might have such great sums of Money as he demanded.

1338. At his return from *Colen* he encamped some days before *Cambray* an Imperial City, but wherein the Bishop had suffer'd Prince *John*, the Son of King *Philip* to enter. Finding he could do little there, he pass'd the *Scheld* to give the King battle. The two Armies were nigh each other about the Village of *Viron-fosse* in *Cambresis*. The King much the stronger in appearance, forbore to give battle, because *Robert* King of *Naples*, a great *Astrologer*, had sent him word, that in what place soever he should venture to fight the *English* he should lose the day, and run his Kingdom into an extreme danger. The remainder of the year was spent in picquering, and sending forth small parties to make inroads upon one another.

1339. For the *Flemmings*, as the three Cities of *Piſle*, *Douay*, and *Orchies*, stuck much in their Stomachs, they proffer'd their Service to the King, in case he would surrender them; which being denied, they acknowledged *Edward* to be King of *France*, and gave him their Oaths of Fidelity: then did he begin to take that Title upon him in all publick Acts, and to put the *Flowers-de-Lys* in his Coat of Arms, and in his Seals. However I find, that the year before, he had by a Declaration forbid any to call *Philip*, by the name of King of *France*, but only Earl of *Valois*.

1339. Having shortly after pass'd over into *England* to recruit himself with Money, there was nothing done in all this year but sacking or plundering, and some skirmishes that were not decisive. In the mean time the King by his Craft and Money together, had found means to take the Emperour off from the *English* Interest; inasmuch as he repeated his Title of Vicar of the Empire, which he had sold at so dear a rate to him.

1340. But whatever skill they did make trial of in tampering with the *Flemmings*, they could not be brought over again; and their Earl not daring to return into that Countrey, nor put any trust in *Artevelle*, kept himself within *Piſle*. The Pope upon the Kings request had put their Countrey under Interdict, and all their Priests obey'd very exactly, which did at first cause a great consternation; but the King of *England* sent some that were less scrupulous amongst them, who opened the Churches, and officiated boldly.

1340. The Duke of *Normandy* (this was *John* the eldest Son of *Philip*) after he had made strange havock in *Hainault*, laid Siege to the Castle of *Tbin-P'Everque* on the *Sambre*, because it did much incommode the City of *Cambray*. The *French* and *Flemish* Armies were there once more near each other, but the *Flemish* now withdrew themselves without blows; the besieged observing their retreat, set fire to the place, and made their escape.

As soon as the King of *England* had recruited himself with Money and Men, he came and landed a Second time at *Schuse*, and overthrew the *French* Fleet that lay upon that coast in wait, thinking to hinder his attempt. The discord between their Admirals (there were two of them) was the main cause of their defeat.

1340. This advantage having abated the edge of their courage, King *Philip* retired, and distributed his Army in the several Garrisons. The King of *England* sent to defie him in single combat, one to one, or else a hundred on either side, or both Armies in a pitch'd battle. He was answer'd, That a Lord accepts of no challenge from his Vassal.

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Some days after he besieges *Tournay*, which was reduc'd to great distress; but the long and vigorous defence of the besieged, saved the place by the Truce that was then made.

Mean time the *Flemmings* were cut in pieces before *St. Omers*; *Robert d'Artois* who Commanded them, was not only in danger of losing his Life there, but afterwards being pursued by the Populace, who cry'd out he had betray'd them, was forced, much wounded as he was, to make his escape to the King of *England*.

The *French* Garrisons were drawn together in a Body to relieve *Tournay*. *Philip* had made divers attempts for that purpose, had lost all hopes of succeeding in it; when on the suddain *Edward* condescends to a Truce, whether by the mediation of the Widdow *Jane*, Countess of *Hainault*, who was his Sister, and Mother of the Queen of *England*, at that time retired to the Convent of *Fontenelles*, or as *Villain* tells it, because of the desertion of the Duke of *Brabant*, whom the King had gained by his Money, and besides, being unwilling that City should fall into the *English* hands, went away from them with all his Forces. It was to last from the Twentieth of *September*, to the Five and twentieth of *June* following; and was again prolonged at an Assembly, which shortly after was held at *Arras*, upon the earnest desires of the Popes Legats.

John II. Duke of *Bretagne* dying this year 1341. upon his return from *Flanders*: whither he had attended the King, * that War which he so much apprehended, broke out in his Countrey, and kept it in a flame for two and twenty years space. For *John* Earl of *Montfort* being very liberal of those Treasures he had in *Limoges*, secur'd himself of the best Soldiers, and of the Cities of *Brest*, *Nantes*, *Kennes*, *Hennebond*, and *Auray*. Then foreseeing his Antagonist would have recourse to the King of *France* his Uncle, he goes over into *England*, where he contracted a secret Alliance with *Edward*, and also did homage to him.

During this progress, *Charles de Blois* comes unto the King, as to his Sovereign Lord. The Dutchy was a Fief of the Crown of *France*, ever since the Dukes *Peter de Maulevere*, and *John le Roux* his Son, had acknowledged it to be held of the Crown, and moreover, it was a Pairrie; *Philip* the Fair having grac'd it with that Title in Anno 1277. in recompence for that *John* II. had brought him Ten thousand Men to the Siege of *Courray*. Besides, both of the contenders had presented their Petitions to the King, to be admitted to do homage, which no doubt but either of them would have performed in any manner required: and for this reason the King referr'd it to the judgment of the Pairs, who caused both parties to be summon'd to make out their Right and Titles.

The Duke of *Bretagne* appeared; but finding by the very first words the King spake to him, that not only his Cause, but likewise his Person was in danger, he makes his escape one fair night into *Bretagne*, with three more, himself disguised like a Merchant, having left all his Officers at *Paris*, who put a good face upon it, as if their Master were not fled, but kept his Bed for some indisposition.

The better to cover his evasion, he left a procuration with one of his people, to act and carry on this Cause before the King and Pairs, and produce what Deeds and Papers were necessary to maintain his Right. His adversary had done the same; but either of them notwithstanding without power of concluding on any thing, but only for debating, and putting their Arguments and Titles into a method to instruct the Judges.

Upon these imperfect proceedings, the Pairs received *Charles de Blois* to homage, and threw out *Montforts* Petition. Immediately *Charles* and his friends were putting themselves into a posture to execute the Decree; the Duke of *Normandy* entred into *Bretagne* with an Army, and having forced *Chantoceaux*, besieged *Nantes*, where *Montfort* had shut up himself. The *Nantois* terrified at the misfortune of Two hundred of their Burghers taken in a Salley, obliged *Montfort* to surrender himself to the Duke, who sent him to *Paris*, where he was confined to the great Tower of the *Lovre*.

Thus one would have guessed the business had been at an end; but his Wife *Margaret*, Daughter of *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*, a wise and courageous Princess, who made good use of her Head in Council, and of her Sword upon occasion, as well as the deepest Politician, or the bravest Soldier of her time could have done, upheld that ruined party, and not only so, but even raised it again by her heroick Virtue: She retired to *Brest*, fortify'd her places, put her Son, who was but four years old, in a place of safety, having sent him into *England*, and pressed King *Edward* so earnestly for the assistance he had promised to her Husband, that he sends it by Sea to her.

Z. Z. 2

1340.

1340.

1341.
* Vide a few
pages before.1341.
Emp.John V. Pale-
ologus, Son of
Andronicus-a
Minor, and
Lewis of Ba-
varia.

1341

1341.

It came indeed somewhat too late to preserve *Rennes*, but early enough to save *Hennebond*, whither he was retired. It was however too weak to maintain the cause; the Enemies were Masters of the Field, and took the Towns: but *Charles de Blois*, I cannot tell by what motive, gave her some respite by a years Truce, during which, this Princess goes over into *England* to represent the state of her Affairs there.

1342.

"In the Month of *April* of this year 1342. hapned the death of *Benedict XII.* This good Pope more concerned and affectionate for the exaltation of the Holy See, then of his own Family, left a vast Treasure to the Church, and nothing at all to his kindred, but good instructions for the saving of their Souls. *Peter Roger*, Native of the Village of *Rosé*, in *Limosin*, and Arch-Bishop of *Rouen*, succeeded him, by the name of *Clement VI.* This Man behaved himself quite contrary, he scrupled not at all to make use of his Wealth to enrich his Relations, and restored the * *Nipotisme* very prejudicial to the Church.

* The setting up of Nephews and Nieces.

1342.

The Countess *Margaret* acted so successfully at the Court of *England*, that she brought back a powerful supply, commanded by *Robert d'Artois*. The Naval Forces of the *Genoese* and *Spaniards*, which were under the Command of *Lewis* of *Spain*, Brother of *Alphonso*, who was Constable, set upon them smartly, and might well have hindered their Landing, if a fierce Wind had not obliged him, at night to put out to Sea, fearing his great Vessels should run aground; their Ships being smaller, got to Port near *Vannes*. *Robert d'Artois* being landed, besieged that City, and carried it by Assault, which he made upon them in the night, presently after another very hot one, which he had given them in the day time.

But after that the Captains of the contrary party knowing he had sent the greatest part of his Army to besiege *Rennes*, and that himself staid in *Vannes*, they came and besieged him, and press'd so hard upon him by repeated Assaults, that they regained the place. Himself was hurt in the last attack, and with much ado saved himself by a postern, and got to *Hennebond*; from thence he went into *England*, where he thought to find the best Chyrurgeons: he died of his wounds in *London*, detested of all good and loyal Frenchmen, and passionately regretted by *Edward*, who promis'd him to revenge his death.

And in effect, he landed soon afterwards in *Bretagne*, where all at one time he besieged *Vannes*, *Rennes*, and *Guineamp*, protesting he did not intend to break the Truce made with the *French*, but only he would defend and protect the Lands of a Pupil; he meant *Montfort's* Son, to whom he had promised his Daughter in Marriage. On the other hand, the Duke of *Normandy* thought he did not infringe it if he assisted *Charles de Blois* his Cousin German.

1342.

After divers exploits of War on either part, the Duke hemm'd in *Edward* before *Vannes*, both by Sea and Land. Now as the *English* were reduced to hunger, and the *French* extremely incommoded with the Autumn Rains; they were glad on both sides to get out of these Straights by a Truce for two years, which was concluded betwixt them only for *Bretagne*. The Legats of the new Pope brought this about; and withal got the promise of both Kings, that they should send to *Avignon* to the Holy Father, there to determine all their Disputes by a firm and lasting Peace.

1343.

"The Twenty eighth of *January* hapned the death of *Robert the Wise*, King of *Naples*, who left his Kingdom to *Jane*, Daughter of his Son *Charles*; and the Sixteenth of *September* that of *Philip* King of *Navarre*: *Charles* his Son, who since was surnamed the *Bad*, came to the Crown, under the Guardianship of Queen *Jane* of *France*, his Mother.

1343.

The Duke of *Normandy* and the *English* Deputies met at *Avignon* to Treat about a Peace: and although they could not come to an agreement in any one thing, yet nevertheless it was believed they would conclude a Peace at last; because the Popes Mediation was pleasing to both Princes. But here an unhappy accident falls in their way, and not only stoppt their proceedings towards a Peace, but set them at farther distance then ever they were, and overwhelmed *France* with a deluge of woes.

1344.

Oliver de Clifton, and Ten or Twelve Lords Bretons of the *French* party, having accompanied *Charles de Blois* to a Turnament that was held at *Paris*, the King caus'd them to be all made prisoners, upon some suspicion of their holding intelligence with the *English*, and soon after beheaded, without any Trial or Hearing of their Case,

Case, to the great astonishment of all the World, and indignation of the Nobility, whose Blood till then, had never been shed but in Battle: and indeed this too severe King, who revenged even his own mistrusts, did so alienate the affection of his Grandees, that they served him but very ill, when he had need of them upon great occasions.

The death of these Lords of *Bretagne*, enraged the King of *England*; he was almost like to have done the same to *Henry* Lord of *Leon*, of *Charles de Blois* his party, whom he held a prisoner; but upon the humble intreaties of the Earl of *Derby*, he gave him his Life and Liberty, upon condition he should go and declare to King *Philip*, that the Truce was infringed by this Murther, and that he was now going to begin the War anew; as he quickly did, as well in *Guyenne* by the Earl of *Derby*, assisted by the *Gascon* Lords under his obedience, as in *Bretagne* by *Montfort's* party, till he could go himself and carry a War into the very heart of the Kingdom.

1344. and 45.

The people of *France* had liberally granted to King *Philip*, very notable Subsidies of Money for his Wars; he raised them by much, and which was worse, he settled a new one upon Salt; for which cause, *Edward* by way of railery, called him the Author of the *Salique Law*. This impost which makes the Sun and Water to be sold so dear, was the invention of the *Jews*, mortal enemies to the name of Christians, as the word or term *Gabel* denotes, which comes from the *Hebrew*.

1344.

The Earl of *Derby*, after the having refreshed himself at *Bordeaux*, with the Forces he had brought from *England*, took the Field to fall upon the Provinces on this side the *Dordogne*. The Earl of *Laille* and the *Gascon* Lords, who had thrown themselves into *Bergerac*, thinking to obstruct his passage over that River, were constrained to abandon that Town to him, and to let him over-run all the Upper *Gascogne*, where he conquer'd several small places.

1345.

When he was returned to *Bordeaux*, the Earl of *Laille* took his opportunity, having sent for the Lords of that Countrey, he being as it were Vice-Roy, and laid Sieg to *Auberoche*, but not with the like success. The Earl of *Derby* coming to its relief with only a thousand Men, defeated his Army, which consisted of Tenthousand, and took him prisoner, with eight or ten Earls and Vicounts more. After which, he with much ease, besieged and took the Cities of *la Reole*, *Angoulesme*, and divers others.

John Earl of *Montfort* had been set at liberty by virtue of the Truce, upon condition that he should not depart the Court: notwithstanding he goes and puts himself at the head of his Forces in *Bretagne*; he besieged *Kemper*, but was so far from taking it, that himself had like to be taken. Going from thence he sacked and burnt *Dinan*: then overburthen'd with grief and anger, for the slow progress in his Affairs he died about the end of *September*; leaving the management of his pretensions to his Wife and his Son, who was yet very young. He had the same name as his Father, and afterwards gained the Surname of *Valiant*.

The famous *Artevelle* had made a promise to King *Edward*, to procure, that his Son the Prince of *Wales* should be owned for Earl of *Flanders* by the great Cities, to the exclusion of their natural Lord. Upon this assurance *Edward* carries his Son to *Schuse*: the Deputies of the Cities went to wait on him, he treated them very magnificently, but they would not hear of disinheriting their Earl.

1345.

Artevelle's enemies did not fail to make use of this occasion, to stir up the peoples hatred against him. When he was returned to *Ghent*, having been so ill advised as to remain some days at *Schuse*, after the other Deputies, the People fell upon him and murther'd him. The King of *England* retir'd in a fury for the death of his good friend; however, the Cities of *Flanders* having sent their Deputies to him, he accepted their satisfaction, and the offer they made him, to bestow the Daughter of their Earl upon the Prince of *Wales*.

There was great reason to put some stop to the Earl of *Derby's* progress in *Guyenne*, the Duke of *Normandy* goes to *Toulouse* in the beginning of *January*, with an hundred thousand Men bearing Arms. All this formidable multitude did no more in three Months, besides the taking of two or three little paltry Towns in *Angenois*, and the City of *Angoulesme*; whence they fell down upon *Tonneins*, and after that, came and besieged *Aiguillon*, seated on the confluence of the Rivers * *d'Olt*, and *de Garonne*, well munition'd, and well fortify'd for those times.

1346.

In all this age we do not find a more memorable Siege, either for the Attacks, or the Defence. They made three Assaults each day for a whole week together, then they came to their Artillery, and their Engines both by Sea and Land. *Philip* the Son of *Endes* Duke of *Burgundy*, and Earl of *Boulogne* by his Wife, who was Daughter and

* De Lot.

* Or Crecy.

1346.
* Froissard
makes them
Four score
thousand.

and Heyrels of Earl William, was wounded upon a Salley, whercof he died. At last the Battle of Cressy * being lost, drew away the Duke of Normandy from this Siege, which till then he obstinately continued.

The Second day of June, Edward with a Fleet of Two hundred Sail, wherein he had Four * thousand Men at Arms: Ten thousand Archers, and as many Foot, as well Irish as Welshmen, puts to Sea with his eldest Son, with intent to land in Guyenne. He did not relye so much upon his Forces, as upon the secret discontents of the French Nobility, and the intelligence he held with many of the Grandees. He had with him Gefroy, Brother of the Earl of Harcourt; a Lord very powerful in Normandy, who having lost the favour of King Philip in his indignation, and finding no certain security there, went into England.

(The winds having turned Edward two several times out of his road) towards Guyenne, this Gefroy inflamed with revenge, perswaded him that Heaven would have him steer his course for Normandy, a fat and plentiful Countrey, that had not felt a War for two ages; so that he went and landed at the Port de la Hogue. St. Vaast in Constantine, near St. Sauveur, which were Lands belonging to Gefroy, resolved to cross the rough France to go and joyn the Flemmings.

His Army marched divided by day in three Bodies, which joyned together at night. Gefroy undertook the Office of Field Marshal. The Cities of Valognes, Carentan, St. Lo, and Harfleur were his first prey. Rodolph * Earl of Eu and of Guisnes, Constable of France, and the Count de Tancarville, whom the King had sent to Caen, encreased his Spoil and Fame by taking them prisoners, with the defeat of Twenty thousand Men; the Burghers, braver in words then deeds, having forsaken them in the midst of the Fight.

Going from thence, he continued his march by the Bishopricks of Lisieux and Evreux, sacked and burnt all along the Seine, even to Paris, but approached not nigh Rouen, and came and encamped at Poissy; from thence he sent a defiance to Philip, to fight him under the Walls of the Louvre: but after he had staid there five days, fearing to be enclosed betwixt the Rivers of Seine and Oyse, he caused the Bridges to be repaired, and passed into Beauvais, with design to retire into his Countrey of Pontbuen, marking his road all the way with long traces of Fire and Blood.

Philip foaming with rage to behold with his own eyes from his capital City, such Flames in the very heart of his Kingdom, goes forth to pursue him in great haste, that he might fight him before he could pass the Somme. Edward not being able to find any passage over that River, was so happy as to have a prisoner that shewed him the Foord of Blanquetague below Abbeville. Gondemar du Faya Norman Lord could not hinder him with Twelve thousand Men from passing at low Water, and was put to the rout. The same Evening Edward went and encamped at Cressy, and the next day Philip lodged at Abbeville, which is within three Leagues of it on this side; he had not less then an hundred thousand Men, with which he might have hemm'd them in, and reduced them to a Famine in a few days: but he believing that having over-taken them, was conquering them, he marches the next day out of Abbeville, and gives him battle the same day, which was the Six and twentieth of August.

His too hasty March, and three long Leagues of way, had made the French lose both their breath and strength before they engaged the enemy. On the contrary, the English were fresh and recruited, and despair re-doubled their courage. The Genoese the chief strength of Philips Infantry, who were commanded by Antony d'Oria, and Charles Grimaldi, did nothing to the purpose, their Cross-bow strings being made useles by a deluge of Rain that fell just upon the first beginning of their Service; they retreating from before a shoure of the English Arrows, the Count d'Alenfon, who suspected it to be Treachery, rides quite over them with his Cavalry, and so began the rout. We must also take notice, that in this famous Battle, the English had four or five pieces of Canon which gave much terror, for that was the first time they ever saw those thundering Engines in our Wars. To all this add, that some amongst the Grandees, very glad to see Philip engaged upon this occasion, made more shew then they did service. These causes chiefly gave the victory to the English.

The Battle lasted from four in the Afternoon till Two the next Morning. A great flight of Ravens, which a little before the Fight were observed to hover over the French Army, were esteemed as a presage of their defeat.

Of the French side there remained dead upon the place Thirty thousand Foot, Twelve hundred Knights, and Four score Banners taken. John King of Bohemia, Charles

Charles Earl of Alenfon, Brother to the King, Lewis Earl of Flanders, and Twelve or Fifteen of the most illustrious Counts lost their Lives. King John stark blind as he was, fought very valiantly, having caused his Horses Bridle to be fastned to the Bridles of two of his bravest Knights horses. His Son Charles, King of the Romans was hurt with three wounds; but it is not true that the Kings of Majorca, Scotland, and Navarre were in this Engagement; the two first were in their own Countreys, busie enough about their own concerns, and the other not above the age of Thirteen or Fourteen years, under the tuition of his Mother.

The King this time Unfortunate, retired out of the Battle, under the favour of the night, and saved his Person in the Castle of Broye, from thence got to Amiens, and so to Paris, to raise another Army.

The next day another slaughter, twice greater then the former was made, by Five hundred Lances, and two thousand Archers, amongst the common People, who being ignorant of what had hapned, were marching to the French Camp.

The English having ravaged all Boulonois at their pleasure, went and laid Siege to Calais about the Eighth of September, and stuck close to it with the more security, upon the news that David King of Scotland was vanquish'd and made prisoner by the Queen of England, upon his falling on the Frontiers.

"Before the Battle of Cressy, the Emperour Lewis was Excommunicated by the Pope, and degraded by Five Electors, who in his stead placed Charles the Son of John King of Bohemia. This Prince after the death of Lewis, which hapned in October the following year, got his Election confirmed, and bought the Claims of two or three others, who disputed their Title to the Empire with him, because they had been named by some of the Electors.

After the Duke of Normandy had raised the Siege of Aiguillon, the Earl of Derby remained Master of the Field, regained all that part of Guyenne which lies beyond the Dordogne, and having passed the Rivers, ravaged and burnt Saintonge and Poitou, took St. John d'Angely and kept it, sacked the great City of Poitiers and quitted it, after he had refreshed himself there for Twelve days together.

The Flemmings having lost their Earl at the Battle of Cressy, sent a Deputation to the King to re-demand his Son who was their natural Prince. Whilst he was in their power, they had affianced him to King Edwards Daughter; but that Alliance being contrary to his inclination, he escaped from them, and returned to the Court of France.

After he had staid there a year, he made a particular peace with the English, by the consent of Philip his Sovereign. It was agreed that he should permit the Flemmings to give them assistance: but as for himself he should not intermeddle with the Affairs either of the one or other of the two Princes.

The Flemmings being at Edwards Devotion, made great inroads upon Artois; and on the other side John de Montforts party got the upper hand in Bretagne by the help of the English. For Charles de Blois, going to besiege la Roche de Rien, Montfort gave him Battle the Twentieth of June, vanquish'd him, and took him prisoner with his two Sons John and Guy, and most of the Lords of his party. His Wife, whom ambition, and the Royal Blood she came of, inspired but with too much courage, gathered up the fragments, and maintained the business so well, that he recover'd once more.

It was but in vain that Philip advanced between Wissant and Calais, with an Army of One hundred and fifty thousand Men, to relieve the City; the English had enclosed his Camp with such good Trenches, that he could find no way to attaque him. The besieged driven to the severest extremity of Famine, were forced to surrender the last day of August.

Fame shall never forget the name of Eustace de St. Pierre, the most noted Citizen of Calais, and his heroick generosity to save his fellow Citizens. Edward mortally enraged at their long resistance, would not receive them on composition, unless they would deliver up to him six of their principal Burghers to do what he pleased with them: The Council not knowing what to resolve, and the whole City remaining exposed to the revenge of a cruel Conquerour; Eustace freely proffer'd to be one of those Six: By his example there soon follow'd enough to make up the number, who went out in their Shirts with Ropes about their Necks to deliver the Keys to Edward. He was so obstinately bent to put them to death, that the Queen his Wife had all the trouble imaginable to obtain his pardon for their Lives. He drove out all

1346.

1347.

1346.
and 47.

1347.

1347.
Emp.
John Cantacuzene an
Usurper upon
John Paleologus the Minor,
R. 8 years.
And Charles
IV. of Luxemburgh.
1347.

all the Inhabitants of the place, even the Ecclesiastiques, and repeopled it with natural English.

* Or Joane.

"Robert King of Sicilia having no Heirs of his own Body, but Jane * the Daughter of his Son Charles Duke of Calabria, had Married her, Anno 1333. to Andrew, Second Son of Carobert King of Hungary, the eldest of these two being then but seven years of age. It hapned Twelve years afterwards, Andrew not being enough to Jane's liking, and having been Crowned King by the Pope, pretending that the Kingdom did delong to him, certain Conspirators made him rise one night out of the Bed where he was lying with her, and hanged him at a Windore. Charles Prince of Duras, who was likewise of the blood of the Kings of Sicilia, and had espoused Mary the Sister of Jane, was Counsellor, and Author of this infamous act. Jane was not innocent; well might she lament and sigh, her cries and tears signified less towards her justification, then her subsequent Marriage with Lewis her Cousin-German, a lovely Prince, and according to her desires, made for her conviction.

Lewis the Great, King of Hungary, being come into Italy to revenge the death of his Brother Andrew, and to get the Kingdom, Treated Charles de Durus in the same manner as they had used King Andrew. He would have done the like to the Princess and her fair Husband, had they fallen into his hands, for which reason she fled away in good time to her County of Provence, and her Husband soon after her. The Pope shewed her great respect, but taking advantage of the extreme necessity she was reduced unto; he got from her the City and County of Avignon, for which he was to give but Fourscore thousand Gold Florins of Florence *, but over and besides this bargain he approved her Marriage with Prince Lewis, who in requital ratified this sale. It belongs to the Lawyers to judge whether the minority of this Queen, and the Edicts she afterwards made, to declare null all alienations of the Lands in Provence, which had been made as well in the Reign of Robert, as by her self whilst she was yet a Minor, do not make this Contract void and null: but the Emperour Charles IV. confirmed it, and wholly freed this County from the subjection of the Empire, of whom it held, as being an Under-Fief of the Kingdom of Arles.

"We ought to know that when the Earls Alphonso de Toulouze, and Raimond Berenger of Barcelona, married the two Daughters of Gilbert Earl of Provence, and parted his Succession between them (whereof Alphonso had all from the Durance to the Lifer, with the Title of a Marquisate; and Raimond what is from the Durance to the Sea, with that of an Earldom) they likewise divided the City of Avignon betwixt them; and that the Kings of France as Successors to Alphonso de Poitiers, Brother of St. Lewis, who married the Heyrefs of Toulouze, had enjoy'd the one moiety till the year 1290. When Charles the Fair gave it to Charles II. King of Sicilia, upon the Marriage of Charles de Valois his Brother, with Margares the Daughter of that King.

The Lords of Montmorency de Charny and others, who commanded the French Forces in Artois and Picardy, thinking it might not be amiss to recover Calais during the Truce, held some intelligence with Aymery of Pavia, a Lombard Captain in that City; but the double-hearted Traitor gave ear to them only to surprize them; he gave notice of it to Edward, who desiring to be of the party, passed the Sea with Eight hundred Men at Arms, that this great draught might not break out of the Net, so that when it came to be put in execution, they found themselves unfortunately caught in the toyl with the Twenty thousand Crown bargain, and a thousand select Men; whereof One hundred of them who had engaged themselves in a Tower belonging to the Castle, and the rest who waited for entrance, were charged and cut in pieces, after a brave defence.

"In the Month of August of the year 1348, there appeared on the side of Paris a kind of Comet or Star, extraordinary Luminous, the Sun being not then Set; it appeared as not very far distant from the Earth: the following night it was thought to be much greater, and divided in several Rayes: but soon after it disappeared.

1348.

France was miserably tormented all manner of ways; it had undergone a horrible Famine Anno 1338. and after that the spoil the Soldiers made, had caused every thing

thing to be held excessive dear, and kept the whole Kingdom in great scarcity. This year 1348. A cruel Plague made all the Provinces desolate; the Exactions worse then all these Plagues together, ruined the People utterly; and by I know not what curse, the more the Taxes were increased, the more indigent was the King.

"There never had been any Plague more furious and destructive, then that in Anno 1348. It was universal over all our Hemisphere; there was neither City, nor Village, nor House but was infected. It began in the Kingdom of Cathay, Anno 1346. by a vapour that was most horrible stinking, which breaking out of the Earth like a kind of subterranean Fire, consumed and devoured above Two hundred Leagues of that Countrey, even to the very Trees and Stones, and infected the Air in such manner, that there fell down millions of young Serpents, and other venomous Insects. From Cathay it passed into Asia and Greece, thence into Africk, afterwards into Europe, which it ransacked throughout, to the very utmost bounds of the North. The venome was so contagious that it infected by the very sight; It was observed to last Five Months in its full force and rage, where once it had got footing. Those that suffered least by the Sword of this exterminating Angel, could hardly save one Third of the Inhabitants: but in many places it did not leave above the Fifteenth or the Twentieth person alive.

1348.

Money was wanting, they set upon squeezing the Officers of the Treasury; amongst others Peter des Essards the Kings Treasurer, was condemned to the sum of a hundred thousand Gold Florins, which was moderated to the half. Afterwards to stop the peoples Mouths, and daily complaints they chose out for the management of the Treasury, two Bishops, two Abbots, and four Knights, and they expelled all the Italian Usurers, called Lombards, out of the Kingdom. The principal Lottery-Money they had lent, was taken and confiscated to the King; this was but about Four hundred thousand Livres, but their Use-Money, which was two Millions, was remitted to the Owners.

1348.

Queen Jane, Daughter of Robert Duke of Burgundy, being dead in the year 1349 King Philip, though he were yet in mourning weeds, took fire for Blanch, Daughter of Philip, King of Navarre. He had sent for her to be Married to his Son, but he liked her best for himself, and did wed her.

1349.

There had been for many years a mortal War between the Earls of Savoy, and the Dauphins de Viennois. The Dauphin Humbert, feeble in Body and Courage, not able to endure the continual Attaques of Amé VI. called the Earl Verd*, and besides being very melancholy for the loss of his only Son, withal over Head and Ears in debt, and having no love for his kindred, bethought himself of giving up his Countrey to some great potentate, who might plague, and put the Savoyard to as much trouble as he had put him. His inclination was to make an accommodation with the Pope; the People could have wished to be under the Government of the Savoyard, that they might have no more war on that side: but the Nobility liked rather to be under the King of France, who had Employments and Offices to bestow. Henry de Villars Arch-Bishop of Lyons, and John de Chisy Bishop of Grenoble, byas'd the Dukes mind, so as to make it run that way.

1349.

* Or the Green Earl.

He had therefore in the year 1343. made a Donation to King Philip, of the Lordship of Dauphine, and the Lands adjoining, upon condition that all their privileges should be preserved intirely; that it should be incorporated for ever in the Crown of France, and that the Kings eldest Son should enjoy it, and bear the Title and the Arms of Dauphine; for which the King gave him Forty thousand Crowns of Gold, and ten thousand Florins Rent to be levied on the Countrey.

This year 1349. he confirmed the Contract, and afterwards retired himself into a Convent of the Jacobins, where he took on the Habit. The Pope tyed him to the Church by Sacred Orders, fearing he might start back and gainstay the thing. He received them all on Christmasts-day, the Subdiaconal at midnight Mass, the Diaconal at Mass by break of day, and the Priesthood at the Third Mass. The same day he Celebrated, and eight days after was promoted to Episcopacy, and honoured with the Title of Patriarch of Alexandria.

1349.

In 1350. Philip had likewise, either by purchase or by engagement of James of Arragon King of Majorca, the Counties of Roussillon and Cerdagna in the Pyreneans, and bought of the same Prince the Barony of Montpellier in Languedoc, which the House of Arragon held in Under-Fief of the Crown of France, for the sum of Six-score thousand Crowns of Gold, currant Money.

1350.

In the Month of *June*, of the year 1350. the Truces wer prolonged between the Kings for three years.

1350.

Two Months afterwards *Philip* fell sick at *Nogent le Roy*, (perhaps of the toil and fatigue of his new Marriage, very often mortal to antient people that take beautiful Wives. Feeling his last hour draw near, he sent for his Children and the Princes of his Blood, and gave them warning and counsel to live in amity and concord with one another, make a Peace if it could be had, maintain good Order, and countenance Justice, ease the People, and other fine and excellent things which Princes oftner recommend to their Successors at their deaths, then practise themselves while they are alive. He expired the Two and twentieth day of *August*, in the seven and fiftieth year of his age, and in the Three and twentieth of his Reign. Very brave in his own person, more happy in Negotiations then in Battle, hard-hearted towards his Subjects, suspicious, vindictive, and one that suffer'd himself to be too far transported by the impetuosity of his anger.)

(He had two Wives, *Jane* and *Blanche*, that the Daughter of *Robert II.* Duke of *Burgundy*, and this of *Philip d'Eureux* King of *Navarre*: By the First he left two Sons, *John* who Reigned, *Philip* who was Duke of *Orleans*, but had no posterity; and one Daughter named *Mary*, who Married *John* Duke of *Limburgh*, Son of *John III.* Duke of *Brabant*. (By his Second he had but only one Daughter, *posthumus*) she was named *Jane*, who died at *Beziers* in the year 1373. as they were conducting her to *Barcelona*, to marry *John* Duke of *Girona*, eldest Son to *Peter IV.* King of *Aragon*. (The Queen her Mother survived her Husband almost Fifty years, which she passed in perpetual Widdow-hood.) Thus under the Reign of King *John*, there were two Queens Dowagers in *France*, this same, and *Jane d'Eureux* widdow of *Charles the Fair*, who died in the Month of *May*, Anno 1370.

John

John I. King L.

By some called the Good King;

Aged XLII years.

POPE S,

CLEMENT VI. Two years three Months, during this Reign.	URBAN V. Elected the Eighth of October, 1362. S. Eight years and above Two Months, whereof one year and Six Months during this Reign.
INNOCENT VI. Elected in December 1352. S. Nine years, and near Nine Months.	

After *John* had assisted at the Funeral of the King his Father, he was Crowned at *Reims*, with his Second Wife *Jane* of *Boulogne*, the Twentieth day of *September*. From thence he came and made his entrance into *Paris* the Seventeenth of *October*, sat in his Seat of Justice in *Paris*, gave the Order of Knighthood to his two eldest Sons, to some other Princes and Lords, and began some shew of labouring about the Polity, and the Reformation of the whole Estate.

1350

The Prince having maturity of age, the experience of Affairs, a valour tried in occasions, the example of his Fathers faults before his Eyes, and four Sons that would soon be able to draw their Swords, promised a happy conduct, and a most flourishing Government: yet having the same defects as his Father, too much of impetuosity and precipitation for revenge, little prudence, and as little consideration for the miseries of his poor people, he fell into greater misfortunes, and such as did not let go their hold, but stuck to him till his death.

The Blood wherewith he sullied the entrance of his Reign, was a presage, and perhaps a cause of it, much likelier then the prodigious Comet which appeared this year. *Rodolph* Earl of *Eu* and of *Guines*, Constable of *France*, a prisoner of War to the *English* ever since the Battle of *Caen*, had made divers voyages into *France* to procure his own deliverance, and that of his Compagnons. Some perswaded the King, were it true or false, that under this pretence he practised some contrivances in favour of the *English*; he was then arrested by the Prevost of *Paris* the Sixteenth of *November*, and the Nineteenth beheaded obscurely, and without form of Process, in presence of the Duke of *Bourbon*, and seven or eight Lords of note, before whom it was given out in publique he had confessed his crime.

1350.

His spoil was thus divided; his Office of Constable was given to *Charles d'Espagne de la Cerde*, Favourite to the King; the Earldom of *Eu*, to *John d'Artois* Son of that *Robert* of whom we have mention'd so much, and that of *Guines* to *Jane* the only Daughter of the defunct, whose first Husband was *Gualter* Duke of *Athenes*, and her Second to *Lewis* Earl of *Estampes*, of the Branch of *Eureux*, from which sprung that of the Earls of *Eu* Princes of the Blood.

That he might not be inferiour in magnificence to the *English* who was a sumptuous and liberal Prince, who had instituted the Order of the Garter; King *John* instituted, or rather revived the Order of the Star, in a famous Assembly which he held in his Palace of *St. Ouy* near *Paris*, and ordained, that whereas those Knights

1351.

did formerly wear the Star upon their Helmets or Crest, or hung about their necks, they should now have them embroidered on their Cloaths. The Chapter was held upon Twelfth-day. Charles the Fifth his Son observing this Order, much debased by the multitude of mean people admitted, left it to the Chevalier that Commanded the Watch and his Archers.

Emp.
John Paleologus, John Cantacuzenus, and Charles IV.
1351.

Though the Truce was not expired, there was still some enterprize upon one another. The English seized upon Guisnes, having corrupted the Governour with Money. Edward excused it pleasantly; saying, *The Truces were Merchandise*, and that he did no more then follow the example of King Philip, who would have bought Calais. The Traytor that had sold Guisnes, was taken, and drawn in pieces by four wild Horses.

Guy de Nesle Marechal of France was defeated and taken with Arnold d'Endregben, and several people of note in a rencounter in Guyenne.

1350,
and 51.

In Bretagne the two parties of Blois and Montfort, though they had only two Women in the head of them, were perpetually engaging and fighting it out desperately. In those days challenges between Cavaliers, and the chief Commanders of parties that were enemies was very common, but more frequent between a certain number appointed on each side, then singly hand to hand; and indeed they called them Battles. The most remarkable in these years, was that of Thirty Bretons, against as many English. Richard Brembo was the chief of these, and the Lord de Beaumanoir of the others. The victory fell to the Bretons, and the greatest Honour to their Chief.

* Du Guesclin fought another time in a Ring with Brembo, one to one, and slew him.

1351.

The following year 1351. Charles de Blois, who had been four years a prisoner in England, was released upon ransom, giving two of his Sons for hostage till the payment of it; and till he had discharged that debt he forbore to take up Arms.

The Lords that had been taken prisoners in their attempt upon Calais, having been discharged, carried on the War with the Marechal de Beaugien about the Countrey of St. Omer; having upon a time surprized the Lombard that had betrayed them, they caused him to be quartered alive.

The Earl of Flanders had deny'd to assist at the Kings Coronation, because they refused to restore his three Cities to him: nevertheless he came to Paris to pay homage for his Lands, and renew the Treaty of Confederation.

1352.

"The Sixth of December hapned the death of Pope Clement VI. Cardinal Stephen d'Albert, a Limosin by birth, and Bishop of Clermont succeeded him the Eighteenth of the same Month, and took the name of Innocent VI.

1353.

King Charles of Navarre his return into the Kingdom, brought with it a long train of war and calamities. He had all the good qualities that a wicked Soul renders pernicious, Wit, Eloquence, Craft, Resolution, and Liberality.

Though he had this year 1353. married Jane, one of the Kings Daughters, he gave not over from pursuing his pretensions to the Counties of Brie and Champagne, and also Angoulesme. Charles d'Espagne, to whom the King had given this last, dissuaded him from proffering satisfaction. The Navarrais discontented, retires to his County of Evreux; and understanding that the Constable was in his Castle de P' Aigle; he undertakes a thing as base as it was bold; He carries with him a hundred Horsemen, scales the Castle (it was on the Sixth of January) and makes them stab him in his Bed. That done, he had the insolence to own the fact, to justify himself by Letters to the King and Council, and all the good Cities of the Kingdom, to raise Forces, fortifie his Towns, and sollicite all the neighbouring Princes to a League against France.

1354.

The King dissembles him and flatters him to draw him to Paris, but he will not come till they grant him conditions very advantageous, of Lands for the value of Brie and Champagne, the independance of his Earldom of Evreux from all others but the King, full and free Absolution for those that had murdered the Constable; and besides all this, a very considerable sum of Money, and the Kings Second Son in Hostage.

1354.

Upon these Securities he appears in the Parliament of Paris the third day of March. The King sitting on his Throne, attended by the Pairs, the Legat, and divers Prelats. The criminal having crav'd his pardon in a studied Speech, intermixed with complaints and excuses; the Constable had order to arrest him, only for forms sake, and lead him out to the next room, while they debated: then straightway he was released upon the request of the two Queens, the Widdows of Charles the Fair,

Fair, and of Philip de Valois. The Legat made him a grave Remonstrance, and after all, the King declared him Absolv'd.

Some few days after he retired into Normandy, but went thence immediately without leave of the King, and made a journey to Avignon. He went tierretting up and down till the English should take the Field; whereupon the King enters again into Normandy and seized his Lands: but that Prince returning from Navarre by Sea, having brought Forces that facaged all the Countrey; and besides, it being feared, the English would soon Land, it was thought fitter to make use of kindness; Charles the Kings eldest Son soothed him so finely that he was pacified, and least in appearance, and came with him to Paris.

John Paleologus having deposed Cantacuzena, and Charles IV.
1355.

"The Emperour Charles IV. goes to be Crowned at Rome, or rather to be covered with shame, having made that infamous Contract with the Pope, that he would not sojourn so much as one whole day in that City; which brought both himself and the Empire, into the most despicable condition. The year following, upon the Eleventh of January, he made that famous Constitution, called the Golden Bull, of which the Politicians judge very variously.

1355.

Upon a Shrove-Tuesday night the English by Scalado took the Castle of Nantes, and the very same night Guy de Rochefort took it again; and hew'd them all in pieces as a reward for their having broken the Truce.

Gaston Phebus Count de Foix, who Married the Sister of the King of Navarre, was sent prisoner to the Chastellet at Paris, because he refused to hold his Lands of the King, perhaps it might be those holden of the English. But in a Month after he was set at liberty, upon condition he should go into Guyenne, and command the Kings Army against the Prince of Wales.

1355.

For the Truce was no sooner at an end, but that young Prince invested in the Duchy of Guyenne by his Father, began to make himself known by ravaging and burnings. He made incursions, even as far as Beziers and Narbonne, without meeting any opposition from the French Commanders; the Earl of Foix, James de Bourbon Constable, and John de Clermont, who were stronger then his party, but too much divided by jealousies amongst themselves.

1355.

His Father at the same time landed at Calais, and ran over all the Boulonois and Artois, even to Hesdin, where he broke through the Park, yet could not force the Castle; but having intelligence that King John was coming directly to him, he presently retires to Calais, and from thence to his own Island, without returning any answer to the generous challenge sent him by that Prince, to fight him, either hand to hand, or Army against Army.

1356.

The charges of this War could not be defray'd without great expences; and at that time no extraordinary Subsidies were Levied without consent of the Estates. The King summon'd them to the Castle of Ruel, where having laid open to them the necessity of Affairs, they consented to the maintenance of Thirty thousand Men: To make a fund for this, they were fain to set up that Gabel upon Salt again, which had been laid aside, and moreover, impose Eight Deniers per Liver upon all Merchandise, and a certain annual Tax upon every mans Revenues, whether Lands, Benefices, Offices, nay, even Salaries, and Servants wages.

These excessive Subsidies caused Seditions in many places, especially at Arras. The Marechal d'Endregben going in amongst them, under the notion of a pacificator, seized upon about a hundred of the most turbulent, whereof a score of them had their Heads taken off.

1356.

The Navarrais stirred up the people every where, upon pretence of the publique good. But with all his malice, he was nevertheless so much gull'd, as to be allured by the Dauphin, and drawn into the Castle of Rouen with Lewis, Earl of Harcourt, John and William his Brothers, the Lords de Clere, de Graville, de Maubus, de Preaux, and seven or eight more of his Confederates. One day while the Dauphine was Treating them at a Dinner, behold the King comes in at a Postern Gate well armed, seizes upon the King of Navarre and his company, puts the Earl of Harcourt, Graville, Maubus, and Doublet, in two Carts, carries them out into the open fields, and there causes their four Heads to be cut off, without any form of Process or Trial. That done he sends the Navarrais under a strong Guard to the Castle Gailiard d'Audelis, from whence having been removed into several prisons, and often threatned with death, he was conducted to the Castle d'Arlesux in Cambresis.

1356.

1356. This violent proceeding had very bloody consequences. Philip Brother of the Navarrais, and Gefroy Brother to the Earl of Harcourt, who had a good many places in Normandy, called in the English, to revenge that outrage done to their Brothers. The Earl of Derby and the Duke of Lancaster with Four thousand Men began the War in that Countrey.

1356. The King went thither in person, gave them chace as far as P'Aigle, and having scatter'd them in the Woods, laid Siege to Breteuil, a little place which defended it self Seven weeks.

"In these unhappy times the smallest Towns fortified themselves, so as to put a stop to the greatest Armies. The very Villages enclosed themselves with Works or Walls against the plundering Soldiers; and this infinite number of Castles served only to lengthen out the War, and devour the People by harbouring Thieves and Cut-throats.)

"The Nobility and Soldiery seemed as it were to triumph in the miseries of the poor common people. Luxtury, who would believe it? took its birth from desolation. The Gentry who had ever been very modest in their Habits, began to adorn themselves with Jewels, Pearls, and Gew-gawes like the Women, to wear plumes of Feathers in their Bonnets, a sign of their levity, and give themselves passionately over to play at Dice all the night long, and all the day at Tennis.)

1356. While the King was at Chartres where he was drawing all his Forces together, he was informed that the Prince of Wales with Twelve thousand Men, of which there were but Three thousand natural English, had pillaged Quercy, Auvergne, Limosin, Berry, and was marching to do the same in Anjou, Tourain, and Poitou. He thought fit to cut off his March upon his Retreat, and led his Army along the Loire. The Prince being advertiz'd, left the Road to Tours, and retired by Poitou: but he could not do it so speedily, but that the Kings Army overtook him within two Leagues of Poitiers. The Prince finding him so neer, entrenched himself amongst the Vines, and strong thick Hedges, nigh the place called Maupertuis.

1356. Cardinal de Perigord the Popes Legat, went often from the one Army to the other to prevent them from coming to blows. Edward offer'd to pay for all the damages he had done in his march from Bourdeaux, to deliver up all his prisoners, and not to bear Arms himself, nor any of his Subjects for Seven years time against France. But King John believing the Victory secure and certain, rejected all his submissions; and blinded with passion and anger, instead of hemming him in and starving him (which could not have failed in three days time) went on headlong with the courage and fury of a Lyon, rather then of a Captain, to attaque him within his fastness the Nineteenth of September. Nay, by the worst advice in the world, he caused all his Horsemen to alight, excepting three hundred select Men, who were to begin the onset, and the German Cavalry who had Orders to second them.

1356. The thickness of the Hedges hindered these three hundred Horse from breaking in upon them; the Englishmens bearded Arrows made the Horses mad, and turned them upon the Germans; these fell into the Avant-Guard; and they were totally routed by a grose of the enemies who came forth and charged them during their disorder.

Of the four Sons the King had in this Battle, three of them were a little too soon carried out of the fray by their Governours, together with Eight hundred Lances; and this gave a fair pretence of excuse to all such Cowards as were glad to oallow them. There was only Philip the youngest of the four, who obstinately resolved to run the fortune of his Father, and fought by his side.

The Kings single valour sustained the enemies charge a considerable time, and if one fourth part of his Men had but seconded him, no doubt but he had gained the victory. At length he yielded himself up into the hands of John de Morebeque an Artesian Gentleman, whom he had banished the Kingdom for some crime. Philip his Son was taken prisoner with him. There were but Six thousand French kill'd in this fatal day, but of that number were Eight hundred Gentlemen, and amongst those the Duke of Bourbon, the Duke d' Athenes Constable, the Marechal de Nesle, and above Fifty more of good quality.

The young Prince as courteous as he was valiant, Treated the King as his Lord. The same night he served him at his Table, and endeavour'd to allay his grief and misfortunes by the most obliging and becoming Language he could expresse. The next day fearing this noble prey might be snatched from him, and withal observing his soldiers were so laden with plunder, that they were incapable of further service, he took his March towards Bourdeaux, and carried away the King and his Son along with him, together with a prodigious number of prisoners.

Charles

Charles the Dauphin Lieutenant, then Regent, Aged some XXI years.

There being no Authority left in the Kingdom, and the King before his departure having not settled any thing in order, all was in a most horrible confusion. The Dauphin at the first took only the quality of Lieutenant upon him; he believed it belonged to the general Estates to provide for the Government of the Kingdom, and the redemption of the King, and therefore having called them together at Paris, the Fifteenth of October, he propounded these two things to them.

But that hapned then, which ever happens in such great disorders, where the people have been evilly treated in their prosperity. Instead of assistance he met with nothing but complaints and sharp rebukes. They would deliberate of nothing in the presence of his Commissioners; they demanded to have the Chancellor set aside, this was Peter de la Forest, Archbishop of Rouen, Simon de Bucy, First President, and six or seven Officers more that had mis-mannaged the Treasury; They would have him set the King of Navarre at liberty, and would have him be governed and guided by a Council they chose for him; upon which conditions they promised to maintain Thirty thousand Men, but which should receive their pay from their own hands.

In the mean time they set up a Council for the Government of the Kingdom, whereof Robert le Coq Bishop of Laon was the Chief, and Commissioned People that were at their own Devotion to manage the Treasury. The Dauphin not being able to persuade them to condescend to any other method, nor bias their resolutions, made use of some wile to break up that Assembly, and upon divers pretences obliged the Deputies of the several Cities to return. Afterwards he dispatched others to all the Bailiwicks and Seneschals Courts to demand a subsistence of them severally, hoping that none in particular would dare to refuse him, what when altogether they had boldly denied.

During this confusion, every one imagined, now was the proper time to recover their Rights and Priviledges. The Nobility began to make Alliance with the Cities; The Dauphin found out the way to prevent that union and draw them to himself. The Cities on the other hand grew jealous of the Gentry, so that to preserve themselves from being pillaged by the Soldiery, who had all manner of Licence allowed them, they began to fortifie, especially at Paris, where they chained their Streets, repaired their Walls, made good their Ditches, and enclosed all that quarter of the Street St. Anthoine and St. Pol, which before was but the Suburbs: Stephen Marcel Prevost des Merchants, and Ronsac the Sheriff had full power over the People, and govern'd them at their own pleasure.

The unfortunate Gefroy de Harcourt had sold his Lands in Normandy to the English,* to enjoy it after his decease, disinheriting Lewis his Nephew, because he would not take up Arms against his own Countrey. He had some Forces at St. Sauveur le Vicomte, from whence they made their incursions to the Suburbs of Caen, and even to Evreux. The Estates assembled at Paris, had sent four Captains thither to make head against him; he marching into the Fields to meet them near the City of Coutances, was there defeated and slain; had he been taken alive, they would have made him pay down his Head upon a Scaffold, he chose rather to dye with his Sword in hand.

The Duke of Lancaster, and Philip of Navarre, who made War in Normandy with Philip d' Evreux, not being able to pass over the Loire, to assist the Prince of Wales, amidst the danger he was in before the Battle of Poitiers, were fallen down into Bretagne. The Duke laid Siege to Rennes the Third of December, in this year 1356. but the place was so well defended, that he could make nothing of it in Ten Months time.

After the example of their Sovereign, who had studied more the enlarging of his power then the publique good; every one took care now of his particular interest, and overturned all that lay in his way to attain his own ends. The Deputies whom the Dauphin had sent into all the Provinces, brought nothing back but grievances; the only Countrey of Languedoc, because they had been less oppressed by Taxes then the rest, testified a publique sorrow for the captivity of their Prince, and proffer'd to maintain Five thousand Horse for his Service, the others refused every thing but what should be ordained by the Estates.

The

1356.

1356.
* To the King
of England.

1356.

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1356. The Dauphin had Commanded some new Money to be Coined; but being gone to Metz to confer with the Emperour Charles IV. his Cousin, who stood up mightily for the interests of the House of France, the Duke of Anjou whom he had left at Paris, was compell'd by Stephen Marcel to forbid the carrying it on.
1357. Wanting some publique Authority to get himself to be declared Regent, he had summoned the Estates upon the Fifth of February to meet at Paris, at the Cordeliers; but could obtain no more from them then he had done the former time. They forced the Chancellor la Forest to lay down the Seals, turned out all the principal Officers of the Treasury, caused all their Goods to be seized and inventoried, and upon the warm Remonstrances of Robert le Coq Bishop of Laon, removed all the Great Officers of the Kingdom; even those of the Parliament, excepting Sixteen, The Dauphin not finding what he reckon'd on, Adjourn'd the Assembly till Fifteen days after Easter.
- Whether it were the inconveniency of that time of the year, or the greediness and covetous humor of the Gascons, each one of them demanding as much reward, as if he alone had gained the Battle, and taken the King, which hindered the English from removing him out of Bourdeaux; he passed all the Winter there, but Served and Treated as if he had been in his own Cour.
1357. About the beginning of April they transferr'd him into England, where he was entertained with as much Honour and Respect, as if he had gone over only to pay a kind visit to King Edward. They made him a publique entrance at London, he was mounted upon a White Horse, a mark of Sovereignty, and the Prince of Wales on his left hand upon a little Hackney, They lodged him in the Savoy Palace; the King, the Queen, and the Grantees visited him, and gave him all sort of liberty. In the mean time the Popes instant mediation obtained a Truce for two years between both Crowns, in which John de Montfort and Philip d'Evreux were not comprehended.
- The Duke of Lancaster had sworn not to rise from before Rennes, till he had gotten in, and planted his Banners upon their Ramparts; whilst his Army was in apprehension of a second Winter, and the Besieged on the other hand reduced to Famine, Bertrand de Guesclin found an expedient to save the Dukes Oath, which was, That he should enter the Town with nine more, and his Colours should be set up on the Gate for some hours. To conclude this Treaty, they made a Truce between the two parties, which was to last till the year 1360.
1357. The bands of Soldiers being neither cashier'd nor paid, the Robbers flock'd together with all sorts of other rascally people, and scowred all the Countreys about, without any fear or punishment, all the open Countrey lying exposed to their merciless mercy. There were five or six several Gangs, but the most dreadful crew of them was, that of one Arnold de Cernoles, who called himself the Arch-Priest; he entred into the County of Avignon, forced the Pope to redeem the plunder of his Lands at the price of Forty thousand Crowns, and afterwards to give him Absolution, and Treat him at his own Table with as much Honour as if he had been a Sovereign Prince.
1357. The persons Commissioned by the Estates for the administration of the Treasury, made it soon apparent, that they had not taken it in hand to dispossess Knaves, but to have a share in that prize and pillage themselves; so that their corrupt dealing, no less criminal then that of the former Officers so much cried out upon, did much blemish their choice, and by consequence the authority of the Estates.
1357. The Dauphin being therefore better fortified by the arrival of the Earls of Foix and Armagnac, and a great number of the Nobility, did at length shake off their Tutelage, and making le Coq return to his own Bishoprick, his party became the strongest in Paris.
- But immediately afterwards, the Navarrais was set free from his imprisonment by the intrigues of his people, who escalado'd the Castle wherein he was detained: which was not done without connivance of the Lord de Pequigny, to whom King John had committed the keeping of this Prince. Then le Coq returns, and the Council resumed greater power then formerly.
- The Dauphin apprehended nothing so much as the malignity of that Prince, exasperated by a long imprisonment: nevertheless, the importunities of the Council established by the Estates, and the intercession of the two Queens Dowagers, Jean and Blanch, obliged him to give him a safe Conduct, with which he came and lodged in the Abbey of St. Germain des Prez, accompanied with a huge number of his friends.

Some

Some while after having caused it to be proclaimed about the City, That he would entertain * the People upon St. Andrews day; there came above Ten thousand Men to the Tilting-place, which was between the Abbey of St. Germain and the Pré aux Clercs. He mounted the Scaffold, from whence the King was wont to behold Combats or Duels; and there with a most patheticall Eloquence, declared the injustice of his tedious Confinement; the tyrannical execution of his friends, the zeal he had for the good of the Nation; and above all, express'd his mighty affection for the defence of Paris, which was the capital City.

His flattering harangue tickled the People the more, by reason, that for some time they had met with nothing but severities. The next day he was received into the City: the Dauphin and he had an interview in an indifferent place. Le Coq Head of the Council, the Prevost des Marchands, nay, even the University, pressed the Dauphin to home to give him satisfaction, that he was fain to agree to all he pleased. However, when he would have gone into his Towns thinking to take possession, those that commanded there for the King, refused to deliver them up to him or his Commissioners.

Upon this refusal he begins the War anew. Had the English assisted him considerably, he would have over-turned the whole Kingdom; but having dropt an expression in his speech to the People, That he had more right to the Crown of France, then those that disputed for it, they lent him no more assistance then to enable him to draw the War to a great length, that so each party weakening and tiring the other, might both of them be forced to submit to that yoke the English designed to lay upon them.

That zeal the Prevost des Marchands had for the publique liberty, meeting with too great oppositions, degenerated (perhaps in despite of him) into a manifest and most pernicious faction. (The mark or distinction was a kind of a Hood party-colour'd, Red and Blue, which he bestow'd for New-years-Gifts upon the People of Paris. Who being divided and wavering in their Affections, applauded sometimes the Dauphin, who made Speeches in publique to them * then straightway wheel'd about) to their Magistrate, whom they judged to be honest in his designs, and anon they became indifferent to either.

For the third time the Estates were called together at Paris, the Dauphin designing to make himself Master of them, drew some Forces about the Town; the Navarrais had some likewise who kept the Field. This troublesome neighbourhood did greatly incommode the City of Paris and all that lay neer it; Marcel cast the fault upon the Dauphin, and he discharged himself and laid it on the Navarrais.

Upon this brangle a Partisan of Marcells, named Perrin Macé, a Changer belonging to the Treasury, Murthered John Baillet Treasurer of France, and the Deed being done, retired into the Church St. James de la Boucherie. The Dauphin commanded the Marechal de Clermont, John de Chabans, Seneschal of Champagne, and the Prevost of Paris, to drag him thence by force and put him into the hands of Justice. They haled him out, and the Prevost of Paris caused his Hand to be cut off, and sent him to the Gibbet.

The Churches were then inviolable Sanctuaries, the Clergy and People grew into heats, because they had pluck'd a Criminal from the feet of the Altar; and the Bishop of Paris Excommunicated those that had committed this attempt. After this, Marcel having armed Three thousand Trades-men, who all wore those party-colour'd Hoods, entred into the Palace where the Dauphin Lodged, and caused those three Lords to be murder'd in his presence. This was not all, he compell'd him to own the Fact in an Assembly of the Estates, which was held at the Augustins, and in Parliament; to suffer the Navarrais to return to the City; and to give him Lands and great satisfaction for damages; notwithstanding the other Cities refused to joyn with Paris in any thing, otherwise then for the Kings service.

After the Navarrais had remained for some time in Paris, and thought he had well secur'd himself of them; going forth again to give some Order, touching his Affairs; he was no sooner out of Town, when the Dauphin, to lose no time, caused himself to be declared Regent by the Parliament. After that, all Acts were passed in his name, without any mention of the Kings; the little Seal du Chatelet which they used in his absence was laid aside, and they had a great Seal made purposely for the Regency.

He would be no longer at the mercy of the Parisians nor the general Estates, he found it better to hold with particular ones; those of Champagne at Vertus, and

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* Make a Speech or Harangue to them.

1358.

1358.

* A thing much used in this age.

1358.

1358.

and those of Picardy at Compiègne, consented to some Contributions. The Parisians offended that they were despised, endeavoured to seize upon the Posts about their City; not being able to effect it, they proceeded to enclose it with Walls from that part where the Bastille is, even to the Wooden Tower near the Louvre, filled up all their Gates towards the University, excepting that called St. James's, and from that Gate to that de Nesle, caused Ditches to be made before the Walls; for till this time they had not any.

1358. During this Anarchy, the Nobility and other Men of the Sword, exercised all manner of violence upon the poor Country people. Those unfortunate wretches beaten, plundered, hunted like savage Beasts, having for the most part no other places of retreat, but Woods, Caves, and Boggs, did like those hunted Beasts, who being at the last gasp, fly at the Greyhounds throats; they muster'd together in great companies, and were resolv'd to destroy all the Gentry.

* Or James
the Good man.

This fury was begun in Beauvoisis, and for their chief Leader they took one named Caillet a Peasant. They called it *La Jacquerie*, because the Gentlemen when they pillaged the Peasant, called him in railery * *Jacques bon homme*. Had the Citizens joyned with these Rustiques, there had been an end of the Nobility and Monarchique Government, as well as in *Switzerland*; but not one of them open'd their Gates for fear of being ranack'd; they attempted divers to no purpose, destroyed all the little Castles in the Country, amongst the rest that of *Beaumont upon Oyse*, and made themselves masters of *Senlis*; but besides all this, they committed so many more then brutish cruelties, that the Nobility of all parties, *French, English, and Navarrais*, rallied themselves unanimously against them. The King of *Navarre* defeated *Caillets* crew, who being taken was beheaded. The Dauphin cut off more then Twenty thousand, and so this insurrection was quashed on a suddain.

* The Market.

* Marché.

In the time the Dauphin was gone towards *Senlis*, having left the Earl of *Foix* in that part of the City of *Meaux*, named *le Marche**; the Parisians who were much concerned to secure that Key of the *Marne*, sent out some Forces under the command of a Grocer to seize upon it. The Mayor of *Meaux* open'd the Gates to them; but as they were attacking the * Market, the Earl sallied out with Horse and Foot, and cut them all off. The Grocer was slain, the City sacked and burnt, the Mayor and some of the Citizens beheaded.

1358.

Against his promise made to the Dauphin, the *Navarrais* drew near to *Paris*, and having confer'd with *Marcel* at *St. Ovin*, entered the City, and harangued the People, who declared him their General: but the Nobility affronted to see him carress them less then he did the Citizens, forsook him, and in an Assembly which was held at *Compiègne*, promised the Dauphin all their assistance for the besieging of *Paris*. The Factious party having notice of it, engaged the University to go and beg their pardon of that Prince, offering such satisfaction as he pleased, saving their Lives and Honours; to which not condescending, unless they would deliver up to him Twelve of the principal Mutineers: they united themselves together again, as firmly as ever they possibly could, and stuck close to the King of *Navarre*.

1358.

The Dauphins friends having gotten some credit amongst the People of *Paris*, insinuated a jealousy into their minds, for that the King of *Navarre* had brought some *English* thither; they massacred a great many of those strangers; *Marcel* to save the remainder, clapt them all in prison, then let them make their escapes: they retired to *St. Denis*, from whence they cruelly revenged the deaths of their compagnons, upon all those of *Paris* that they could light upon. The People whatever the *Navarrais* could urge in his florid Speeches against it, forced both him and *Marcel* to lead them thither, that they might make a final end of them; but whether by the treachery of those two Commanders, or otherwise, the *English* drew them into an Ambuscade, and slew above Six hundred of them in the night as they were returning home all in disorder.

1358.

This bloody check redoubled their suspicions, and the Peoples out-cries; *Marcel* and his associates fearing to be at length deliver'd up to the Dauphin, conspired to deliver up the City rather to the *Navarrais*, by letting him one night into the *Bastille*. But as the Dauphins friends had their Eyes and Ears in every corner, one *John Maillard*, and one *Pepin des Essards* who were the Chiefs, contrived their business so well, that having got their friends together, just at the nick of time as *Marcel* was to put his plot in execution, they kill'd both him and all those that accompany'd him before he could get the Gates open.

His

His Corps were dragg'd thorough the Streets, and his death attended with the Massacre, the execution, and the banishment of many of his friends; amongst others, *Ronsac* the Sheriff, *Joffrand* the King of *Navarre's* Treasurer, and *Caillard* who had delivered up the Castle of the *Louvre*, all which lost their Heads in the place of Execution, called the *Greeve*. After this the face of Affairs was wholly changed, the party-colour'd Hoods were thrown into the Fire, and the Dauphin returned to *Paris* the Twenty fourth day of *August*.

1358.

But the *Navarrais* fretted beyond all patience for the death of his Friends and his Officers, protested he would never have peace with the Princes of the House of *Valois*, nor did he any longer own them for Sovereigns.

1358.

In this heat he got his Forces together from every quarter, sent to besiege the Dauphin, block'd up *Paris* both by Land and Water, and called to his assistance the Captal de *Buch*, and *Robert Knolles* an *English* Captain.

This Man notwithstanding the Truce, made horrible depredations every where, particularly in *Anxerrois*, and in *Champagne*. Now having been forced away from before *Troyes* by the Count de *Vaudemont*, he came and joyned with the *Navarrais*, in hopes to plunder *Paris*. It was at this time they burnt the City of *Montmorency*, which was none of the least, as may be guess'd by its ruins; while in the mean time, *Philip de Navarre* ran about *Picardy*, and made several attempts upon many Cities, which all miscarried.

1359.

The Dauphin durst not stir out of *Paris*, for fear they should recall the *Navarrais*, who had yet good store of friends remaining amongst them. In the mean time, as he could settle nothing in order in no part, all *France* was left exposed to the plunderings of the licentious Soldiers, as well *French* as *English*. Now at the very hour that *Paris* was reduced to the extreamest want, and it was in the power of the *Navarrais*, and only depended upon him alone to give the mortal blow to *France*, his heart was changed in a moment, without any apparent cause, but an extraordinary favour of Heaven towards this Kingdom. Inasmuch as he made his agreement with the Dauphin, and referr'd almost all his pretensions to his own free Will, in despite of all the arguments and oppositions of his Brother, who quitted him and retired to the *English* at *Saint Sauveur le Vicomte*.

This Peace saved the City of *Paris*, but did not ease the neighbouring Provinces; * for those Garrison'd places that had held for the King of *Navarre*, declared for the *English*, that they might still have opportunities to plunder. The Lord *Aubericour* a *Hennuger*, ravaged *Champagne*, by means of certain Castles he held upon the *Marne*, and the *Seine*: *Broquard de Fennestranges* a Knight of *Lorraine*, drawn into the Service of *France*, with Five hundred adventurers, whom he had under his Pay, delivered the Country of him, having defeated and taken him prisoner in a great Fight near *Nogent*, upon the River *Seine*: but himself became a more severe scourge, burning and laying all waste, till the Dauphin could give him the Arrears due to his Soldiers.

1359.
The Isle of
France, Beausse
Normandy,
Picardy, &c.

"During all these Wars with the *English*, until *Charles VIII.* had driven them out of *France*, there were many of these Captains, whereof some paid their Men out of their own pockets, and then hired them out to those that would bid most; and others maintained theirs with the plunder they took indifferently on either side. These last were called Robbers; those that Commanded them were meer Soldiers of Fortune; when they were snapt they found no quarter.

There were Propositions of Peace perpetually on foot between the two Crowns, King *John*, though he had all manner of liberty, even for Hunting, and all pastimes and gallantries, was very weary of his imprisonment; nevertheless he referr'd those conditions the *English* propounded for his Release, to the Estates of his Kingdom. They being assembled at *Paris* for this purpose (it was in the Month of *May*) found them so hard, that all with one voice chose rather to have War, and offer'd very great sums to carry it on; but these could not be levied so soon.

1359.

The King of *England* nettled with their Reply, raised a formidable Army, tiered were Eleven hundred Vessels, and near an hundred thousand fighting Men, landed at *Calais* with his four Sons, who began to march, although the Season was very far spent. They let him keep the Field at his own pleasure; the Towns were so

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well

well provided that he could not take one, neither *St. Omers*, nor *Amiens*, nor *Reims*, where he thought to have been Crowned King of *France*, nor *Chaalons*. *Burgundy* redeemed themselves from plundering for Two hundred thousand Florins, and some Provisions for his Camp. *Nivernois* compounded likewise, *Brie* and *Gastinois* were ransacked.

About the latter end of *Lent* he came and encamped within Seven Leagues of *Paris*, between *Chartres* and *Montlebery*; and finding they made no one step towards the satisfying his demands, he plants himself just before the City Gates, with design to oblige the *French* to Speak or to Fight.

1360. After he had tarry'd there some time, without being able to gain either the one or the other, he turns back towards *Beaufort*, (resolved to refresh his Men along the River *Loire*, and in case of misfortune, retreat into *Bretagne*.)

Cardinal *Simon de Langres* the Popes Legat, and the Dauphins Deputies always follow'd his Camp, and solicited him eternally for a Peace. (One day he being encamped in the *Chartrain* Countrey, there arose a dreadful Storm, with so much Lightning and Thunder, and such a shower of great Hail, that it grievously maim'd a great many of his Men, and killed above a thousand of his Horses. He took this prodigy as a warning and command from Heaven; and turning himself towards our Lady's Church of *Chartres*, which was to be seen about five or six Leagues off, made a promise before the Almighty of concluding the Peace; besides, the Duke of *Lancaster*, with other *English* Lords, pressed him earnestly, because his Army was much shatter'd, and he had brought over almost all the force of *England*.

1360. The Deputies on either part met the First of *May*, at the Village called *Brignis*, within a mile of *Chartres*. In this place, Treating in the name of the two Kings eldest Sons; they concluded upon all the Articles in eight days time. "On the one side they gave the *English* King, besides what he had already, all "*Poitou*, *Saintongne*, *Rochel*, and the Countrey of *Aunis*, *Angoumois*, *Perigord*, *Limosin*, *Quercy*, *Agenois*, and *la Bigorre* in full Sovereignty, besides *Calais*, the Counties of *Oye*, *Guines*, and *Pontieu*; and three Millions in Gold for the Ransom, "payable at three several Terms, of King *John*; who should be brought to *Calais*, "and set at liberty after the restitution of those places fore-mentioned, and upon "giving up as Hostages his Three youngest Sons, his Brother *Philip*, and other "Princes of the Blood; and besides all these, Thirty more, as well Earls as Illustrious Knights, and two Deputies of each of the Nineteen Cities, whose Names "were expressly mention'd. On the other hand the King of *England* renounced the "Title of King of *France*, and generally all his other pretensions.

1360. And till the two Kings could ratify the Treaty, a Truce was agreed upon for a year. In the Month of *July* King *John* was brought over to *Calais*, where he was immediately visited by his Children, and staid there till the Five and Twentieth of *October*, when King *Edward* coming thither, both of them swore to the agreement of Peace very solemnly.

1360. That between the King of *England* and the Earl of *Flanders*, and another between the King of *Navarre* and King *John*, were made up in the same place, and this last sworn by the two *Philips*, Brothers of those two Kings; the Treaties were confirmed by the Holy Father, under the penalty of Ecclesiastical censures, against those as should first contravene.

King *John* being freed from Captivity the Four and twentieth of *October*, which he had now undergone four years and one Month, went to give Thanks to God at the Church of *St. Denis* in *France*. There he received the King of *Navarre* into Favour, who came and Saluted him. The Thirteenth of *December* he made his entrance into *Paris*, and the City testified their joy by a Present of Plate of a Thousand Marks.

1361. The extream necessity he was in for Money to pay his Ransom, made his generous courage stoop to a weakness, judged to be more prejudicial to the Honour of the Noble House of *France*, then even the Treaty of *Brignis* it self; which was the selling his Daughter to *John* Viscount of *Milan*, for Six hundred thousand Gold Crowns in Marriage with his Son *Galeas*.

Although the Crown of *France* and its Sovereignty came to the Eldest wholly, and was not to be divided amongst the younger Brothers; yet they assigned a share of

of Lands to them, which was entirely theirs, which descended to the Daughters as well as to the Sons, and which they might dispose of as properly their own. Now the King to keep the Body of his Kingdom in more strength, and not suffer his great Provinces hereafter to be as it were dismembred by such partage, or by any Treaty, united inseparably to the Crown, the Dutchy of *Normandy* and *Burgundy*, and the Earldoms of *Toulouze* and *Champagne*, by Writings made at the Castle of the *Louvre* in the Month of *November*, in the year 1361.

1361.

In the foregoing *Easter* Holy-days, Death had snatched away the young *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, and in him extinguished the first Branch of those Dukes, which had produced Twelve, and lasted 330 years. He left no Children, *Margaret* of *Flanders* his Wife, being as yet but Eleven years of age, and he but Fifteen. He was Grandson of Duke *Endes* IV. and Son of that *Philip* who was slain at the Siege of *Aiguillon*; and of *Jane* of *Boulogne*, who for Second Husband married King *John*, and died the last year.

1361.

The Lands belonging to this Prince which came by his Mother, returned to the Heirs of that Line, which were the County of *Artois* and the *Franche Comte*, to *Margaret*, Daughter of *Philip* the Long, and the Countess *Mahaut*, and Wife of *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*, by consequence, Grandfather of the Wife this young Duke *Philip* had Married. *Boulougne* and *Auvergne* went to the House of *Boulougne*: as for the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the *Navarrois* challeng'd it, as being the Son of *Jane*, Daughter of Queen *Margaret*, who was the Wife of King *Lewis* Hutin, and eldest Daughter of Duke *Robert*, Father of *Endes* IV. Duke of *Burgundy*: but the King laid his hand upon it, as being, said he, nearer of kindred by one degree, being Son of the Second Daughter of Duke *Robert*, whereas the King of *Navarre* was but Grandson of the eldest.

1361.

Some will say that he did not understand his Rights well, and that he should have reaped this Dutchy as he was Sovereign, and have maintain'd that *Burgundy* was a Masculine Fief, which reverted to him for want of Heirs-Males.

The Soldiers of all the parties did not evacuate the places without a great deal of trouble, and committed the same depredations and Robberies as during the War. The *Gascons* and the *Bretons* rambled all over *Anjou*, *Poitou*, and *Tourain* for pillage and plunder; and those Bands that were named the *Tard-Venus*, or *Late-Comers*, led by some *Gascons*; having in the same manner treated *Champagne*, *Burgundy*, *Masconnis* and *Lyonnois*, in a Battle at *Brignais* near *Lyon*, defeated *James* de *Bourbon* Count de *la Marche*, whom the King had given Orders to chastise them for their Thefts: after that they divided themselves into two parties, whereof one was hired for Money to go into *Italy* by the Marquis de *Montferrat*, who was in War with the Viscounts of *Milan*; the others fastned on *Masconnois*, and never let go their hold till they were fully gorged like blood-sucking Leeches.

1361.

Those that levy'd the Taxes and Gabelles, tormented the People no whit less then the other Robbers. The burthen and grievance was so great, that infinite numbers of Families quitted *France*, and sought elsewhere for a more easie livelihood and subjection.

1361. and 62.

Such as did know how to secure themselves from all these miseries, did not know where to find an Asylum against the Pestilence, which for seven or eight years growing worse and worse upon divers returns, seized indifferently upon all sorts of People, both in City and Countreys. There fell by it this year nine Cardinals, and Seventy Prelats in the Popes Court, and above Thirty thousand People in *Paris*. The *Jews* were recalled into *France* for the fifth time; another plague added to the Imposts, the Pestilence and Famine.

1362.

It was the Right, or to speak properly, a practise suffer'd time out of mind amongst the *French*, that they might make War one upon another for their particular quarrels: the King forbid it among all his Subjects, till all the enemies were quite out of the Kingdom. He afterwards added to this Order, a prohibition of all Duels, Challenges, &c. as well during the Peace as in time of War.

Notwithstanding his defence, he durst not take notice of the cruel War that was renew'd between the Earls de *Foix* and d' *Armagnac*, because he feared it might offend the King of *England*, to whom they were Vassals for those Lands in contest between them.

We had omitted to take notice before, how the difference for the Succession of *Gaston* de *Bearn*, had given birth to this bloody War between these two Houses. That *Gaston* who died Anno 1289. had by *Mate* * Countess of *Bigorre* four Daughters, * *Tis Armata*, *Constance*,

Constance, who married *William* the Son of *Richard* of *England*, King of *Germany*, from whom there came no Children; *Margaret* who was the Wife of *Roger Bernard* Earl of *Foix*, Mate of *Gerard* Count d' *Armagnac*, and of *Fezenzac*, and *Guillemeite* of *Don Pedro*, Son of *Don Pedro* King of *Aragon*, and Brother to *James II.* That the first and the last left no Children behind them; that *Gaston* their Father, by his Testament made them all sharers of the Lands he had in *France*, as well as those in *Catalania*; and that in case the first dyed without Children, he then gave *Bearn* to the Second, who was Countess of *Foix*.

Neither had we observed how *Mate*, Countess of *Armagnac*, finding her self wronged by this Testament, had refused to approve thereof. That in *Anno 1294.* *Bernard* her Son (for her Husband *Gerard* was dead) accused the Count de *Foix* of having falsified it, and called him to try it in Combat or Duel in the Court of King *Philip the Fair*. That by Decree of Parliament; in the year 1295. the two parties were admitted to Combat in the City of *Gisors*: but when they were come into the Field, the King caused them to be put out again, and annul'd the Duel, by taking upon him to let them know, That this private feud should surcease according to the Law, or Rights of the Kingdom, during the publique War between the *French* and the *English*; That the same King in the journey he made to *Languedoc*, *Anno 1303.* finding he could not bring the parties to an amicable composition, made a Decree to settle and regulate their pretensions; to which *Margaret* Countess de *Foix* (her Husband being deceased) would not obey. That the death of *Guillemeite*, the youngest of the four Sisters, occasioned new debates; and that *Philip* King of *Navarre* endeavour'd to determine them, *Anno 1229.* by a Sentence of Arbitration. But nothing could quench the irreconcilable animosities of these two Houses; nor prevent their seeking all opportunities to destroy each other, as they did this year 1362. and the following.

Whilst they were labouring, but not effectually enough to have the Garrisons vacated; King *John* took a fancy to go to *Avignon* and visit Pope *Innocent*, with design, as was believed, to endeavour a Marriage with *Jane* * Queen of *Naples*, the second time a Widow, defamed indeed for her ill life; but who would have brought him in Dower the Counties of *Provence* and *Piedmont*: being on his way, he heard of the death of *Innocent*, but he went forwards, and on the eighth day of *October*, assisted at the Coronation of *William Grimonard*, a Native of *Montferrat*, who was chosen out of the Sacred Colledge, being but a simple Abbot. They named him *Urban V.*

Whilst he staid at *Avignon*, the Holy Father Preaching for a new adventure to the Holy Land, he accepted of the Command of Generalissimo in the Expedition. The two Kings *Peter* of *Cyprus*, and *Woldemar III.* of *Denmark*, took the badge of the Cross for the same purpose in the same place. But the affairs of *France* not suiting very well with this Enterprize, was so far from being put in execution, that it was not so much as approved of, or countenanc'd.

At his return he took possession of the Duchy of *Burgundy*; but whilst he was yet in that Countrey, the *Burgundians* did so positively make him understand that they could not live without a Prince that was Resident amongst them, that he revoked and null'd the re-union he had made of this Duchy to the Crown, and yielded and bestowed it upon *Philip* his youngest Son, who had deserved the Name of *Hardy* at the Battle of *Poitiers*, To hold it for him and his Heirs begotten in lawful Marriage.

About the end of this year 1363. King *John* Embarked at *Boulogne*, and went again into *England*: the occasion of his voyage, was not his love towards a Lady, with whom he had familiarity when he was formerly there: but upon notice that the Duke of *Anjou* his second Son, and one of his Hostages had escaped out of *England*, this generous King would repair the Honour of that young Prince, and demonstrate, that he had no hand in that juvenile act; as likewise to dispose, if it were possible, King *Edward* to the expedition of the Holy War.

Charles the Dauphin, Regent for the Second time.

His eldest Son to whom he had left the Regency, found himself presently attacked by his Cousin the King of *Navarre*, upon the pretensions he had to the Duchy of *Burgundy*. This Prince having rashly sent him defiance before he had any Army ready to justify it, lost the Cities of *Mames* and *Meulan*, which were taken by *Bertrand du Guesclin*, whose valour was already raised much above the common standard.

In *England* King *John* having had many Conferences with King *Edward*, when he hoped to have dispatched all his Affairs: was surprized about mid-*March*, with a distemper which ended his days the eighth of *April*. He died in the *Savoy* without the Walls of *London*, after he had lived Two and fifty years, and held the Scepter Thirteen years and eight Months. His Son the Duke of *Berry*, the Dukes *Philip* of *Orleans*, and *Lewis II.* of *Bourbon*, and *John* of *Artois* Earl of *Eu*, all Princes of the Blood heard his last Sighs, and closed his Eyes. The King of *England* made him a magnificent Funeral, worthy the grandeur of that King, and becoming his own generosity. His Corps was brought back into *France*, and interred at *St. Denis* upon the seventh day of *May*.

He was esteemed to be the bravest, and the most liberal Prince of his time; but the same root which produced these virtues, did likewise bring forth Pride, and the scorn to follow any other Counsel but that of his own Brain, attended with prodigality, precipitation, and that violence which exposed his own Kingdom to pillage and plunder, and his own Person to the mercy of his enemies.

But we must not deny him two great advantages or perfections he had above other Princes, that he was frank and sincere, and did most inviolably keep his word: nor forget that heroick saying, attributed to him; *That if Faith and Truth should be banished from all the rest of the world, yet they ought to be found in the mouths of Kings.*

He married two Wives who were named *Jane*, the First, Daughter of *John* King of *Bohemia*, in *Anno 1332.* and the Second of *William* Earl of *Boulougue*, and Widow of *Philip* of *Burgundy* Earl of *Artois*, in *Anno 1349.* By the First he had four Sons and four Daughters; the four Sons were *Charles*, who succeeded to the Crown; *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, and Earl of *Mayne*; *John* Duke of *Berry* and *Auvergne*, and Earl of *Poitou*; *Philip* first Duke of *Toursaine*, then of *Burgundy*. The Daughters were named *Mary*, *Jane*, *Isabel*, *Margaret*: the first married *Robert*, eldest Son of *Henry* Duke of *Bar*, the second *Charles* the Bad, King of *Navarre*; the third *John Galeaz* Viscount, First Duke of *Milan*; the fourth devoted her self to *JESUS CHRIST* in the Monastery of *Poissy*. By his Second Wife he had two Daughters that attained not to the ripeness of Marriage.

1362.
* Or *Jane*,
the same
Name in ef-
fect.

1363.

1364.

Charles V. called the VVise,
and the Eloquent, King of France, LI.
Aged about XXVI years.

P O P E S,

URBAN V. Seven years Four
Months under this Reign.

GREGORY XI. Elected the
Thirtieth of December 1370. S.
Seven years three Months.

Schisme.

URBAN VI. Elected the Eighth
of April, in the year 1378. S. at

Rome II. years, six Months, six
Days, whereof two years and above
five Months under this Reign.

And

CLEMENT VII. Elected the
Twenty first of September, S. in
Avignon, Twenty six years, where-
of Two years under this Reign.

Emp.
John Paleolo-
gus, and
Charles IV.
1364.

THe prosperous Conduct of this King is the noblest proof we meet with throughout all the History of France; that the weightiest Affairs are managed better by skill and judgment than by force, and that success in Battle is oftner the effect of the judicious Orders and Contrivances in the Closet, than the valour of those that fight them.

His Coronation was performed at Reims the Nineteenth of May. It is to be observed that Wenceslaus of Luxemburg Duke of Brabant his maternal Uncle, John Duke of Lorraine, and Robert Duke of Bar, though Strangers and Vassals of the Empire, did the Office of Pairs there, the First representing the Duke of Normandy, the Second the Earl of Champagne, the Third the Earl of Toulouse. The Duke of Burgundy and the Earl of Flanders held their natural places, and Lewis Duke of Anjou, that of the Duke of Guyenne.

They had just reason to say, that never King armed himself so little, and yet did so many brave exploits in War as this same; It seemed as if Wisdom had tyed Fortune to his Service. From the beginning he made it appear that the French could beat the English, who had always beaten them in the preceding Reigns. The Navarrais and Montfort not having been comprehended in the Treaty of Bretigny, their people continued the War, and the English Forces and the French took part with them. John de Grailly Captal de Buch, who was come to the aid of the Navarrais, took the Command of all their Forces. The French Officers being met to fight him, found him near the place called Cocherel, and de la Croix St. Leufroy, between Evreux and Vernon. Bertrand de Guesclin, on whom he had conferr'd the Command, upon refusal of the young Count d'Auxerre, behaved himself so well with his companions, that Captals Men were beaten out of their advantageous Post, and he taken prisoner. The King thinking to get him on his side, released him a while after: but he was rather desirous to retaliate his defeat than that obligation.

During

During these Occurrences, Philip of Navarre hapning to dye, Lewis his young Brother got the Forces of that Party together, and fell upon Bourbonnois, and the lower Auvergne, where he rifled several Castles. Nay, some of his Men surprized la Charite upon the Loire, a place very important for the passage it gave; from thence he made a cruel War upon the Countries on this side, whilst on the other hand the Count Montbeliard was fallen upon Burgundy, to serve the House of Navarre, who pretended that Dutchy appertained to them. But Philip of France, to whom King Charles had confirmed the Grant, was order'd to go and defend his Country, and to quit la Beauffe, from whence he had resolved to expel the Robbers, and had already cleared four or five small Castles by turning them out of their Kennels.

He carried the War therefore into Montbeliard, and compell'd the Earl to go out of Burgundy. Then laid his Siege before la Charite. Lewis d'Evreux not finding himself strong enough to make him raise it, retreated with his Forces to Cherbourg in Normandy. The Besieged surrendred upon Composition; which the Duke agreed to by the Kings order, that he might be able to send help to Charles de Blois his Cousin, who was engaged with John de Montfort for the Dutchy of Bretagne.

The Battle d'Auray decided the Controversy between these Contenders. John de Montfort had besieged that place with the assistance of the English led by John Chandois, that Kings Lieutenant in Guyenne; Charles de Blois undertakes to relieve it, back'd by the French Forces commanded by the Count d'Auxerre, and Bertrand du Guesclin. The Armies came to an engagement the Nine and twentieth of September, the Feast-day of St. Michael. The Fight was obstinate and bloody to extremity, in the conclusion Charles lost the day, the Dutchy and his Life. For the Lords of Bretagne had agreed amongst themselves, that to put a period to that tedious Quarrel, they would certainly kill that Chief of the two that was vanquished.

The Children of Charles de Blois were still Prisoners in England, and his Widow had more of Pride than Wisdom and good Conduct. The Duke of Anjou her Son-in-Law would willingly have assisted her with all his power: but the Council of France did not think it fit to drive that business too far, least Montfort should turn Honiager to the English. They therefore made a Peace with him by the Treaty at Guerrande. The Dutchy was left to him, upon condition of paying his Devoirs to the King of France. The Title of Dutcheß to the Widow of Charles during her life; and for all her Posterity, the right of being restored upon want of Heirs descended from Montfort. Moreover she had the County of Ponticure and divers other Lands, with Forty thousand Livers of Rent, for her self alone, to be raised upon the whole Dutchy.

"Although the Holy War had been interrupted by the death of King John, nevertheless Peter King of Cyprus, having collected some assistance of Moneys from the Christian Princes, and gathered up here and there some numbers of Adventurers, together with the Knights of St. John; went and landed in Egypt, where he valiantly forced a part of the great City of Alexandria, and might have brought it all under his power, if those that went with him, having more regard to their Plunder than their Honour, had not returned on board their Vessels with the Spoil.

"With the like Valour and more Perseverance, Ame VI. Earl of Savoy carried his Forces against Amurat Sultan of the Turks and the King of Bulgaria, who would needs dispossess John Paleologus, his near Kinsman, of the Grecian Empire, the Bulgarian holding him already a Prisoner. Ame having taken the City of Calipolis in the Thracian Chersonese by Storm from the Turks, entred Bulgaria, and upon the taking of divers places, forced that King to release the Emperor; into whose hands he also put the City of Calipolis: but the Greeks lost it again immediately afterwards, so much was their Valour declined as well as their Empire.

"The Emperor Charles IV. had much more fancy to design vast Undertakings, than Understanding or Means to put them in execution. He pleased himself with the empty pride and vain-glory of pompous Ceremonies, because he could not attain to those things that were truly real and solid; And as his small Revenues and his great Expences still kept him in a necessitous Condition, when he began any considerable Enterprize it was but only with intent to have Money given him. This year 1365. he visited the Pope in Avignon to make a League with the Holy Father and the other Princes of Italy, against Barnaby Viscount of Milan. He was at Ma's Celebrated by the Pope himself on the day of Pentecost in his Imperial Habit, and

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"then went and was Crowned King of *Arles* in the City of the same name. Then "returned again to *Avignon*, where he obtained permission of the Pope to levy the "Tenth upon all the Clergy of *Germany* and *Bohemia* for the Expences of that War, "which he never made.

1363. *Guesclin*, who had been taken at the Battle of *Auvray*, was set free upon Ransom, and *Oliver de Clifton*, who was of *Montfort's* Party, allured to the Kings service. In the Month of *December* *Montfort* came to *Paris* and did Homage, first for his Dutchy, but only by word of Mouth and without any Oath, then for the County of *Montfort*, ungirt, and on his Knees, and both his hands joyned together between the hands of the King his Sovereign Lord.

1365. This year we met again with some Troops of those revolted Peasants of the *Jacquerie*, who being re-inforc'd and joyned with some Companies of Plunderers, went even into *Alsatia*, from whence they were hunted out, and most of them destroy'd by the Emperor *Charles IV.* and the other Princes of *Germany*.

1365. The Forces belonging to the *Navarrois* continued their Incursions in *Normandy*, it was believed they might be drawn from thence by a Diversion towards *Navarre*; A League was therefore made with the King of *Arragon* his Capital Enemy, who immediately fell with an Army into that Kingdom. The *Navarrois* had the more apprehension, because he knew that *France* was necessarily obliged to joyn with that Prince, the King of *England* having made a League with *Peter* King of *Castille*, an Eternal Enemy to the *Arragonians*. Wherefore *Capit de Buch* and the rest of his Friends applied themselves with so much zeal, that they made his peace with the King. By this Treaty he renounced all his rights to *Champagne* and to *Burgundy*, upon condition he should have the Lordship of *Montpellier* in *Languedoc*, which was given him.

1365. "The Habits of Men of Quality, and honest People dwelling in Cities, was a "long Gown, and a Hood almost of the same fashion as the Monks; sometimes "they threw these back upon their Shoulders, and made use of a Cap or Bonnet for "their Heads. Now luxury and folly had shortned their long Robe so much, that "their Thighs and the whole motions of their Bodies from their Reins, was plainly "seen. They had likewise brought in use a certain sort of Shoes, the Toes whereof "were turned up with a long neck, (they named them *Poulaines*) and at their Heels a "kind of Spurs. The King by his Edicts banished these ridiculous Modes after "the example of his Holiness, who but a while before had by his Bulls condemned "the dissoluteness of Apparel both in the one and the other Sex.

1365. *France* could not rid her self of those droves of Robbers that knawed her to the very bones. The *English* tolerated them that they might have their help upon occasion, and there were not Forces enough besides to suppress them; *Guesclin* found out a way to carry them all off into *Spain* upon this occasion.

Alphonso XI. King of *Castille* had had by his lawful Wife a Son named *Peter*, who succeeded him, and by a Mistress five Natural Sons, the eldest of whom was called *Henry*, and was Earl of *Tristemare*. This *Peter* was rightly surnamed the *Cruel*, and the *Wicked*, for he shewed himself more a friend to the Alcoran than to the Gospel, having alliance and amity with the *Moorish* Kings. He overturned all the Laws, and committed all the Injustice and Cruelties that Tyrants can commit: He lived in publick Adultery with *Mary de Padilla*, and had in Anno 1361. caused his Wife *Blanch* to be poison'd, who was Daughter to *Peter* Duke of *Bourbon*, and Sister to the Queen of *France*, a Princess as vertuous as fair, after she had endured all the outrages imaginable for ten years together. He put the Lady to death that had been his Fathers Mistress, and shed the blood of the greatest in his Kingdom almost every day, nor did he spare his own Brothers, having Murthered *Frederic* one of the five, who was Grand Master of *St. James*, and often attempted against the lives of the other four. *Henry* being therefore prompted by a just Resentment for the death of his Brother and his Mother, and besides authoriz'd by the Law of Nature, which allowed him to defend his life, rose up against him with the greatest part of the Nation, Leagued himself with the *Arragonian*, and made War upon him for some time.

1365. His Cause in the beginning had not so much success as justice, he was overmatch'd and worsted by the Tyrant, and took shelter in *France*. The King gave him protection the more willingly, because it offer'd a fair occasion to employ his Soldiery.

It

It was thought fit for the better countenance of it, to let *John de Bourbon* Count de *la Marche* Cousin German to the late Queen *Blanch*, have the chief Command in appearance: but for their true Conductor *Bertrand du Guesclin* who was delivered out of the hands of *Chandois*, the Pope, the King, and *Don Henry* having paid down his Ransom.

With these Forces and great numbers of the Nobility Volunteers, even out of those Countries under the obedience of the *English*, the Count de *la Marche* and *Guesclin* carried *Henry* back into *Spain*. The Pope, fearing this Army might approach near *Avignon*, sent them Two hundred thousand Livers with Indulgences. The King of *Arragon* gave them passage, and the Dutchy of *Borgia* to *Guesclin*; and before they entred upon *Castille*, they regained all those places *Peter* had taken from him, and put them honestly again into his hands.

Upon the arrival and sight of *Henry*, all the Nobles of *Castille*, excepting one single Knight, abandoned the Tyrant; They all cry'd out, Long live King *Henry*, and open'd their Gates to him; in a word, he was Crowned at *Burgos* about the end of *March*. That done, he liberally rewarded with Estates in Lands all such as had follow'd him, and thinking himself secure upon the Tyrants flight, he discharged the most part of his Forces, who would have lain too heavy on his new Subjects, reserving only Fifteen hundred Lances with *Guesclin* and *Bernard* Bastard of the Count de *Foix*.

The Tyrant made his escape first towards *Portugal*: but the King of that Country having refused to allow him any retreat there, he got into *Galicia*, and from thence by Sea to *Bayonne* to implore the assistance of the Prince of *Wales*. The jealousy that Prince had for the fame of *du Guesclin*, made him give an ear to his supplications, he promised to restore him, and to act Personnally in the Employment. To this end he retains the *Gascon* Lords, and the same Companies that had served *du Guesclin*, who were disbanded by *Henry*: but the *Arragonian* keeping the passages shut and well guarded, they could not get to him but with a great deal of difficulty.

There was no other way but by *Navarre*; King *Charles* the Bad having made a League with either Party, found himself perplexed; In the end he leans towards the Tyrant, and gives him passage, and three hundred Lances. Whilst he was wavering betwixt both Parties, and endeavoured to delude them both, he was made Prisoner by *Oliver de Mauny* who held the Castle of *Borgia* upon that Frontier. It was imagin'd he had contriv'd it so himself, to keep his Faith with *Henry*: but *Oliver* treated him as a real Prisoner, and got a good Ransom from him.

When *Henry* knew that his Enemies had taken the City of *Navarrette*, he came to meet them, and instead of stopping their passage and hindring their having Provisions brought to them, which he might easily have done, being above three times more numerous then they: he gave them Battle. This was the Fourth of *April* between *Nagera* and *Navarrette*: but he lost it through the Cowardize of his Brother *Teilo*, who betook himself to flight upon the first Charge. *Guesclin* was made Prisoner with the Marechal d' *Endregben* and some other Captains. As for him, having fought very valiantly, and not giving over till the very last extremity, he then escaped into *Arragon*, then came to *France*, where he was received by *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou* Governor for the King in *Languedoc*.

The Prince of *Wales* gained mighty reputation amongst the Sons of *Mars*, for having Re-conquer'd *Spain* in one single Battle: but little Honour amongst the better sort, for having restor'd a Tyrant, and yet much less satisfaction or profit; For after the Tyrant had held him some Months in *Castille*, upon the promise of quickly sending him wherewith to pay his Men, a Sickness got into his Army; and he was forc'd to return again very ill satisfied, and withall very much indisposed in his Body.

After his departure the Tyrants rage redoubled by all sorts of terrible revenge. The *Castilians* finding they were treated more inhumanely then ever, recalled *Henry*: The Duke of *Anjou* and the Earl of *Foix* did frankly give him all the assistance they could; and *du Guesclin* and *Bernard de Bearn* newly set free upon Ransom raised Men for him.

In few words *Henry* besieged *Toledo*, the Tyrant attended with Three thousand Horse came to relieve it. When he was gotten near *Montiel*, a Village situate upon the Hills, which parts the Kingdom of *Valentia* from *New Castille*, *Henry* meets him, the Battle was fought the Fourteenth of *March* 1369. the Tyrants Forces ran away, and he saved himself in the Castle of *Montiel*.

There finding himself cooped up without any hopes of escaping, he adventures to come to *Guesclin* in his Tent, imagining by force of Presents to persuade him to let him slip away. *Henry* comes just at the same time thither, either by chance or otherwise, they fell to words, then laid hold upon each other, and tumbled on the ground. The Tyrant in the end was brought undermost and kill'd. The manner is not well agreed upon, nor whether it were done fairly: this hapned the Three and twentieth of *March* 1369. Thus the Kingdom of *Castille* remained to *Henry* and those descended from him, who hold it to this day.

The Widow of the Duke of *Burgundy*, Daughter of the Earl of *Flanders*, and the richest Heiress in Christendom, was earnestly Courted both by *France* and *England*. The Father designed her for *Edmond* one of the King of *England's* Sons: but the Grandmother *Margaret*, French both by Birth and Inclination, opposed that Match with all her power, and had a design to fortifie the House of *France*. She therefore pressed her Son with exceeding heat, even to the threatening to cut off her Breasts which had given him suck. This touched him to the heart, he bestowed his Daughter upon *Philip* the Hardy Duke of *Burgundy*: but the Nuptials were not completed till a year afterwards.

The Prince of *Wales* had brought nothing out of *Spain* but great Melancholy, a Mortal Indisposition, and no Money to pay off his Army. He therefore lays an unusual, but very small Impost upon *Guyenne*; The Lords his Vassals discontented with him, particularly the Lord d' *Albret*, advises the Tenants to make Complaint to them; Having received their Complaint, they carry it to the Prince, and made him some Remonstrances thereon. He rejects them in a very offensive manner. Whereupon they had recourse to the King of *France*, lately their lawful Sovereign: The King entertains them five or six Months in the same disposition and humour, waiting a proper juncture to declare his mind.

He was in the mean time putting every thing in order to that purpose, making sure of the *Gascon* Lords and *German* Princes with his Money, whereof either of them were very greedy, drew the Soldiery to his service with the same Bait, by the help of *Guesclin*, in whom they reposed great Confidence, and made up a Stock of Money by the imposition of Subsidies, which the Estates assembled at *Paris* did freely grant him, and which they raised with so much order and evenness, that the People were not at all oppress'd.

When he had warily taken all his Measures, and knew withal that the Prince of *Wales* grew daily more Hydropick, he granted his Letters of Appeal to the *Gascons*, the five principal of them being the Sire d' *Albret*, and the Earls of *Armagnac*, *Perigord*, *Cominges*, and *Carmain*. This was signified to the Prince personally by a Knight and a Clerk: but far from consenting to this Appeal, he haughtily reply'd, That he would make his appearance in the same manner as he had done at the Battle of *Poitiers*, and caused them to be taken upon their way back and kept Prisoners, charging them with the having rob'd their Host.

At the same time *Charles* amused King *Edward* with some Complaints which he sent to him, as if he would have brought things to a Negotiation. The King of *England* returned words for words, not thinking the effects were so near, or that the *French* durst undertake any thing whilst the Duke of *Berry* and the other Hostages were in *England*.

He thought himself absolute Sovereign in *Guyenne* by the Treaty of *Bretigny*: but as on his side he had not disbanded the Soldiers, and moreover had committed divers Hostilities, the King pretended that Treaty was nul and dissolved, and that therefore that Prince remained still a Vassal to the Crown. Upon this foot it was that he sent to declare a War against him; and afterwards his Parliament being assembled upon the *Ascension-Eve*, he sitting in his Seat of Justice, made a Decree, by which for Rebellion, Contempt and Disobedience they declared forfeit and confiscated all those Lands the King of *England* held in *France*.

If *Edwards* astonishment were great to find a Prince who was not a Man of his hands, thus dare denounce War against him who had won so many Battles: his displeasure was no less when he saw this Defiance brought him not by a Person of Quality, as the custom was, but by a simple Valet or Servant; When he understood that the Lord de *Chastillon*, and the Count de *Saint Pol* had seized upon *Abbeville* and the rest of the places in the County of *Pontieu*, which were unprovided; That the Barons of *Gascogne*, even before the declaration of War, had defeated his Seneschal of *Rovergne*; That the Dukes of *Berry* and *Anjou* had attacked *Guyenne*, one towards *Auvergne*, the other towards *Toulouse*; That his Son the Prince of *Wales* being swoln every day

more

* In these days Princesses Suckled their own Children.

1369.

1369.

more and more, could not act but by his Council; and that several Captains and Companies took Service under the *French*.

In the interim, till he could raise greater Forces, he sent him Five hundred Lances, and One thousand Cross-bow-men under the Command of *Edmond* Earl of *Cambridge*, afterwards Duke of *York*, his fourth Son, and the Earl of *Pembroke* his Son-in-Law, who went on shoar at *St. Malo's*, and cross'd over *Bretagne*; on the other hand *Blue de Caurelee* brought him Two thousand Men of those he had in *Spain*, and then came about twice as many from such as held places in *Normandy* and *Mayne*, which they sold to go and joyn with him. The four bravest Captains he had about him were the above-named *Caurelee*, *Enstace d' Auberticour* a *Hennuyer*, *John Chandoin* Seneschal of *Poitou*, *Thomas Piercy* Seneschal of *Rochel*, and *Robert Knolles*, all *English*. To the last of these four he gave the Command of his Forces.

* Of Hay-nault.

To the force of Arms the Wise King joyned the power of Religion and Eloquence, which can do all things on the hearts of the People. He ordered Fasts and Processions to be made over all his Kingdom, and sometimes he went himself barefooted with the rest; When at the same time the Preachers made out his Right and Title, with the justice of his Cause, and the injustice of the *English*. Which had two ends; the one to bring back again those *French* Provinces which had been yielded by the Treaty of *Bretigny*; the other to make those that were under him willing to suffer the Contributions and all other inconveniencies of War. The Archbishop of *Toulouse* alone, by his Persuasions and Intrigues, regained above fifty Cities or Castles in *Guyenne*, amongst others that of *Cabors*. The King of *England* would have practised the same methods on his part, and sent an Amnesty or general Pardon to the *Gascons*, with an Oath upon the Sacred Body of *Jesus Christ*, to raise no more new Imposts; but all this could not reclaim those minds that had bent themselves another way.

Divers incursions were made by the *French* into *Guyenne* and *Poitou*, and by the *English* into the Neighbouring Countries, and in one of them these last took *Isabella de Valois* the Widow Dutcheff of *Bourbon*, and Mother to the Queen of *France*, at her Castle of *Bellepeche* in *Bourbennois*. She was afterwards exchanged for the Prince of *Wales* his Knight.

The Earls of *Cambridge* and *Pembroke* marched even to *Anjou*, and there took the strong Castle de la *Roche-sur-Yon*, from whence they scowred all the Country; as they likewise did that of *Berry*, having gained the City of *St. Severe*, which is situate in *Limosin* upon that Frontier. But on their side they suffer'd more loss by far then all this came to, the most considerable being that of *Chandoin*, who was unfortunately slain in a Rencontre near the Bridge of *Leusac* in *Poitou*.

Besides the ordinary Troops which they called Companies, the Lords and Gentlemen often came together, and of their own accord drew themselves into a Body for some great Enterprize, or else to make Incursion; then after such a Riding*, so they then called it, they returned back to their own homes again.

King *Charles* had undertaken to raise an Army that should land some Forces in *England*, his Brother *Philip* was to Command it, and they were to take Shipping at *Havfleur*. When he was ready to go on board the Vessels, the news was brought him, that *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, King *Edwards* third Son, was landed at *Calais*, and made inroads upon the *French* Country. He was advised to quit his design, and turn his force that way. *Lancaster* seeing him in the Field, posted himself upon the Hill de *Tournehan*, between *Ardres* and *Guifnes*. *Philip* encamps right against him, as either to attaque or surround him, but before he had been long there, grew weary, and disbanded his Men. Thus *Lancaster* had leisure and opportunity to over-run the Country of *Caux*, even to *Havfleur*, and at his return the Country of *Pontieu*; where he took Prisoner *Hugh de Chastillon*, Master of the Cross-bow-men, who had seized upon that Country in the name of the King.

At the same time the Dukes of *Guelders* and *Juliers*, moved by the Charms of *English* *Stirling* Coyne, sent to besiege the King, who soon set up the Duke of *Brabant* and the Count de *Saint Pol* to coap with them, as taking fire upon some particular Interest.

There hapned a furious Battle between both Parties at *Bieswilder*, betwixt the *Rhine* and the *Meuse*, which brought those Princes very low; On the one side the Duke of *Juliers* was slain, on the other the Duke of *Brabant* was taken Prisoner. The Emperor his Brother released him, and made up the Quarrel.

* Cheutehee admits of many interpretations, but this is the most proper in this place.

The

1369.

The Estates being Assembled the Seventh of December, granted to the King an Imposition of a Sol or Penny per Liver upon Salt, of four Livers upon every Chimney in the Cities, and thirty Sols in the Country : as likewise upon the sale of Wine in the Country, the 13th in Gross, and the 4th upon Retail, and upon entry at Paris, fifteen Sols for every Pipe of French Wine, and twenty four per Pipe for Burgundy Wine : To which the Cities joyfully consented, as knowing these Levies would be well managed, and cease again with the War.

1369.

The same year 1369. Hugh Aubriot, Prevost des Merchands, caused the Towers of the Bastille to be built near the Gate St. Antoine, the same as we find them at this day.

1370.

The first years War had not produced any very considerable event : the two Kings prepared themselves with all their might to perform greater matters the second. All the four Brothers of France having held Council together, resolved that the Duke of Anjou, and the Duke of Berry should attack Guyenne, that the former should enter about Toulouze, in that part that lieth betwixt the two Seas, the other about Berry in Limosin, and that they should both joyn at Limoges to besiege the Prince of Wales there.

1370.
* King Charles
had also given
him the Earldom of
Lons-
gueville.

To this effect they thought fit to recal du Guesclin out of Spain, where King Henry had bestow'd upon him the Earldom of Molines and the Lands of Soria*. He came upon the Kings first commands, and having joyned the Duke of Anjou, took, as he was upon his march, the Towns of Moissac, Tonneins, Aiguillon, and other Castles less considerable along the Garonne. On his part the Duke of Berry made himself Master of Limoges, more by his Intelligence with the Citizens, and the Bishop, who betrayed the Prince of Wales, though his Gossip and very good Friend, then by his Sword. After this the two Brothers, knowing that the Prince, too Politick to suffer himself to be cooped up, had taken the Field, discharged their Soldiers.

1370.

The King of England on his part had sent the Duke of Lancaster with some Companies of Men at Arms, and Archers into Guyenne, and given the Command of all his Army about Picardy to Robert Knolls. It consisted of above Thirty thousand Men. His march struck a terror through all France, even to the Loire ; for they sacked Vermandois, Champagne, and la Brie, burnt all round about Paris, made the sound of their Trumpets echo in the very Gates of the Louvre, while neither the smok of those Incendiaries, nor the noise of their Martial Musick could move the wise King to hazard any thing, nor let one Soldier go out to the Enemy.

1370.

Du Guesclin was almost the only Man who was capable of revenging him for all these Affronts : to this end the second day of October, he puts the Sword of High Constable into his hands, which Moreau de Fierres, too much broken with age and toil, could bear no longer, but gave him few Soldiers, that he might only observe the Enemy, and not fight them. Du Guesclin, who had another aim, encreased the numbers at his own expence, having sold all his Jewels and rich Household Furniture he had gotten in Spain, to buy up more Soldiers.

1370.

After he had followed and annoyed the Enemy for sometime, he had an opportunity to be t up one of their Quarters near the Pont Valain in the Country of Mayne. By this means, having broke the ice, he put them to a rout, then defeated them piece after piece, till even Knolls himself had much ado to escape.

1371.

From thence he turned up into Berry, and drove out the English, who fled into Poitou, cleared Touraine and Anjou, and did the like in Limosin and in Rouergue.

1371.

He also rendered a most important piece of Service to France, having brought the King of Navarre to an Interview with King Charles. In the present posture of Affairs that Prince might have done a great deal of mischief, by introducing the English into Constantine, where he held Cherbourg with some other places, and into the County of Evreux, which was all his own. But he being as irresolute as malicious, he neither knew how to keep his Faith, nor break it to his own advantage. Though he had made a Truce the preceding year, he still deferred the concluding of the Peace by his Artifice. In fine, he suffers himself to be led to it when he had least need, and was contented with the City of Montpellier, which was put into his possession. Upon which Consideration he renounced the English Interest, at that time when it would have been more advantage not to do it.

" In

" In the year 1367. Pope Urban V. had made a Voyage to Rome, in appearance to give some Orders for the Affairs of Italy, but indeed out of anger, for that the Army going into Spain had oppressed and extorted a great deal from him. After he had staid there two years and an half, he returned to Avignon, where in short time he died, the 19th of December. The Cardinals placed in the Holy Chair Peter Roger, who was Son to William Earl of Beaufort in Vallee, and Jane Sister of Pope Clement VI.

1371.

" In the Month of May of this same year, David King of Scotland, Son of Robert Bruce, died without Children. Thus that Crown passed into the House of the * Stewarts, by one Robert, who was his Sisters Son. He ratified the Truce with the English, and prolonged it for thirteen years. * Or Steward.

The Maritime Cities of Flanders being all filled with Merchants, had no other Interest to mind but Trade : Wherefore neither considering that of their Earl, nor the Kings, they made a League with the English, thereby to secure their Commerce, which appeared more advantageous from that side, then from the French.

1371.

Within a while, after the new Constable had re-conquer'd Perigord, and Limosin from the English, the Prince of Wales, though he could not stir but in a Litter, draws his Men together at Cognac, and went to besiege Limoges. His Hurons* or Miners, of which he had great numbers, having thrown down a great part of the Wall into the Ditches, the Town was taken by Storm. He was so enraged against the Inhabitants, that he took cruel Vengeance even upon the very Women and Children, above four thousand of them dying by the edge of the Sword. This was his last exploit in War, afterwards he retired very much indisposed into England, where yet he languished three years. When he was gone the Affairs of the English ran every day into decay, the greatest part of the Lords, and Commanders in Guyenne, whom his Valour and Bounty tied to his Court, going over to the French.

* That was
their name in
those days.

He had left the care of his Affairs to the Duke of Lancaster, who stay'd no long time in Guyenne, but went over into England to be present in a great Council which was held about the concerns on this side the Water. At his departure he Married the Daughter of Peter the Cruel, and stiled himself King of Castille : his Brother, the Earl of Cambridge, likewise took the youngest Sister to his Bed.

1372.

This was to declare a Mortal War against King Henry, who besides being engaged to the Crown of France, resolved as well for his own security as out of gratitude, to serve it with all his power. He knew the English were sending an Army into Poitou, Commanded by the Earl of Pembroke ; he put out a Fleet of forty great Ships to Sea, well stored with Canon and Fire-Arms, who lay in wait for the Earl of Pembroke at the chops of the Rochel Channel. The Fight lasted two days, the Eves-eve, and the Eve of St. Johns Feast, the Rochellers looking on in cold blood, not to be persuaded by their Governor to go out to the aid of the English, who in the end were overcome, and all either taken or sunk. The Victors carried away the Earl of Pembroke with the rest of the Prisoners into Spain, all laden with Chains. This was the Custom both of the Spaniards and Germans towards their Enemies, the French and English treated theirs with more generosity and civility.

1372.

1372.

This disaster was the utter ruine of the English Party. The Constable besieged and took all places with ease. After he had help'd the Duke of Berry in reducing St. Sever, which was believed to be impregnable, he came to take possession of the great City of Poitiers that opened her Arms to him. The Commanders that kept the Field were all amazed at it : but much more astonished upon the defeat of the Capital de Buch, who marching to relieve the City of Soubise, situate at the mouth of the Charente, found himself surrounded and taken by the Spaniards, whose Fleet hover'd about that Coast. No Ransom nor Exchange could persuade the King to set him at liberty a second time, he was shut up in a Tower belonging to the Temple at Paris, where he died four years after.

1372.

The Rochellers could never agree with the English humour, scarce compatible with any Nation whatsoever ; they studied how to withdraw themselves from their Government ; and for this purpose it was that the Spaniards kept so nigh to favour their design. The Castle only hindered them, the Mayor bethought himself of a Wyle. Having given the Captain a Dinner, he presented him certain Letters Sealed with King Edwards Signet, out of which he read, That they were ordered to make a Muster of the Garison in the Castle, and the City Militia. There was nothing of all this in the Letter, but the Captain, who could not read, believed it, and drew out the Garison. The Mayor had laid an Ambuscade amongst some Ruinous Buildings, which

1372.

which cut off his passage and hindered his return. Ten or twelve Forelorn Wretches that were left in the Castle, Capitulated. After this, the crafty *Rachellers*, before they would open their Gates to the *French*, made their Treaty with the King, and obtained to have the Castle demolished, or if we will believe their Memoirs, an Amnesty for having demolish'd it before the Treaty. Besides this, they got so many Privileges and great Advantages, as tended as much towards the putting this City at liberty, as for the exchanging their Master.

After the Constable, who represented the King, had taken their Oaths of Fidelity, he pursued the Conquest of *Poitou* and *Saintonge*. Most part of the Lords were retired to *Tonars*, he laid Siege to it, and forc'd them to Capitulate; That they should put themselves, their Lands, and that place under Obedience of the King, unless the King of *England*, or one of his Sons, did come with an Army strong enough to fight the Besiegers by *Michaelmas-day*.

"This sort of Composition was practised as long as there was the least faith left amongst Men. It ever included a Cessation of Arms, during which the Besiegers taking Hostages of the Besieged, raised their Camp, and left them all manner of liberty, excepting only the admitting more Soldiers into the Garison, or to furnish or provide it with Stores.

1372. When King *Edward* heard of this Capitulation, Honour and Necessity rowzing and bringing to his mind the remembrance of his Victories, he puts to Sea himself with four hundred Vessels, that he might not lose so fine a Country, and so many brave Men. But the Winds refused to be serviceable to him upon this occasion; they tolled him about for six weeks together, and would not afford one favourable gale, but what blew him towards his own Ports of *England*. The time being expired, the Lords performed the Capitulation: after which the Cities of *Saintes*, *Angoulême*, *Saint John d'Angely*, and generally all the Country even to *Bourg* and *Blaye*, returned to the Obedience of their Ancient and Natural Sovereign.

1372. *John de Montfort* Duke of *Bretagne* looked with fear upon the Prosperity of the *French*, his ancient Enemies, and with regret upon the decay of the King of *England* his Father-in-Law, and his Protector: but he was not Master in his Dutchy, the People would have no more War, the haughty humour of the *English* was not compatible with their Liberty; and the Berons dazzled with the lustre of *de Guesclin* and *de Cliftons* Fortune, had their Eyes turned upon the Employments and Pensions of the Court of *France*. Thus the Duke was under great constraint; If he admitted any *English* to land upon those Coasts, the Common People fell upon them; if he quarter'd them in his Garisons, the Lords rose up. Having placed some in *Brest*, *Conquet*, *Kemperle*, and *Henneband*, they besought the King to send them some Forces to drive them thence, and put the Cities into his hands, as they did *Vennes*, *Renes*, and divers others.

The Revenge he would have taken, by laying Siege to *St. Malé*, did but hasten his loss, and the Constables march with the Duke of *Bourbon*. Some *English* Soldiers that he had sent for to strengthen himself withall, had the whole Country against them, and were all cut in pieces; so that although he had some good places left, he durst not shut himself in any of them, but passed over to *England* to cry out for help.

Whilst he was gone the Constable secured them all excepting three, *Brest*, *Becherel*, and *Derval*, (this last belonged to *Knolles*) he laid Siege to all these at the same time, as likewise to *la Roche-sur-yon* in *Anjou*.

This last being farthest off from all Assistance, surrendered, *Brest*, *Becherel*, and *Derval* promised to do as much, if within a certain prefixed time there appeared not an Army sufficient, and that would hold Battle*, to make the *French* raise their Siege. As for *Brest* and *Derval* they saved themselves by this means. The Earl of *Salisbury* was then at Sea to guard the *English* Coasts against the *Spanish* Navy Commanded by *Evans* of *Wales*, whose Father King *Edward* had put to death to get that Principality. Hearing what danger *Brest* was in, he landed in *Bretagne*, encamped and entrench'd himself near that place, then sent his Heralds to the Constable to proclaim that he was come to raise the Siege, and expected him there. The Constable did not think fit to attack him in so well fortified a Post; Thus that place was deliver'd. At their departure thence, *Knolles*, who had defended it, threw himself into *Derval*, not thinking himself obliged to stand to the Treaty made by that Garison; which cost the Lives of their Hostages, and by way of Reprizal, the Lives of some Gentlemen whom *Knolles* had taken Prisoners. As for *Becherel* it held out a whole year; at the end whereof, no Army appearing on the day prefixed to relieve it, it fell into the hands of the *French*.

* The Term then used, *Qui tint Journée*.

The King of *England* did not fail of his Guaranty to the Duke of *Bretagne*; he raised an Army of above Thirty thousand Men, whom he gave to the Duke of *Lancaster* to restore that Prince, who had the confidence to send defiance to the King of *France* his Sovereign: they landed at *Calais* the twentieth of *July*, marched thorough and pillaged *Artois*, *Picardy*, *Champagne*, *Fores*, *Beaujolois*, *Auvergne* and *Limo-sin*, and descended into *Guyenne*, instead of going into *Bretagne*, as *Montfort* hoped and expected.

It was the constant resolution of this wise King, not to hazard any great Battle against the *English*; but he ordered his Forces should be lodged every night in some Town, should follow the enemy by day, and never cease from galling and disturbing them, falling upon all straglers, and sitting so near their skirts, as to keep all Provisions and Forage from them; by which means he defeated their great Armies by little and little, and made them moulder away to nothing. These having been observed and pursued by the Duke of *Burgundy*, as far as *Beaujolis*, and from thence to the *Dordogne* by the Constable, were not only prevented from undertaking any thing considerable, but were so much weakened and diminished, that scarce six thousand of them got into *Bordeaux*.

During this irruption, the Duke of *Anjou*, Governour of *Languedoc*, made another, much more advantageous into the upper *Guyenne*. He conquer'd several places of little or no name at present, but in these days of great importance.

1373.

"Two great Judgments, a Famine and a * Plague, tormented *France*, *Italy*, and *England* this year 1373. There likewise Reigned, especially in the Low Countreys, a phrantick passion, or phrensie, unknown in the foregoing ages. Such as were tainted with it, being for the most part the scum of the people, stript themselves stark naked, placed a Garland of Flowers upon their Heads, and taking Hands with one another, went into the Streets and Churches, Dancing, Singing, and running round with so much violence, that they fell down for want of breath. This agitation made them swell so prodigiously, they would have burst, had not great pains and care been taken to swathe them with bands, about their Bellies immediately, such as looked on them too attentively, were often infected with the same distemper. Some believed it an operation of the Devil, and that Exorcisms did much help them. The vulgar named it, *The Dance of St. JOHN*.

Mal des Ardents mentioned before.

Upon the instant and continual exhortations of the Pope, the two Kings entred into a Negotiation to compose their differences. For this an Assembly was held at *Bruges* in *Flanders*, whither they sent their nearest Princes of their Blood, and the most illustrious Lords of their Kingdoms. It lasted almost two years with incredible expence: There was first a Truce made for a year, to commence in the month of *May* of this year 1375. which being concluded, the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Duke of *Bretagne* passed into *England*.

1375.

Bretagne not being comprehended, their Duke returns with an Army of *English*, and partly by force, partly by correspondence regained *St. Malé*, *St. Briene*, and seven or eight other places, whilst *John d'Evreux*, Brother to the King of *Navarre* made great spoil and waste all about *Kemperlay*.

He had built a Fort thereabouts for his retreat, from whence he very much incommoded that City, *Clifton*, *Roban*, *Beaumont*, and other Lords of *Bretagne* besieged him in it. The Duke hastned thither to deliver him, they quickly marched off, he pursues them and besieged them in *Kemperlay*: Now when they were just ready to be exposed to his mercy (he would have shewed but little to those whom he proclaimed Traitors and Rebels) a second Truce wherein they comprized him, drew them most fortunately out of his hands.

The minority of the King of *France* (if I do not deceive my self) lasted to the age of Twenty years, and during all that time, all Command, all Orders, and all Acts were made under the name of the Regent. The wise King considered, that an Authority so absolute, might force or snatch the Crown from his Son, if he left him a Minor; That the people, were it error or custom, did not willingly acknowledge a Prince for their King till he was Crowned; and that it might be feared, lest the Duke of *Anjou* should make them believe, by some former examples or precedents, that they ought to chuse one that was in Majority, and capable to Govern. For these reasons, or for others we are ignorant of; he made his memorable Ordonnance by the advice of the Princes, Lords, Prelates, University, and other notable persons

1375.

which imports, "That the eldest Sons of France, as soon as they have attained to the age of Fourteen years, should be held for Majors, and capable of being Crowned, and that they should receive the Homage and Oaths of fidelity from their Subjects. This was made at the Bois de Vincennes in the month of August 1374. and verified in Parliament the Twentieth of May of the following year.

We must not however imagine, that he believed (as much King as he was) that he could advance the course of Nature, and give his Son the Sence and Wit that age alone can bestow, since the same Year, and the same Month, he made a Declaration, which mention'd, that in case he died before his Son should have attained to the age of Fourteen years, he left the Guardianship and Government of him, and of his other Children; as also the Government and Defence of the Kingdom to the Queen Mother (she was then living) and joyned with her the Dukes of Burgundy and of Bourbon, with a necessary and sufficient Council of near Forty persons.

1376. The Popes Legats remained still constantly at Bruges, and kept the Ambassadors of both Crowns there with them to labour for a Peace; But the Propositions on either side being at too great a distance to be brought to a meane, they obtained at least a prolongation of the Truce to the Month of April, in the year 1377.

"In Gascongne the Earl of Armagnac thinking to take revenge upon the Earl de Foix, who had beaten him, increased both his shame and loss. He had taken the little City of Caseres, and put himself into the place without providing it with Ammunition; the Earl de Foix besieges him, and without striking a blow, reduces him to the extremest want; but he would not agree to give him and his their Lives, but upon condition, that they should creep out thorough a hole made purposely in the Wall, which they could not do but by crawling with their Bellies upon the ground. 1376. "Nor were they quit for all this affront, the Earl of Armagnac and twenty more of the principal, paid great ransoms before they could be released. The King of Navarre pass'd his word for that of the Sire d' Albret.

1377. "During the long absence of the Popes, Italy had accustom'd it self to disregard and disown them. The People of Rome set up themselves as several petty Tyrants to preserve some Image of their Liberty; and by the same Spirit, the Cities belonging to the Ecclesiastical State, at the solicitation, and with the aid of the Florentines, had shaken off the yoke, and turned out his Apostolical Legats. Gregory XI. thinking to redress these disorders, and besides, being earnestly pressed by St. Bridget of Sweden, and by St. Catherine of Sienna, two persons who were thought to have a very frequent Commerce with Heaven, resolved to transfer the Holy See back to Rome, from whence it had been removed Seventy two years. He departed from Avignon the three and twentieth of September, embarked at Marseilles, and after very great dangers on the Sea, Signes of the agitations that change had wrought in the Church, he arrived at Rome the Twenty seventh of January following.

1377. King Edward in the mean while had lost the brave Prince of Wales, his eldest Son, who had left a Son named Richard very young; and for two years past found himself much broken, and his Brain decay'd with weight of continual business and contention, though he were but 65 years of age: This was it made him desire to have a Peace, and made him willing to relinquish many Articles of the Treaty of Bretigny. But death prevented the effects of that disposition, and took him out of the World the 21 of June. His Grandson Richard II, Surnamed of Bourdeaux, succeeded him.

"He had seven Sons, whereof five only lived to Mens Estate, and were Married, those were Edward, Lionel, John, Edmond, and Thomas; Edward was the brave Prince of Wales; for the other four, the First was Duke of Clarence, the Second of Lancaster, both of them by the Heiresses of those two Houses, and the Third Earl of Cambridge, then Duke of York, the Fourth, Earl of Buckingham, and afterwards Duke of Gloucester: He had also Four Daughters, Isabella, who Married the Earl of Bedford, Jane, who was Wife to the King of Spain, Mary, that was so to John de Montfort Duke of Bretagne, and Margaret to the Earl of Pembroke. This great multitude of Children was his strength during his life-time, and the ruine of England after his death.

1377. The Wife King had not consented to suspension of Arms, but to prepare himself the better. Therefore he would hear of no more Propositions, and making himself assured

allured of the event of the War, he began it anew with five Armies: He sent one into Artois, One into the Countreys of Berry, Auvergne, Bourbonnois, and Lyonnois, One into Guyenne, One into Bretagne, and kept the Fifth near himself, as a reserve to assist either of the other Four that might stand in need of it; They were Commanded by the Dukes of Burgundy, of Berry, and of Anjou, Oliver and the Constable; all which behaved themselves so well, that the English could not preserve any places of importance but Calais in Belgica, Bourdeaux, and Bayonne in Guyenne, and Cherbourg in Normandy, which was sold to him by the Navarrais. 1377.

The eldest Son of that King, named Charles, as himself was, had a great desire to see the King of France his Uncle; his Father was just then upon the point of concluding a bargain with the English, very disadvantageous to France, which was to give them some Lands and Places he held in Normandy, and to take the Duchy of Guyenne in exchange, for the defence whereof they were to furnish him every year with Two thousand Men at Arms, and as many Archers to be paid by them. When his Son therefore went to see his Uncle, he would needs take this opportunity to brew some Plot or Conspiracy in France, and even to poison the King. He had therefore placed about his Son the most crafty, and most wicked Men he could pick out; amongst others la Rue his Chamberlain, and du Tertre his Secretary; but was so unadvised withal, as to send the Captains of his best places of Normandy. 1378.

His design was discover'd, or perhaps prevented; the King caused his Son and his Captains to be seized, and la Rue and du Tertre to be put into the hands of Justice. The Son whatever intercession could be made, remained a prisoner Five years, the Captains were not set free, till the places they belonged to were surrendered to the King; du Tertre and la Rue had their Heads cut off. At the same time some Forces were sent into Normandy, and took all his Holds, to the number of Ten or Twelve, excepting Cherbourg, which after a long Siege remained still in English hands, and immediately dismantled them.

The Duke of Anjou pressed the English very home likewise in Guyenne. The taking of Bergerac, and the gaining of a Battle which was fought near the little City of Aymeret, where almost all the Chiefs and Barons of Gascongne remained prisoners, made himself Master of all the Places above the two Rivers, the Dordogne and the Garonne.

Three things weakned the English so much, that they had neither the Sence nor Courage, nor Forces and Strength to defend themselves. One was the Minority of their King, aged but Thirteen years, the Second a great Plague, which depopulated England, and the Last, the incursions of the Scots, who had broken the Truce, being incited to it by the King, and upon condition of a hundred thousand Gold Florins, with the Pay for Five hundred Men at Arms, and as many Sergeants.

The Pope ceased not to exhort the King of France to make Peace, and pressed the Emperour Charles to make use of his intercession. The Emperour, whether out of affection for the Royal House of France, or to take measures, to secure the Empire to his Son Wenceslaus, or for some other subject, desired to visit that Court, though he were very much tormented with the Gout. The King sent two of the most illustrious Earls, and two hundred Horse to meet him at Cambray, where he kept his Christmas, the Duke of Bourbon to Compienne, and two of his Brothers to Senlis, himself went beyond the Suburbs of St. Denis, to receive him, and lodg'd him in his Palace. 1377. and 78.

All the time he was in France he entertained him with all the magnificence imaginable, paid him all manner of Respects, unless such as denote a Sovereignty, and which hereafter might give a Title to some imaginary pretences. For this reason when they received him into any City, they did not ring their Bells, nor bring their Canopy of State; such as made Speeches did not forget to tell him it was by order of their Sovereign; and at his entrance into Paris, the King affected to be mounted upon a White Horse, and ordered a Black one for the Emperour. He came in thither the Fourth day of January, and went out thence the Sixteenth, returning by the way of Champagne.

During his abode in the Court of France, he gratify'd the Dauphin with the Title of Vicar irrevocable of the Empire, by Letters Patents, Sealed with a Seal of Gold; and by others he likewise gave him the same Office for Dauphiné, with the Castles of Pipet and Chimanx, which till then he was possessed of in the City of Vienne. Since that we do not read, that the Emperours have concerned themselves any more in the Affairs

1378. Affairs of that Kingdom of *Arles*, nor touching *Daupiné*, which have remained in complete Sovereignty under the Kings of *France*; who indeed, even long before, did not acknowledge the Emperour.

"Gregory XI. had scarcely been Fourteen Months at *Rome*, when either of Melancholy, or otherwise, he fell ill of a detention of Urine, whereof he died the Seventh of *March*, having declared in his agony, that he foresaw grievous troubles, and that he did heartily repent his having rather given credit to deceitful Revelations, then followed the certain light of true knowledge and good understanding.

"There were in all in the *Roman Church* three and twenty Cardinals, six whereof remained still at *Avignon*, and one was gone upon a Legation. Of the Sixteen that were in *Rome*, there were Twelve of them *French-men*, and four *Italians*; all of them foreseeing that the *Roman Populace* would force them to elect a Pope of the *Italian Nation*, agreed amongst themselves, that they would elect one feignedly only, to avoid the fury of the People, and another in good earnest, whom when they were gone thence they would own for the true Pope. During this Convention, the heat and violence of the People growing more terrible then they could have imagined; they named the Cardinal *Bartholomew* * *Bontillo* a Native of *Naples*, Arch-Bishop of *Barry* in that Kingdom, who immediately took himself to be lawful Pope, and assumed the Name of *Urban VI*.

"The Cardinals in the mean time were forced to dissemble, till they could have fit opportunity to declare the Truth, and to write Letters to all Princes, that his Election was Canonical; however, they gave notice to the King of *France*, that he should give no faith to their Letters, till they were out of danger. But when upon pretence of avoiding the extream heats in *Rome*, they were retired to *Anagnia*; being moreover offended at the proud deportment of *Bartholomew*, they made the Truth of the matter of Fact known to all Princes, admonished *Bartholomew* three several times, to desist from pretending to the Papacy, since he well knew they had no intention to elect him; and afterwards they proceeded judicially against him, and declared him an intruder. That done, they retired to *Fundy*, under protection of the Earl of that place, and there elected one of the six Cardinals that had remained in *France*. This was *Robert*, Brother of *Peter* Earl of *Geneva*, whose Courage was as high as his Birth. He took the Name of *Clement VII*.

France after several Assemblies had been held of the most Learned of the Clergy, and the most judicious Prelats and Nobility, adhered to *Clement*; the Kings of *Castille* and of *Scotland*, who were his Allies did the same; the Earl of *Savoy*, and *Jane* Queen of *Naples* also, although in the beginning she had protected his Competitor. But all the rest of Christendom owned *Urban*, the *Navarrois*, the *English*, and the *Flemmings* out of spite to *France*, the *Italians* to preserve the Papacy in their Nation, the Emperour in acknowledgment, because that Pope before he was ever required, had made haste to confirm the election of *Wenceslaus* his Son; the King of *Hungary* that he might have a pretence to dispoliate the Queen of *Naples*; and the rest for divers interests. *Peter* King of *Arragon* remained Neutre.

At first *Clement* was well armed, and in a condition to over-top his adversary, having in his service one *Sylvester Bude*, a Captain of *Bretagne* with Two thousand old Adventurers of that Nation, who took the Castle *St. Angelo*, defeated the *Romans* in *Rome* it self, and made themselves Masters of the City. But after another famous Captain who was an *Englishman*, and was named *Hacket* *, otherwise Head of the Bands of the *Tard-Venus*, and now in the service of *Urban*, had vanquished and taken him prisoner; *Clements* Affairs went on so ill, that he was driven out of *Italy*, and retiring himself to *Avignon*, left his Rival sole Master of *Rome*.

This Schisme lasted Forty years, either party having great Persons, Saints, Miracles and Revelations, as they said, and even such strong Arguments and Reasons on his side, that the dispute could never be decided but by way of Cession, that is, by obliging the two Contenders to abdicate the Papacy; so that it is great boldness to call those *Anti-Popes*, who during this Schisme, held the See at *Avignon*.

"The death of the Emperour *Charles IV*. fell out upon the Nine and twentieth of *November*, in the year 1378. in the City of *Prague*, the 63 year of his age. *Wenceslaus* his Son who was elected King of the *Romans* in the year 1376. succeeded him in the Empire, and the Kingdom of *Bohemia*; a Prince deformed both in Body and Soul;

* *Bontillo* a mock Pope.

1378 and 79.

* Or *Haucut*

Emp. *John Paleologus* and *Wenceslaus*, Son of *Charles IV*. R. 22 years.

1379.

It

It was a kind of Rebellion in the Earl of *Flanders* to own any other Pope then his King had done, and indeed he shewed him ill will for it, and more yet towards the *Breton*, who encouraged him in his obstinacy. Besides, it had so fortun'd, that the *Flemming* by the Counsel of that Duke, had caused one of his Envoyes to be slain, who was passing thorow his Countrey on his way to *Scotland*, to incite *Robert Stewart* to break the Truce with the *English*. The King made complaint to the *Flemming*, and Commanded him to drive the *Breton* out of his Countreys; but the *Flemming* having taken advice of his People, who assured him of Two hundred thousand Combatants, in case he were attacked, refused to give him that satisfaction.

The *Breton* nevertheless went out of *Flanders* and took refuge in *England*. The place of his retreat aggravated his crime; the King orders him to be summoned to appear in Parliament, to be judged by his Pairs. Not presenting himself, he was declar'd, by Sentence of the Ninth of *December*, attainted of the crime of Felony; and all his Lands, as well in *Bretagne*, as all others he held in the Kingdom, confiscated, for having defied the King his Sovereign Lord, and for having entred the Countrey in Arms with the enemies of the Kingdom.

That which in appearance seemed likeliest to ruine this Duke, rais'd him. The *Bretons*, who for a thousand years past, had so generously fought for the liberty of their Countrey, having discover'd that the King designed more against the Dutchy it self, then the Duke alone, and that he would take it away from the guilty, only to apply it to himself, began to complain, to withdraw from their affection to the *French*, to re-unite amongst themselves, and to make divers Leagues and Associations between the Cities and the Nobles. Even the Widow of *Charles de Blois*, by Counsel of the friends of her House, sent to protest against that Decree, and alledged that *Bretagne* was not subject or liable to confiscation, because it was not a Fief, and that if the Dukes had submitted their persons, by obliging themselves to certain Service, it was not in their power to subject their Countrey.

This year a most cruel War was kindled in *Flanders*, which lasted Seven years. The interior cause of this inflammation was the Luxury of the Nobility, and the dissolute and excessive expences of the Earl; the occasion was a quarrel, that rose between one called *John Lyon*, and the *Mathews*, who were six Brothers, both the one and the other were very powerful amongst the Navigators, or Mariners, and between the Cities of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, for a certain Canal, or River which those of *Bruges* would needs make. The Earl took part with these, and was cause that *John Lyon* formed against him a faction of *White Hats* in the City of *Ghent*. He sets up the *Mathews* to oppose and countermine them. *John Lyon* was found to be the stronger, and pushed the contest on to the utmost extremity.

The Duke of *Anjou* was mighty greedy of Money, and a great exactor; his People by his Order, or upon their own Authority, having laid some new Imposts upon the City of *Montpellier*, which was under his Government, but of the Propriety of the King of *Navarre*, the People mutined, and killed Four score of them, amongst which number were his Chancellour and the Governour. The Duke hastned thither with some Forces, and caused a most horrible Sentence to be given for punishment of that crime; but it was moderated almost in every point, by the intercession of his Holiness, excepting against the Authors of that Sedition, who paid down their Heads for it. After all, the King coming to know of the capacity of that Duke, took the Government of the Province from him, and bestow'd it on the Earl of *Foix*.

Whether the King were ignorant of the disposition of the *Bretons*, or thought he could change them, he sent for the Lords of that Countrey, and screw'd a promise from them that they should assist the Duke of *Bourbon*, and those other Chiefs he would send into *Bretagne* to execute the Decree against their Duke. But the Lords on the contrary, sent for him to come thither, and stood by him so effectually with their Forces, and such as he brought over with him from *England*, that they restored him to most of his Towns.

This was the greatest and almost the only shock this wise King met with in all his Enterprises. He was so transported, and sensibly touched, that he Commanded all the *Bretons* who should refuse to serve against the Duke, to go out of his Kingdom, and shewed more severity towards some of them, then was agreeable to his nature. But this usage did only strengthen the party for the Duke, and draw those over to his service, that were at that time the ablest Men of the *French Armies*.

1379.

1379.

1380.

He

He durst not, even upon this occasion, make use of the valour of his Constable, who would but unwillingly have drawn his Sword for the destruction of his native Country: he chose rather to send him into *Guyenne* to clear some places, from whence the *English*, and certain crews of vagabonds by their connivance, foraged the Country of *Auvergne*. After the taking of some Castles, and beating some of those Bands, whilst he was besieging one of them in *Chateau-neuf de Randan*, between *Mendes* and *le Puy in Velay*, he was assaulted by a Fever, whereof he died the Thirtieth of *July*; his very Name completed the Work, the Besieged surrendred and brought and laid the Keys upon his Coffin. The King (upon the refusal of *Enguerrand de Coucy*) gave the Constables Sword to *Oliver de Clisson, Compagnon*, and Countryman of the Deceased, no less valiant then the other, but very unlike in all things else, Unjust, Proud, Covetous, and Cruel.

Bretagne was then the Theater of War, the King had resolved to throw in all his Armies there, when he was constrain'd to quit the World and all his Designs. Some years before *Charles the Bad*, had caused some poyson to be given him, the violence whereof a Physitian belonging to the Emperour *Charles IV.* had allayed, by opening an issue in his Arm to discharge part of its venome; that issue being stoppt it took his Life away: He died in the Castle of *Beauté* upon the *Marne*, which is beyond the *Bois de Vincennes*, the Sixteenth of *September*, the Sixth Month of the Seventeenth year of his Reign and the Four and fortieth of his Life. His Tomb is to be seen at *St. Denis*; his Heart was carried to the great Church of *Rouen*, because he had been Duke of *Normandy*, and his Bowes to *Maubuisson*, and laid by the Body of the Queen his Mother.

Upon his Death-bed, this Wise King could not forget his care for the Kingdom, he confirmed the Law concerning the Majority, left the Government to *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou* his eldest Brother, with a Council, and the Guardianship and Education of his Son *Charles* to the Dukes of *Burgundy* and of *Bourbon*, Commanding them most expressly to take off the Imposts, to make some agreement with the Duke of *Bretagne*, if it were possible, and to Marry his Son into some potent Family of *Germany*.

In all his Conduct there appeared much solidity of Judgment, and marvellous clearness of Wisdom and Understanding, a great deal of Moderation and Goodness, much Frugality and Economy, and yet Magnificence and liberality upon occasion. He had been carefully bred in the Study of good Learning, by *Nicholas Oresme* a Theologian of *Paris*, and Dean of *Rouen*, whom he made Bishop of *Lisieux*; and indeed he had as much affection for the Sciences, and for Learned Men, as aversion for Comedians, Juglers, Buffoons, and all those sorts of People, who under the pretence of Divertisement, corrupt the bravest Souls.

He delighted to hear the Truth from the Mouths of honest Men; and although he merited the loftiest praises, he could hardly endure any, and despised them, because in all times Courtiers have given the very same, both to good and to bad Princes.

The expences of his Wars did not hinder his Magnificence from shewing it self in the Buildings of the Castle *du Bois de Vincennes*, which subsists to this day, and that of the *Louvre*; the other parts whereof we have seen demolished, to make room for the proudest Structure that ever Architecture raised upon Earth: but which, how great soever it can be, shall yet be much less then the King that undertakes it.

But above all his Virtues, the fear of God and zeal to Justice did shine in him to a supreme Degree, the care of which being the noblest Function of a King, he took pleasure in dispensing it himself, and very often came to hear the Pleadings in his Parliament, where he made them admire his Reasoning and Eloquence, speaking so fully to the Subject in hand, that there was nothing left for his Chancellor or Attorney-General to say.

He left considerable Treasures behind him in Lingots of Gold and rich Furniture. It is a Problem in the Politiques, whether he did well in heaping it up; In point of Justice it is none, if they may make Millions of People miserable to enrich one single Man: And in truth his memory is not exempt from all blame on that side; but they throw it upon the Cardinal of *Amiens*, one of his principal Counsellors. His Name was *John de la Grange*, an obdurate Soul, ambitious

tious and covetous, whose great possessions fully demonstrate that he caused the Subsidies to be doubled merely out of design to enrich himself.

By *Jane* Daughter of *Peter* Duke of *Bourbon*, and *Isabella de Valois*, a Princess much accomplish'd both in Body and Mind; he had two Sons, *Charles*, who Reigned, *Lewis*, who was Duke of *Orleans*, and six Daughters who all dyed very young.

Charles

Charles VI, King LII.

Called by some, The Well-beloved
King. Aged near XII years.

P O P E S,

URBAN V. S. at Rome Nine
years One Month, during this Reign.

And
CLEMENT VII. in Avignon,
S. Fourteen years during this Reign.

BONIFACE IX. at Rome.
Elected the Second of November
1389. S. Fourteen years, Eleven
Months.

BENNET XII. Peter de Luna
in Avignon, Elected the Twenty
eighth of September, 1394. S.
till his Deposition in Anno 1409.

INNOCENT VII. at Rome,
Elected the Seventeenth of Octob.
1404. S. Two years, and Twenty
two days.

GREGORY, XII. at Rome,
Elected the last of November, 1406
till his Deposition by the Council of
of Pisa, 1409.

ALEXANDER V. in 1409.
S. Ten Months.

JOHN XXIII. Elected the Se-
venteenth of May 1410. S. Five
years, Deposed at Constance, Ann.
1414.

Vacancy from the year 1414. to the
year 1417.

MARTIN V. Elected the Tenth
of November 1417. S. Thirteen
years Three Months and a half.

1380.
in September.

THe Reign of Charles the Wise was happy enough, but too short; this very long and extremely unfortunate. A Minor King, and then alienated in his Understanding, Sick-Brain'd; a Queen, an ill Wife, and unnatural Mother; Princes of the Blood Ambitious, Covetous, Squanderers and Cruel; the Grandees by their example, giving themselves up to all manner of Licentiousness; Subjects mutinous and seditious, tumbled France into an Abyss of all kinds of Miseries, and under the dominion of Strangers.

From the very first day, some jealousies about the Government divided the Kings Uncles. The Duke of Anjou being seized of the Regency, disposed of Commands, and changed the Officers: The Dukes of Burgundy and of Bourbon*, could not suffer it, and would have the King Crowned: he maintained on the contrary, that he ought not to be so till he were Fourteen years of age, according to the Declaration of the late King. About this difference an Assembly of Notables was held, where John des Marais, Advocate-General of the Parliament maintained the Duke of Anjou's Cause, and Peter d'Orgement the contrary.

This conference having only heated them the more, the friends of either party arm'd. themselves: Paris beheld her self surrounded with Soldiers who lived at Discretion. The Lords of the Kings Council mediated an agreement, and prevailed so far, that

that the parties referred it to Arbitrators, who concluded, That the King should be Crowned without delay; That afterwards he should have the administration of the Kingdom, that is to say, he should receive the Homages and Oaths, and all Acts should be expedite in his Name; and for this purpose the Regent had aged him, that is to say, Emancipated; That the Duke of Anjou should continue Regent; that the other Two should have the Guard of the Kings Person, with the Revenues of Normandy, and three or four Bailiwicks for his entertainment.

They likewise agreed to chuse a Council of Twelve Persons, necessarily resident at Paris, where by a plurality of Votes they were to ordain all things concerning the Revenue, and Offices belonging thereto, and without whose Authority no part of the Demeasnes pertaining to the Crown, should be alienated either for Life or Perpetuity; and who should make an Inventory of the Revenues, Plate, Jewels and Furniture that was the Kings, which the Duke of Anjou seized upon, and never gave a good account of.

The Imposts having been very excessive, in the last years of the Reign of Charles V. caused some Emotions in the Cities, particularly of Paris and Compiègne: but without any mischievous consequence or accidents. The Cardinal d'Amiens who had been principal contriver of those Subsidies, was now paid part of the reward he so well deserved: for the young King remembered he had checkt him with sawcy Language in his Fathers life-time, and exprest his resentment in discourse to the Chamberlain Peter de Savoisy, in these terms, *God be thanked, we are now delivered from the Tyranny of that Chaplain!* The Cardinal having notice of it, makes up his pack and retires to Douay, and from thence to Avignon, carrying away an immense Treasure which he had scraped together to the poor Peoples cost, and by picking the pockets of the whole Nation.

Cliffon had been confirmed in the Office of Constable, he had the Commission to conduct the King to Rheims, with that Pomp and Magnificence, as was usual on those Ceremonies. The Duke of Anjou staying some days behind, seized upon the Treasures which Charles V. had concealed in the Walls of the Castle at Melun; having forced Savoisy, with whom the King had entrusted the secret and guard of it, to shew him the place where it lay, which prompted the courage of that Prince, to undertake the unfortunate War of Italy, where himself perished with the choice Flower of the French Nobility. So true it is, that those vast sums of Money collected by Sovereign Princes, does for the most part bring only trouble to their Kingdoms in the end, and that their Treasures are no where so secure, as in the affections of the Subjects, who are ever affectionate and kind, when they are kindly Treated.

The Duke of Anjou having overtaken the King upon his way to Rheims, the Coronation was performed the Fourth of November. Of the Lay-Pairs there were none present but the Duke of Burgundy, who being the first of all, it was by judgment of the Council ordained, That he should take place before the Duke of Anjou, his elder Brother and Regent; and when this last not submitting to that judgment, had seated himself at the Feast made on that Ceremony, next to the King, the Burgundian boldly came, thrust himself between, and took the place above him.

The Princes and their Council of Twelve, had no other aim but their particular Interests. The Duke of Anjou was the most powerful, the Duke of Burgundy made Head against him, Bourbon's Duke floated betwixt both, the Duke of Berry made no considerable Figure.

At the Coronation there was proclaimed the relaxation of the Imposts, pursuant to the last Will of Charles V. but the Duke of Anjou having taken all the Money of the Treasury, and refusing to employ any of it towards payment of the Soldiery, or the Kings Family, in one Month after they were fain to settle new ones, especially upon the City of Paris. The Populace mutined, a Cobler makes himself Head of them, and compell'd the Prevost des Marchands to go to the Palace, attended with a multitude of Mutineers, to demand the Revocation of them; nevertheless the Chancellour (it was William de Dormans, Bishop of Beauvais) appeased that Commotion by fair words, and with a promise that was made, to grant them what they did desire.

The very next day another Troop of the Rabble pull'd down their Courts or Offices, tore their Accounts and Registers; and going thence fell upon the Jews Houses: there were Forty in one Street, plundered them all, and burnt their Writings, took their Children and haled them to Church to Baptize them, and would have beat out the Brains of their Fathers, had they not taken Sanctuary in the Prison of

E c c

the

* Bourbon was
Maternal
Uncle.

the *Chastelet*. The King restored them to their Houses again, and caused Proclamation, that every one should give them back what they had forced from them.

In the Month of *July*, the Earl of *Buckingham* with a potent Army was landed at *Calais*, not in *Guyenne*, as is told us in the History of this Reign, written by a Monk of *St. Denis*, which is not very true in many places. He crossed *Picardy*, *Champagne*, passed near *Troyes*, where the Duke of *Burgundy* had made the general Rende-vous of his Army, then by *Gastinois*, *la Beausse*, *Vendosmois*, and *Mayne*, to go into *Bretagne* to the assistance of that Duke.

1381.

The same day he passed the *Sartre*, King *Charles V.* passed into the other World. The news of his death allayed that hatred the *Breton* had conceived against the *French*: Inasmuch as the *English* having laid Siege before *Nantes*, he even left them there two Months without joining them, as he had promised. They were fain to go and find him out at *Vennes*. He was mightily perplexed, for the *Breton* Lords, even those who were the most affectionate, being tired with suffering under strangers, and the miseries of War, and withal, revolted from him by the intrigues of *Clisson*, and the credit of *Beaumanoir*, would peremptorily have him agree with *France*; in effect, they compell'd him to make a Peace with the King, to dismiss the *English*, and renounce their Alliance; and also gave such cautions as obliged him to make good this Treaty.

Charles V. King of Navarre

They did not breed up the young King conformable to the good instructions of his Father, but according to the inclinations of his age, and airy Nature, to Hunting, Dancing, and running about here and there. One day when he was Hunting in the Forest of *Senlis*, a large Stag was rowzed, which he would not pursue with his Dogs, but took him in a Toil. They found about his Neck a Copper Coller Gilt, with an Inscription in *Latine*, which imported * that *Cesar* had given him it. The young King, because of this, or for that in a Dream he had been carried up into the Air by a Stag that had wings, took two Staggs Volant for Supporters to the Arms of *France*. Before him our Kings had *Flowers-de-Luce Sans* number in their Scutcheon, he reduced them to three, we do not know wherefore.

Hoc me Cesar donavit.

1381.

The Children of the *Navarrois*, to wit, his Eldest, and his Second Son, and one Daughter, who had been taken in one of his places of *Normandy*, being yet prisoner; the wicked King hired an *Englishman* to poison the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*, in revenge for that they hindered their being set at liberty. This wretched fellow was discover'd and quarter'd alive. Nevertheless *John* King of *Castille*, the Son of *Henry*, importun'd by the continual solicitations of his Sister, who Married the Infant of *Navarre*, interceded so effectually with the Kings Uncles, that they released those innocent Children of a very wicked Father.

1381.

The meanness and condescensions of the two Popes towards those Princes, of their parties to attain their ends, was a most lamentable thing; nor can it without indignation be express'd what exaction and violence they committed on the Clergy, and those Churches of their dependance. The six and thirty Cardinals of *Avignon* were so many Tyrants, to whom *Clement* gave all sorts of Licence. They had Proctors every where with Grants of Reversions, who snapp'd up all the Benefices, the Claustral Offices, the Commandery's, retained the best of them, and sold the rest, or gave them upon pension, or rather Farmed them out.

Clement himself, besides his seizing upon all that any Bishop or Abbot left after his death; besides his taking a years Revenue of each Benefice upon every change, whether it hapned by vacancy, or by resignation, or by permutation, ravaged the *Gallican* Church, by infinite Concussions, and extraordinary Taxes. Good People bewailed these disorders; there were none but Purloiners that wished they might be continued, and nothing but the particular Interests of Princes kept this Schisme still on foot. *Clement* allowed the Duke of *Anjou* the Levying of the Tenth, and the Duke allowed of all his pilferings, and violently reproved all those that durst complain. This unjust proceeding, rather than the Justice of *Urban's* party, was the cause why many of the principal Doctors of the Faculty put themselves under the Obedience of that Pope; and also made the University begin to desire and demand a Council, as the Sovereign remedy for all these mischiefs.

1381.

The Duke of *Berry*, angry that he had no part in the Affairs, his Father-in-law, the Earl of *Armagnac*, persuades him to demand the Government of *Languedoc*, as then in the hands of his Enemy the Count de *Foix*. The Council consents to his demand, but the Count armed to maintain himself, and the Province, where he was as much beloved for his Justice and his Generosity, as the Duke of *Berry* was hated for his Thievery, stuck close to him. The Duke enters with an Army to take possession by

by force, the Count beat him soundly near the City of *Rabastens*; but after he had let him know he was able to keep his Government, he yielded it up to him, that he might not be the ruine of those that defended him.

John Lyon chief of the *White Hats*, had so blown up the troubles in *Flanders*, that his death could not extinguish the Flame. Most part of the good Towns in that Countrey had joyned themselves to the *Ghentois*; the Peace the Duke of *Burgundy* had made betwixt them and the Earl his Father-in-law, lasted but a very short time, the Earl goes secretly out of *Ghent*, and the Gentry combine against the Cities; *Ghent* had all manner of ill success; but neither their being thrice let Blood, which cost above Fifteen thousand Lives, nor Waste, nor Famine, nor being forsaken by the other Cities, nor yet the miseries of two Sieges, could quell those stubborn obstinate lovers of their liberty.)

After the loss of most of their stoutest Leaders, they chose one, named *Peter de Bois*, and upon his persuasions another also; to wit, *Philip d'Artevelle*, Son of that *James*, formerly mentioned, much richer than his Father, but less crafty, and much prouder. This last took the upper-hand, and pretended to all the Functions of a Sovereign.

Although they had promised the People to take off the Imposts, the Regent, nor the Treasurers who Governed him, could not resolve upon't. The great Cities took up Arms to oppose it. *Peter de Villiers*, and *John de Marais*, Persons venerable with the People, and also very much regarded by the Regent, somewhat appeased the commotion at *Paris*; but could by no means persuade them to suffer those new Levies. The Burghers took Arms, set Guards at the Gates, created *Diseniers* *, *Cinquantienniers* *, *Centeniers* *, and made some Companies to keep the Avenues and Passages to the City free.

The Duke of *Anjou* was therefore forced to dissemble for the present, but he had not resolved to let go the thing thus, and intended only to wait till their heats were grown colder to go on as before. It hapned the following year, that having published the Farming of those Imposts at the *Chastelet*, one of the Officers belonging to the Farmers demanding a *Denier* * of an Herb-Woman for a bundle of Cresses; the Rabble gathered together upon the noise this Woman made, grew into fury, went and broke open the Town-Hall to get Arms, and took out three or four thousand iron Maillets or Hammers, for which cause this seditious crew were named the *Mailletiers*. After this they massacred all that were concerned to gather it, plundered their Houses, and razed them, open'd the Prisons and took out all the Criminals; amongst others, *Hugh Aubriot* Prevost of *Paris*, whom they made their Captain, but he forsook them the very same night and fled to his own Countrey of *Burgundy*.

He had been condemned some Months before at the Suit of the Clergy, to end his days between four Walls, for crimes of Impiety and of Heresie, and shewing himself a most bitter Enemy to the Scholars and Heads of the University.

The Sedition at *Rouen* which hapned at the same time, was called the *Harelle* *. The Populace took a wealthy Merchant, and perforce gave him the Title of King; then leading him in triumph about the City, compell'd him to declare an abolition of all Imposts.

The King was counsell'd to punish the Mutiniers, and not let fall any of those Impositions. He began with *Rouen*, going thither in person, he caused a Gate to be beaten down, that he might enter by that breach; Commanded all their Arms to be carried into the Castle, punish'd a great many of the Faction with death, then set up the Imposts with Taxes and Fines.

To compass their ends the more readily amongst the *Parisians*, they pretended to listen to the intercessions of the University, and a Deputation of some honest Burghers, who went to wait upon the King at the *Bois de Vincennes*, and to consent at last to the suppression of the Imposts, and forgiveness for all excess committed in their Mutinies; only they excepted those that had any hand in forcing the prisons of the *Chastelet*. Under this pretence a great many were taken, and the Prevost of *Paris* not daring to execute them publicly, threw them into the River by night at several times.

This severity not being capable to fright the *Parisians*, so far as to make them consent to the settling of the Imposts, they fell to Treaty with them, which ever proves advantageous to the Superiour, against his Inferiours. By this means the Court got an hundred thousand Francs of the City, to whom perhaps they would have given double the sum, could they have done it with Honour, to have had the liberty of returning thither.

1381.

1381.

* Constables, and such like Officers.

1381.

* Six make a Penny.

* Herd;

1381.

1382.

* Eleven years
old.* Ball, as Ba-
ker calls him.

"England was not less troubled with the like Commotions, having a King under age*, and Governours extremely covetous. Never was that Kingdom in so great danger. The Commons revolted against the Nobility, who in truth kept them in a most servile condition; One *John Valee** a Priest of the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, had so well catechised and instructed the Countrey fellows, by divers Discourses after they had been at Church, concerning the equality that God and Nature made amongst all Mankind, that they conspired the destruction of the Rich and Noble. To this end they flock to *London* in several parties, under pretence of demanding justice of the King, and stirred up all the Counties to joyn with them, like so many packs of Blood-hounds. For some Months the Citizens and Gentry durst not stir; but these Russians having neither Head nor Council, nor Discipline, their Captains being surprized and executed, they were soon dispersed, and beaten home with Cudgels like so many brute Beasts.

Because of these disorders the *English* entred upon a Conference with the *French*, to make a Peace; *Boulogne* was the place they met in: the Deputies not coming to a conclusion, made only a Truce for one year, during which time they went and entangled themselves in that War, which *Ferdinand* King of *Portugal* made against *John* King of *Castille*. The Earl of *Cambridge*, who had married a Daughter of *Peter* the Cruel, carried some Forces thither, fancying he might regain *Castille*, both to his own advantage, and the Duke of *Lancaster's*, his Brother, *France* failed not to assist the *Castillans*; and thus the *French* and *English* having a Truce in these parts, made War upon each other in *Spain*. Scarce had it lasted eight Months, when the *Portugais* not receiving from *England* all that assistance they were promised, claps up an agreement with the *Castillans*, and made the *English* their enemies.

* Livres.

The hundred thousand * *Francs* they drew from the *Parisians*, was the Duke of *Anjou's* last hand, who did not forward those Impositions, but only to have the greatest share himself for his voyage to *Italy*, whereof this was the Subject.

* Or Joane

After *Clements* party were ruined at *Rome*, *Urban* thinking to revenge himself upon *Jane** Queen of *Naples*, perswaded *Lewis* King of *Hungary* to send him *Charles de Duraz*, surnamed *Peaceable*, to come and take possession of that Kingdom, to whom he proffer'd the investiture, as being the nearest of the Males.

This Prince had all the obligations imaginable to Queen *Jane*, or *Joane*, for he was of the very same Blood as she, Son of *Lewis* Count de *Gravines*, who was the Son of *John VIII.* Son of *Charles the Lame*, and therefore Brother to King *Robert*. She had bred him with as much care and tenderness in her Court, as if he had been her own Child; she had married him to the Princess *Margaret* her Niece, she designed to make him her Successor, and kept his Children at this very time in her own Family. The execrable ambition for a Crown rendred him ingrateful, and made him break thorough all these obligations, and noble endearments. The Queen finding he was coming, with an intention and preparation to Dethrone her, had recourse to *France* her first Original, and adopted the Duke of *Anjou* for her Son and presumptive Heir, in *Anno* 1380.

King *Charles the Wise*, after the example of *St. Lewis*, would have spared nothing to establish his Brother in the Throne; but hapning to dye, the Enterprize was left in suspense. In the mean while *Charles* lost no time, for being Crowned King of *Sicilia* at *Rome*, in the beginning of the year 1381. he marched towards *Naples*, where being received without opposition, he besieged the Queen and her Sister *Mary*, in the Castle del'Ovo, forced them in fine to surrender, after his having defeated and taken *Otho* of *Brunswic*, *Janes* fourth Husband, and caused both of them to be strangled in prison.

1381.

1381.
and 82.

Those succors the Duke of *Anjou* was leading to that unhappy Princess, being now useless, and *Charles* by that time settled in the Kingdom; the Duke was hesitating whether he should pass the Mountains. Pope *Clement*, who had but this one way to Dethrone *Urban*, engag'd him by such great assurances and advantages, as plainly manifested, he did not care whether he ruin'd the Church, both in her Spirituals and Temporals, provided he could but compass his own establishment.

1382.

It was about the end of the last year the Duke had certain news that Queen *Jane* was Besieg'd, and caused his Forces to march towards *Provence*. The Pope invests him with the Kingdom of *Sicilia*, and Crowned him at *Avignon*, the Thirtieth day of *May*. *Jane* had been dead eight days, but as it was not known in a long time, he gave him only the Title of Duke of *Calabria*. The *Provençals* were not satisfied or

or consenting to the adoption of the Duke, much less would they own him for their Sovereign whilst *Jane* was alive: nor would he take the Crown or leave them, till he had made himself sure; it took him up six Months time to reduce them, and afterwards he loaded them with all manner of Taxes and Imposts, as he had done the *French*.

After he had exacted all he could, he passes into *Italy*, his Army consisted of Thirty thousand Horse. *Anne VI.* Earl of *Savoy*, one of the most renowned Princes of his time, accompanied him with Fifteen hundred Lances, all Knights or Esquires.

Being entred into the Kingdom by the *Marca Anconitana*, not without much toil, he took the City of *Aquila*, and divers other places in *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, and was acknowledged by several *Grandeas* of the Countrey.

Charles, desirous to be rid of him without any hazard against so potent an enemy, had recourse to the inventions of those Countreys, and sends him a crafty poysoner, under the Title of a Herald: this wickedness being discover'd, and the false Herald beheaded and Quartered, he bethinks him of challenging *Lewis* to a Combat, to amuse him and gain time; their *Cartels* are to be seen, they are dated in the Month of *November*; a single Combat between Man and Man was first propounded, then they agreed to decide all Disputes by ten on each side. The Earl of *Savoy* was to be the Chief on *Lewis's* part, but *Charles* by a hundred delays and evasions, temporised till he furnished all his Places, and then openly broke off all that Project.

1382.

* Challenges:
1382.
in November.

"This year hapned the Tragical History of the only Son of the Count de *Foix*, and *Agnes*, Sister of the King of *Navarre*, whose Name, as his Fathers, was *Gaston Phébus*. The Count not much caring for his Wife, because he entertained a Mistress, took occasion to send her back to her Brother, for that he took no care to pay the Ransom of the Lord d'Albret. Now the Son going to see his Mother in *Navarre*, this wicked Uncle gave him a Powder to strew upon his Fathers Meat, making him believe, that so soon as he had swallowed any he would recall his Mother. The young Boy too credulous, took that for a Philtre, which in effect was a deadly poyson, and did not conceal what he would do, from a bastard-Brother of his: the Bastard having told the Count, this unfortunate Father, after he had most outrageously used his Son both by Words and Blows, cast him into prison where he lost his Life, either through Grief, or by his hands that had given it him.

1382.

The Earl of *Flanders* had besieged *Ghent*, and was himself at *Bruges*, whose Inhabitants rendred him all possible service to destroy that City their grand enemy. The *Ghentois* reduced to hunger by their Earl, without being able to obtain pardon, stak'd down all they had left at once. The First day of *May*, by the advice of *Artevelle*, and under his Conduct, they went forth to the number of Five thousand Men resolved to dye, and the Third day presented themselves before *Bruges*.

1382.

They had no more Provisions then what was loaded in seven Waggon, and had left none at *Ghent*. It had been easie for the Count to have famish'd them; nevertheless, blinded with revenge, he chose rather to fight them the same day; he had only Eight hundred Lances, but of the Burghers there went forth above Forty thousand Men. Amidst this terrible multitude, there was more of pride and outward pomp, then inward and true courage, they gave ground upon the very first shock; the *Ghentois* pursued their point, and entred pell-mell with them into the City, made themselves Masters, sacked it, and slew above Twelve hundred of the principal Tradesmen, their mortal enemies.

The Count that night hid himself in the Garret of a poor Widows House, between the Bed and Matt, where her Children lay, and escaped the next day to *Pille*; disguised like a Mechanique. This miraculous success brought all the Cities in *Flanders* over to the *Ghentois* Faction, only *Audenard* excepted. *Artevelle* admired by all as the deliverer of his Countrey, took upon him the garb and state of a Sovereign. Prosperity tumbled him down again, as Adversity had raised him.

The *Flemming*, thus rudely handled, had recourse to the King of *France* his Sovereign, by the interest of the Duke of *Burgundy* his Son-in-law, and *Artevelle* craved the assistance of the King of *England*. This last moving but slowly, miss'd an opportunity that would have been of great advantage to him; but those that were of Council to *Charles*, complying with the humours of that young Prince, which were

1382.

were conformable to the interests of France, resolved to quell the City of *Ghent*, which seemed to be the Spring-head of all those popular disturbances.

Having therefore taken out the Standard of *St. Denis*, named the *Oriflamme*, with the accustomed Ceremonies, he went into the Field about the beginning of *September*, *Arras* was the general Rendez-vous for his Army, which was made up of Sixty thousand Fighting Men, amongst which were Twelve thousand Men at Arms, and almost all the Princes, great Officers and Lords of the Kingdom. *Artevelle* who had besieged *Audenard* about two Months, left about Fifteen thousand Men there to keep those Posts, Commanded by *Dubois*, and marched thence with Forty thousand, resolved to fight the *French*, although he had no Cavalry. The First brush was about the passage over the River of *Lys*, where the *French* twice gained the Bridge de *Comines*; the Second was near the City of *Ypre*, where *Dubois* lost Three thousand Men, and was wounded himself; the Third was a general Battle between *Rosbeque* and *Courtray*.

Artevelle was come thither, and had encamp'd himself with so much confidence and presumption, that he commanded his Men to give no quarter but to the King, whom he was to send prisoner into *England*, whilst he went on to conquer and share all *France*. Being informed of the great strength and excellent order of the *French* Army, he would have avoided his personal danger, and have absented himself, upon pretence of going to fetch Ten thousand Men more to joyn with them, but the rest made him stay there as it were perforce.

1382. in November. The Battle was fought the Twenty seventh of *November*. The *Flemmings* kept in a very close Order, but did not fight with vigor and alacrity; the *French* Horse pressed so hard upon them, they had not Elbow-room to strike with much force. There were near Forty thousand of them slain, either in the fight or the pursuit, amongst whom was their General *Artevelle*, whom they could hardly distinguish in such heaps of dead Carcasses.

The courage of the *Ghentois* much depressed by this cruel blow, was afresh revived and inspired by *Dubois*, who brought some Forces to them which he had in *Bruges*, and by the coming on of Winter, which hindered the Conquerors from besieging them; so that in some overtures that were propounded for an accommodation, their carriage appeared as haughty as if they had gained the Battle.

1382. in December. The other Cities that had sided with them, redeemed themselves by great sums of Money; *Courtray* did not enjoy that favour, although they had paid down the purchase; the cause of this their misfortune, was said to be the resentment of the *French* for their annual Festivity, in commemoration of that Battle they had gained over them in the year 1302. with certain Letters from the *Parisians*, which were found, making mention of a League between the Cities in *France* with those in *Flanders*, for the utter rooting out of the Nobility; they were therefore plundered, massacred, and the Town afterwards set on fire.

And in effect, as soon as the King was gone out of *France*, the Citizens of *Paris*, *Rouen*, *Troyes*, *Orleans*, and several others, had taken up Arms upon occasion of the Imposts; insomuch that the Princes and the Grandees, who sought to make advantage of Confiscations and Fines; having easily perswaded the King, whether it were true or not; that the People had conspired against the Crown; that young Prince, by their advice and instigation, severely chastised those Cities, by putting great numbers to death, by Proscriptions, revocation of Privileges, and excessive Taxes.

1383. The *Parisians* as proud, but less courageous than the *Ghentois*, went armed forth to meet him in the Plain near *St. Denis*, to the number of Thirty thousand, to pay their respect to him in appearance; but in truth to let him see their strength: Nevertheless, they did too much and too little, for they returned every one to his own home, upon his first word of Command. He entered their City therefore, as into a place conquer'd by force, caused their Gates to be unhinged, their Barricado's to be broken down, took away their Chains and all their Arms, their Prevost of Marchants and Sheriffs Offices; and afterwards a great many of their Lives, who were drowned in the River, or hanged, or else beheaded.

1383. Amongst those of the last number, was the Kings Advocate, *John de Marais*, more guilty for opposing the Princes exactions, then for contributing towards their popular commotions. After all these punishments, they ordered all the Citizens of both Sexes, to appear together in the *Palace-yard*. The King sitting on his Throne, which was raised very high, the Chancellor *de Orgemont* shewed them the horror of their reiterated crimes, in such harsh terms, and terrible expressions, as seemed to bid them all prepare for death. They prostrated themselves upon the ground, the Ladies

Ladies with dischevell'd Hair, the Men beating their Breasts, all crying out for Mercy. The Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy* fell on their knees before the King, who, as if he had been moved at their Prayers, did with his own Lips pronounce, that he did pardon them, and did commute the punishment they had deserved to pecuniary Mulcts and Fines.

This was the true meaning of all that Theatrical project; above one moiety of their Goods was now exacted from them; and then whilst their terror was yet upon them, the Imposts were again settled, and they were levied with unexpressible extortion. The other Cities were Treated in the like manner; and these vast sums went almost wholly into the pockets of the Nobility, who soon squandering them away again in foolish and vain expences, did in some sort justify those commotions, which they so horribly chastised.

The *English* perceived, but too late, the fault they had committed, in not supporting the *Ghentois* more early; and therefore the Truce being expir'd, they resolved to assist them. *Urban* founding his Trumpet of war in every corner against the *Clementines*, a Croisado had been preached up in *England*, whereof *Henry Spencer* Bishop of *Norwich* made himself Chief. Being landed at *Calais*, instead of attacking the *French*, he fell upon *Flanders*, pretending that Countrey belonged to the King of *France*, who was a *Clementine*.

The taking of *Gravelin* and a Battle he won nigh that place, over twelve thousand *Flemmings*, brought a terror upon the whole Countrey. After which, having had a re-inforcement from the *Ghentois*, he laid Siege to *Ypres*; but the King returning personally into *Flanders* with a powerful Army, drove him from that place, re-took and sacked *Bergh*, which the *English* had forsaken, and shut them up in *Bourbourg*; he might have taken them at discretion, had not the mediation of the Duke of *Bretagne* obtained them terms that were honourable enough. The History written by the Monk of *St. Denis*, speaks not a word of the Bishop of *Norwich*, but attributes this expedition to the Duke of *Gloucester*. However it were, he that Commanded was forced to go back into *England* without much credit, and almost without any of his Men.

This rebuke inclined the *English* to desire a Peace; Deputies on either side were sent to the Village of *Lelighen*, in the mid-way between *Calais* and *Boulogne*. The Duke of *Lancaster* would comprehend the *Ghentois*, and the Earl of *Flanders* opposed it: which caused the Conference to end only in a Truce from the Month of *October*, till *St. Johns* day following, of which it was allowed the *Ghentois* should be partakers.

The Earl at his going thence, having retir'd himself to *St. Omers*, was seized with a Malady, whereof he died the Three and twentieth of *January*, in the year 1384. this grief attending him to his death, that he beheld his Countrey laid in ashes, and glutted with the blood of his own Subjects. Perhaps it wounded his Heart to hear the Duke of *Berry* reproach him with most injurious terms; That his too obstinate revenge was cause of all those mischiefs. *Philip I.* Duke of *Burgundy* his Son-in-law succeeded him in all his Estates, and carried on the War against the Rebels, but with more mildness, and a design of reclaiming those stubborn Spirits, and bringing them to a true submission, rather by policy and perswasion, then by force.

During the Truce there were certain Troops of Robbers who ravaged all *Guyenne*. The Marechal of *Sancerre*, Governour of the Province, could not put up their Robberies, they having been so insolent as to attaque himself, wherefore he cut them all off. There was another rising of the Peasants, as cruel as those of the *Jacquerie*, who over-ran *Poitou*, *Berry*, and *Auvergne*, and most inhumanely butcher'd all those whose Hands were not hardned with Labour; they were named the *Tuchins*; their Leader was named *Peter de la Bruyere*. The Duke of *Berry* drew his Forces together, dispersed them, and put their Ring-leader to death, with many more of his Rustiques.

After the departure of the Duke of *Anjou*, the Duke of *Berry* and the Duke of *Burgundy* engrossed all Authority, but especially this last. The Duke of *Bourbon* finding he was not able to make head against him, quitted the Government of the Kings Person, and partly to perform a Vow he had made to go into the *Holy-Land*, went into *Africk* with the Count de *Harcour*, the Lord de *la Tremouille*, and other Lords and Gentlemen, to the number of Eight hundred, and a much greater number of Adventurers of divers Countries, with whom he signaliz'd his Courage and Conduct against the Moors of *Barbary*.

The

1383.

1383.

1384.

1384.

Emp.
Wenceslaus and
Emmanuel II.
Son of John,
R. 24 years.
1384.

1384.

The King of *Armenia Minor*, sprung from the Blood of *Luzignan*, flying from the cruelty of the *Turky* who had conquer'd his Kingdom, and kept his Wife and Children in Captivity, came for relief, and assistance to the *French* Court, where the King gave him Honourable Entertainment during all the rest of his days. He enjoy'd it to the year 1404. then died at *Paris*, and was interred at the *Celestines*.

1383.
and 84.

As to the Affairs of *Naples*, *Charles de Duraz* and his Captains, behaved themselves so well, that cutting off all Provisions from *Lewis* of *Anjou*, and either following, or flanking him, so as to prevent his Fighting them, they reduced him to the extremest want of all necessities, even of Cloaths; insomuch as this Prince, who had carried away all the Kings Treasure, had no more left him then a Coat of painted Cloth to wear, and one Silver Bowl to drink in. He had sent *Peter de Craon*, an *Angevin* Lord into *France*, to bring him Money and Succours; this faithless Friend made no haste to return, amusing himself at *Venice* with the divertisement of some Courtisans. After the unfortunate Prince had waited a long time without any tidings of him, he sunk under his grief, and died the Tenth day of *October*, in this year 1384. or as some others will have it, the One and twentieth day of *September* the year following.

1384.

"The Earl of *Savoy* died in the month of *March*, either of the Plague, or by "drinking Water out of a Fountain that had been poison'd. His Son *Amé VII.* Succeeded him. We must observe that this *Amé VI.* was the In-
stitutor of the Order of the *Collar*, which was composed of Love-knots, together
with the Symbolical Letters of the House of *Savoy*, and had at the end a kind of
"a Ring, or wreathed Coronet. Duke *Charles III.* being at *Chamberry*, Anno 1518.
"changed the name of this Order to that of the *Annunciado* * to honour the Holy
"Virgin in that mystery which is the most agreeable to her; adding Fifteen White
"Roles to the Fifteen Love-knots, in remembrance of her Fifteen Joyes, and filled the
"Pendant with Figures of the Annunciation.

* The Red.

* Annunciation.

The unhappy remnants of the Duke of *Anjou's* Army perish'd by Famine and Want, excepting such as dispersing by small parties, retired into *France*, begging their livelihood, and receiving more injuries, and opprobrious words in their Travels, then they got bits of Bread.

1385.

The *Angevin* party was not for all this quite extinct in that Kingdom, it subsisted yet in the hearts of some Lords of that Countrey, whereof *Thomas de St. Severin* was the Chief, and who afterwards served very well upon occasion. For this time the Kingdom rested quietly under *Charles de Duraz*.

* He was like-
wife named
Charles de la
Paix, and
Charles the
Little.

1385.

The Truce with the *English* being expired, the King, who began to take cognizance of his Affairs, held a grand Council, to deliberate whether they ought to continue it. It was the interest of the Duke of *Burgundy*, because of his Low-Countries, to have a Peace with the *English*; but to counterpoise his Power, and to flatter the young Kings heat, they resolv'd on a War, and even to carry it into their own Countrey. To this purpose they fitted up a great Fleet at *Sluce*, and they sent to the *Scots* to oblige them to a rupture of the Truce on their side.

1385.

By the methods the Kings Uncles Governed, it appeared plainly, they had a mind to suck the Peoples Blood to the very last drop. The Clergy, that they might secure something for their subsistence, held an Assembly, where they decreed that their Revenues should be divided into three parts, the one to be for the maintenance of the Churches, the other for Ecclesiastical Persons, and the Third for the King, without any mention of the Poor.

Pursuant to the recommendation of the late King *Charles the Wise*, the young Kings Uncles sought a Wife for him in *Germany*; the opinions in Council were different and divided, the Duke of *Burgundy* carried it for *Isabella*, Daughter of *Stephen* Duke of *Bavaria*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*. The King Married her at *Amiens* the . . . of *July*. In the preceding month of *April*, the Nuptials between *John* the Duke of *Burgundy's* Son, and *Marguerite*, Daughter of *Albert* Duke of *Bavaria*; Earl of *Hainault*, *Holland* and *Zealand* were consummate.

1385.
and 86.

"The great design upon *England* being laid aside, after a vast expence, that something might come of it, *John de Vienne* Admiral, went with Threescore Sail to *Scotland*, and there landed to attack the *English* on that side. He made an irruption into their Countrey and took some Castles, but the savage humour of the *Scots*, could not comply with the free liberty of the *French*. Besides, Love had invaded the Admirals Heart and Head, which made him court a Lady of the Kings Parentage; whereat that whole

whole Court, not being acquainted with those Gallantries, took such offence, that he found it the best way to make his escape with all diligence.

The obstinate *Ghentois* would not yet bend, they had two new Leaders, *Francion* and *Atreman*, who hardned them against all apprehensions of punishment: This obliged the King to make a third step into *Flanders*. They had no Port could receive any *English* Succours but *Damm*, the King having taken that by force, and afterwards burning all the Houses round about their City; the Rebels in the end began to hearken to Propositions for an accommodation, being inclined by the more pacifique humour of *Atreman*, one of their new Chiefs, in despite of all the practices of *John du Bois*, and returned to the obedience of the King, and the Duke of *Burgundy* their Lord.

This Prince quite wearied with this tedious War which ruined all his Countrey, gave them a general *Amnesty* for all things that were past, and the confirmation of all their privileges, upon condition they would renounce all Leagues, and that the first that should violate the Peace, might forfeit his Life and all his Goods. The Treaty was Signed the Eighteenth of *December*.

A Truce was renewed likewise between *France* and *England* for some Months.

Charles de Duraz, not being satisfied with having invaded the Kingdom of *Naples*, went also into *Hungary* and usurped that upon *Mary*, one of the Daughters of *Lewis* the Great his Benefactor, who died Anno 1381. and Wife to *Sigismund*, Brother of the Emperor *Wenceslaus*, whom he detained in captivity with the Widow Queen his Mother. After so many Treacheries and cruel Ingratitudes, Heaven suffer'd him to be murder'd himself, by the order of *Nicholas Gato*, one of the Palatines of that Kingdom, who was very affectionate to the Princesses, which hapned the Sixth day of *January*, in the year 1386.

The same year the Widow-Queen and her Daughter going into the Countrey, fell into the hands of *Horvat*, Governour of *Croatia*, one of King *Charles's* Partisans or Confederates, who to revenge the death of his Master, caused the Widow and the Murderer *Gato* to be massacred. He kept the Princess some time, then sent her to *Sigismund*, having first obliged her by all sorts of Oaths to pardon him. *Sigismund* did not think himself bound by her promises, and therefore having surprized him, made him dye amidst a thousand torments.

The news of *Charles's* Murder being brought into *Italy*, *Thomas de Sanseverin* caus'd *Lewis II.* eldest Son of the deceased Duke of *Anjou*, to be proclaimed King, and *Clement VII.* to be owned Pope. Afterwards *Marguerite* the Widow of *Charles* being retired to *Cajeta* with *Ladislaus* or *Lancelot* her Son, aged about Ten years, he reduced almost the whole Kingdom, and *Naples* it self. Thus all things went on smoothly for *Lewis*, till *Mary de Blois* his Mother and Governess, having sent *Clement de Montjoye*, Nephew to Pope *Clement*, with the Title and Authority of Vice-Roy, the *Sanseverins* thinking themselves under-valued, were alienated from her Service, and turned to *Ladislaus*.

In the mean while *Lewis* was put into possession of *Provence*, and invested with the Kingdom of *Naples* by *Clement*, but it was not without great trouble, before the *Provençaux* would acknowledge him: the Kings Council themselves inciting them underhand to a Rebellion upon divers motives, because they would have disposed them to give themselves up to *France*.

After Five or Six years Truces and petty Wars, the Council resolv'd to attack the *English*, not in *Guyenne* only, but even in their own Island. For this end they made the most formidable preparations of Men, Engines, and Ships, that ever yet were seen. They bought up or hired all the Vessels they could light on, from the Ports of *Sweden* to those in *Flanders*; they built a City of Wood which was to be taken in pieces, to shelter themselves upon their Landing. The King went to *Sluyce* to take a view of his Army and Navy, consisting in Nine hundred Vessels. The Duke of *Berry's* envy and jealousy retarded the progress; he would needs break the design, because he was not the contriver. In order to which he made them wait for him till the Fourteenth of *September*, when the Seas began to appear un-navigable. So the Forces drew off into Quarters, part of this numerous Fleet were scattered by Tempests; the *English* pickt up many that were wrack'd, or stragled.

There was no reason to trust the Duke of *Bretagne* too much, because of his too many Obligations to the *English*, and the consideration that their suppression must be his ruine: wherefore they warily minded his actions: but he to justify himself, laid Siege to *Brest*, which they yet held as a bridle to *Bretagne*. The Constable assisted him in the undertaking, the place was mightily streightned; but when they were at

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the last gaspe, the Duke of *Lancaster* who was going into *Spain* with great Forces, made them raise the Siege.

The occasion of his voyage was this, *Ferdinand*, last King of *Portugal* had no Child, but a Daughter born of a Lady whom he had taken from her Husband. He caused this Girl to be owned as his presumptive Heyress; as likewise the Mother had been owned Queen, and married her to *John* King of *Castille*, who was a Widow and had two Sons; but when he died, the principal Cities of *Portugal* apprehending the *Castilian* bondage, had more mind to have a bastard Brother of *Ferdinands* for their King, his Name was *John*. *Froissard* names him *Denis* thorow a mistake, instead of saying he was Grand Master of the Order *D' Avis*.

The fortune of the War was favourable to the Bastard, he gained a Battle at *Jubero* against his adversaries, the *Castilians* having out of an ugly jealousy, suffer'd the *Gascous* and *French* to be defeated, who took their part with above Eight thousand Men, and then were afterwards themselves defeated. Notwithstanding this advantage, it was to be feared the *Castilian* would be able yet to crush them, and therefore the Bastard sent to the Duke of *Lancaster*, inviting him to come and pursue the right he had to the Kingdom of *Castille*; as on the other hand the *Castilian* had recourse to *France*.

1386. The Duke of *Lancaster* passed therefore into those Countreys with a huge force, conquer'd a part of *Castille*, and struck such a terror into all the rest, that King *John* made some overtures of Peace; but he spun out the Treaty awhile, expecting the *French* succours: when he found those did not come, the Duke of *Bourbon* their Conductor marching very slowly, he concluded the Treaty; the Duke of *Lancaster* Sealed it by the Marriage of two of his Daughters; one with the King of *Portugal*, and the other with the *Castilians* eldest Son.

This little piece of Honour cost the *English* very dear, the losses they suffer'd by contagious Sicknesses in *Spain*, and afterwards by Storms in their return, were so great, that the Duke of *Lancaster* hardly carried home the sixth part of his Men, and not one but in a languishing condition, half dead with malady and pain.

At last by a just punishment from Heaven, *Charles* the Wicked, who had blown up so many flames, and burnt so many entrails with his violent poysons, was most cruelly burnt himself. He had caused his Body to be wrapp'd all over with Sheets drenched in Spirit of Wine and Sulphur, to corroborate the natural heat decay'd by his debauches; this took fire, I know not by what accident, and broiled him to the very bones, whereof he died three days after, being the First of *January*, in the year 1387. *Charles*, called the Noble, his Son succeeded him.

1387. The Constable *Cliffon*, and the Admiral *John de Vienne*, had so fill'd the King's Head with the expedition for *England*, that he makes another preparation to execute it this year. The state of Affairs was very favourable, all *England* was in combustion against King *Richard*, because he had put mean and vile People into places of the highest Trust who bear all the sway, which his Uncles could not endure, nor indeed would they have the Power lodged in any other hands but their own.

Now when *France* was on the point of making advantage of these troubles, the Duke of *Bretagne*, either of intelligence with the *English*, or without thinking of them, was cause of interrupting the Enterprize this time, as it had been formerly. *Cliffon* was then in *Bretagne*, to dispatch the Forces that were at *Treguier*, that they might go and joyn with those at *Sluyce*: but at the same time he was Treating of the Marriage of one of his Daughters, with *John* the Son of *Charles de Blois*, whom he had purposely got out of the hands of the *English*, where he had been detained ever since the time his Father *Charles* had left him there in hostage.

1387. The Duke, not without cause, imagined that this Alliance was making with design to disturb him in the possession of his Dutchy. He sent for the Lords of the Countrey of *Vennes*, under a pretence of holding a great Council. *Cliffon* goes thither with his Train; after Dinner the Duke carrying him to see his Castle de *P'Ermine*, which he was building by the Sea-side; he caused him to be stopt in a Tower, and *Beaumanoir* with him, and commanded *Bavalan*, who was Captain of the Castle, to throw them by night into the Sea.

The faithful disobedience of this good Servant, gave the Duke his Master time to repent his having given Command for the death of the Constable; and the intercession of the Lord de *Laval*, who at the peril of his Life, would never forsake his Brother-in-law; drew him out of prison, upon condition of paying the sum of One hundred thousand Franks, and the surrendring of three Castles. But *Cliffon* would not forgive as the Duke had forgiven; and the King taking this affront done

to

to his prime Officers much to heart, sent for the Duke to give an account of his actions.

The King went to *Orleans* expressly, the Duke having made them wait for him a long time, sent to be excused; *Cliffon* pleaded his own Cause, accused him of Treason, and threw down his gage of Battle, which no body took up. The Duke taking the advice of the Barons, came at length to *Paris*, and by the favour of the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*, was kindly received by the King, and in some measure, made friends with the Constable, by restoring him both his Money and his Castles.

1388.

"That question so much debated, touching the conception of the Sacred Virgin Mother, was begun in the last age amongst the Professors of Divinity. The *Jacobins*, according to the opinion of their *St. Thomas*, and their *Albertus* the Great, maintained, that she had not been exempt of the original stain. The *Cordeliers* their perpetual antagonists, took occasion upon this point to fall foul upon them, as if they did denigrate the Honour of the Mother of God. The common People, and such as were most zealous, applauded these last; and most part of the Prelates and the Universities adhered to them; but the *Jacobins* standing up too stiffly against the Torrent, fell under the Peoples hatred, and the reputation of being Heretiques. One of their principal Doctors, named *John de Moncon*, for having Preached too freely on that point, was condemned solemnly by the Bishop of *Paris*, and then by the Pope himself, before whom he had brought his Appeal. Which was more, the University forbid them the Pulpit, and cut them off from their Body, to which they were not rejoined till the year 1403. And in the mean time they were to undergoe the indignation of the Court, the shoutings of the common People, and which was worst, great necessity.

1387. and 88.

William the Son of the Earl of *Juliers*, and who was Duke of *Guelders* by his Mother, Daughter of Duke *Renauld* the I. of that name, had some contest or wrangle with the Duke of *Burgundy*, who supported the Dutcheffs of *Brabant*, whom he was to succeed in the detention of certain places of *Guelders*, which *Renauld* had otherwise engaged. Now because the *Burgundian* employed the Forces of *France* against him, this petit Duke, truly generous and magnanimous, but rash in this point had the confidence to declare * a War against the King, who had twenty Lords in his Train more powerful and considerable then he.

1388.

His bold bragging did not last long, the King fell on a suddain upon the Countrey of *Juliers*. The Father much astonished disowns his Son, to turn away the storm, demands Peace by the Arch-Bishop of *Colens* means, and offers his Homage. The Army therefore quits his Territory, and goes into that of *Guelders*; the young Duke persists a month longer in his obstinacy. In the end the Duke of *Burgundy* perswades him to crave pardon. Being come to wait upon the King, he disowned his Challenge, though Sealed with his own Seal, and submits, and refers the Disputes he had with the Dutcheffs of *Brabant*, to him; but did not renounce his Alliance with the *English*; nevertheless he was presented with such noble Gifts, as proved a temptation to the rest of the *Germans*, to engage them to the service of *France*.

* As little ones as he had done it formerly, but they were not alone.

The King had attained to the age of Twenty years, wherefore upon the Proposition which *Peter Aisselin de Montaignu*, Bishop of *Laon*, made in Council, he declared that he would take the administration of the Government into his own hands, and that he discharged his Uncles. He kept the Duke of *Orleans* his Brother near him; the Author of this Counsel, and the Duke of *Bourbon* not suspected by this Duke, and one whose sincerity was likely to give a fair prospect of good success to the Government. The other two withdrew in discontent. The suddain death of the Cardinal de *Laon*, which hapned soon after, was held in the opinion of many, for an effect of their resentment.

When the King first began to apply himself to take cognizance of his Affairs, the face of the whole Government looked with a better countenance for some little time. The King made choice of a new Council, wherein three Citizens, *Bureau de la Riviere*, *John le Mercier* Sieur de *Novian*, and *John de Montaignu* had the best part. He afterwards took off all the new Imposts, set aside the theiving Officers whom the Princes had put in, gave the Provostship which he had newly restor'd, to *John Jouvenal* the Advocate, an honest Man, Wise and Courageous; that of First Prelident to *Ouchard des Moulins*, sent all the Prelats to reside on their Benefices; and to have time to heal the Kingdom, whose very Bowels were torn and mangled, made a Truce for three years with the *English*.

1388.

1389.

During this calme, he diverted himself with actions of pomp and ceremony; at *St. Denis*; the Knighthood of *Lewis II. King of Sicilia*, and *Charles Earl of Mayne* his Brother, with Tournaments and Tiltings very stately: after that the Funeral of *Bertrand de Gueselin*, at *Melun*, the Marriage of his Brother *Lewis* with *Valentine*, Daughter of *John Galeazzo Duke of Milan*, and *Earl de Vertus* in *Champagne*; and at *Paris* in the *Holy Chappel*, the Coronation of the Queen his Wife.

The Marriage of *Lewis* his only Brother with *Valentine*, was in Treaty, Anno 1386. and consummate this year; she brought him in Dower Four hundred thousand Florins of Gold: the County of *Ast* to be enjoyed from that hour; and that of *Vertus* in *Champagne* after the death of the Father, with Rings and Jewels of an inestimable value. These huge sums enabled the young Prince to make great Purchases; These Acquisitions, and the greediness of his Wife inflamed his covetousness, as his birth and quality, inspired him with pomp and magnificence. So that being possessed with two contrary passions, of getting and spending, he succeeded his Uncle the Duke of *Anjou*, and even exceeded him in the unjust desire of pillaging the Kingdom, and snatching away the Goods of other People.

1389.

Upon the Popes intreaty the King made a journey to *Avignon*, where he was present at the Coronation of *Lewis of Anjou*, by the Popes hands. From thence he went into *Languedoc*, where he took information of the Duke of *Berry's* exactions, of which he heard daily complaints. They punished this Prince in his Ministers, by casting out several of the worst Officers, and making the Process of *John Berisac*, principal Counsellor and Minister of his violence. He was burnt alive for a crime against nature; and this was a Bon-fire to the People, whom he had most horribly vexed and abused.

From *Toulouze* the King went into the Countrey of *Foix*. *Gaston Phebus* received him magnificently, and having rendered him homage for his Countrey, intreated him that he would be his Heir; which was to deprive *Matthew Vicount de Castelbon* his Cousin-german by the Father, of his Succession, and get some share of it to fall upon his natural Son.

At his return he took away the Government of *Languedoc* from the Duke of *Berry*, and bestowed it upon the Lord de *Chevrense*; but five years after he restored it again to him, as he was going to make War upon the Duke of *Bretagne*.

A Second time the Duke of *Bourbon*, upon a request the *Genoese* made to the King, for his assistance against the *Barbarians* of *Tunis*, who by their continual Piracies, interrupted all manner of Trade, fitted out a Fleet, wherein were Five hundred Men at Arms, all Knights or Esquires, and a great number of Cross-bow Men. *Philip de Artois* Earl of *Eu*, the Count de *Harcour*, the Admiral *John de Vienne*, *Charles Sire d'Abret* were Volunteers; the Earl of *Derby*, Son to the Duke of *Lancaster* would needs be amongst them, with some Forces made up of his own Countrey-men. Being joyned with the *Genoese*, they laid Siege to the City of *Carthage*, at that time the Bulwark of the Kingdom of *Tunis*. The enterprize was greater then their Forces; at six weeks end they found themselves so disordered through the heats of the Climate, Labour and Wounds, that although they had gained a great Battle, yet they lost either their hopes or courage, and re-embarked again: the *Genoese* only had the craft to take advantage of the King of *Tunis*, by a private Treaty for liberty to Traffique.

1390.

To continue the abatement of Imposts, they ought to have retrench'd their expences at Court, and the cupidity of the Ministers, but both of these rather increasing then diminishing, their exactions were renewed. An honest Hermit the preceding year came to the King, commanding him in the name of God, not to oppress his Subjects. The words and admonitions of this poor Man, contemptible in the eyes of the Court, having wrought no effect, Heaven it self would make use of a more powerful voice, and express'd it self in wrath. About the midst of *July*, while the Council were assembled at *St. Germans en Laye*, to settle some new Impositions, the King and Queen being the same instant at *Mais*, on a sudden there arose such a dreadful storm of Wind, Hail and Thunder, as almost beat the Castle about the ears of those evil Counsellors, and so terrify'd them, they durst not go forward with their projects.

* *Lame* is to say *Lame*, the vulgar say *Tamberlan*.

"The *Turks* made mighty progress in *Europe*, *Sultan Amurat* gained a bloody Battle in the Plains of *Cosm*, against the Kings of *Servia*, *Bosnia*, and *Bulgaria* but he perished there; *Bajazet* his Son, Surnamed the *Thunder-bolt* succeeded him. About the same time *Themir-lanc** King of the *Tartars* raised himself to great power.

Lewis

Lewis the Kings Brother, buys the County of *Blois*, and that of *Dunois*, or *Chateaudun*, with some other Lands of *Earl Guy*, who had no Children. He likewise got of the King the Duchy of *Orleans*, notwithstanding all the Remonstrances the Burghers of that City made, by the mouth of their Bishop.

1391.

The chief ground of the mortal feud between the Houses of *Orleans* and *Burgundy*, was their disputes for the Government. Having been raked up now for a while, this year it began to break forth anew. The Duke of *Orleans* pretended to the administration, as being nearest related, and arrived at the age of Twenty years: but the Estates being assembled at *Paris*, gave their opinion for the Duke of *Burgundy*.

Gaston Phebus Earl of *Foix*, who bare the name and devise of the Sun, and who was so renowned for his Victories, his Generosity, his Buildings, his Magnificence, and his Train and Equipage equal to that of a King, died suddenly as they were filling Water for him to wash his Hands before Supper, after his return from Hunting. He had made a Gift of his County to the King, who not desiring to be beneath him in generosity, returned it to his Bastard-Son.

From whence soe're it came, or whose fault soe're it was, the Treaty between the Duke of *Bretagne* and *Cliffon* was broken. The Duke was infinitely troubled that *France* should support his Subject against him, and make a private Gentleman equal with him. The King sent for both of them to Court, the Duke far from coming thither, renewed his antient Alliances with *England*. Upon this day they dispatch the Duke of *Berry*, *Peter de Navarre*, and divers other Lords to him, to complain of the correspondence he held with strangers, his Coyning of Moneys, and making his Subjects give their Oaths to him, and against all others.

1391.

He imagined this stately Embassy was only to stir up his People, and was upon the point to seize on all of them as a pawn for his better security. His Wife having some hint of it, though she were great with Child, and at that time half undress'd, took up her Children in her Arms, found him out, and by the powerful influence and rhetoric of her Prayers and Tears, made him change his mind and resolution: She farther prevailed with him to go to *Tours* where the King was; but he came with Six hundred Gentlemen, and under the protection of the Duke of *Burgundy* his good Cousin. The King Treated him very civilly, and desired nothing more of him, but only that he would pay the remainder of the hundred thousand Franc's to the Constable, and give up some places to the Earl of *Pontieu*.

"*John Galeazzo** Viscount, had usurped the Seignury of *Milan* upon *Bernard* his Uncle, whom he put to death in prison, and had deprived his Son *Charles*, and a Daughter married to *Bernard*, Brother to the Earl of *Armagnac* of his Succession. This Earl for his Brothers sake, and upon the intreaty of the *Florentines* and *Bolognians*, whom *Galeazzo* oppressed, marched into *Lombardy* to make War upon him. Being more courageous then he, he kept the Field some time; but being less crafty, he fell into an Ambuscade near *Alexandria*, and was wounded to death; after which, his whole Army was dispersed, and dwindled to nothing.

* Or *Galeaze*.
1391.

The great desire the two Kings, *Charles* and *Richard* had, to joyn their Forces against the *Turks*, brought the Duke of *Lancaster* to a Conference with King *Charles* at *Amiens*, but the Propositions were so high on the *English* side, that the result at last was only a Truce for a year.

1392.

The more the authority of the Constable and his three dependants was confirmed, the more grievous was their power to the People. The King's Uncles fretted, and grew enrag'd, the Clergy betrayed by some of the Chief of their own Body, were on the brink of losing their immunities, had not the University, from whom they were also taking away all their Priviledges, bestir'd themselves, and put a stop to all School-Exercises and Preaching. When they observed that all Foreigners went away from *Paris*, and that such an Interdiction made a great noise all over *Europe*, even those that had undertaken the ruine of that Body, would needs have the honour of procuring them an Audience of the King, who did them justice upon their Complaints.

"The Support and Priviledges the Kings, ever since the time of *Lewis the Great*, had granted to this famous University, the Mother of all the rest that are in *Europe*; the infinite numbers of Students that came thither from the remotest Countreys, the strict adherence of the whole Clergy to them, to whom they were a Nursery and Seminary, and the Authority their Faculty of Divinity had acquired,

"to

"to judge of Doctrine, and Matters thereto relating, had rendred them so considerable, that in times of confusion they were called to consult in all Affairs of Importance; if not, they took upon them to make Remonstrances, and knew how to oblige others to follow them.

1392.

Peter de Craon was notoriously guilty of the loss of *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou* his Lord, the Duke of *Berry* had threatned to have him hang'd for it; yet he was no less regarded at Court, where the splendor of Birth and Riches, easily covers baseness and crimes. It hapned that he fell into disgrace with the Duke of *Orleans*, he fancied the Constable had done him that ill Office; he resolv'd upon revenge: and one Evening, the Thirteenth of *June*, as he was coming from the King, Assassinated him in *St. Catherine's* street, being assisted by Twenty Russians whom he had gotten together in his House *. He afterwards easily escaped out of *Paris*, the Gates having been always left open, ever since the Constable had caused them to be taken down upon his return from *Flanders*.

* *Hofel* or *Inc.*, as Great Mens Dwellings are called.

These wounds did not prove the death of the Constable, but they were the ruine of *Craon*. Three of the Murderers being discover'd and taken, were beheaded, his Goods confiscated and given to the Duke of *Orleans*; his House turned into a Churchyard for *St. John's* in *Greve*, and his stately Seats in the Countrey demolished. He could save nothing but his Person, by flying to the Duke of *Bretagne*, who kept him carefully conceal'd. Some years after the King granted his Pardon, upon the request of the Duke of *Orleans*.

When the Constable began to recover of his wounds, both those that were his friends, and such as were no way concerned, called earnestly upon the King to punish this attempt. There was upon this, Command sent to the Duke to deliver up the Assassin, he denies him to be in that Countrey; The Ministers exasperate the King, and perswade him to march towards *Bretagne* to destroy the Duke. In vain did his Uncles urge that this was but a private quarrel, which ought to be legally determined by the ordinary ways and methods of Justice, and that it was against the common Rights of Mankind, to fall upon the Duke of *Bretagne*, before he was proved Guilty or Condemned; they could not alter that Resolution.

1392.

Marching in the Sun-shine and great heats of weather in *August*, his Brain already much weakned with the debauchery of his youth, was discomposed with black and noxious vapours. Two unexpected, but frightful objects, heightened and hastned his phrensy. One day as he was going out of *Manse*, passing thorough a Wood, there came forth a tall black fellow, all weather-beaten and ragged, who laid hold of his Horses Bridle, bawling out, Stop King, Whither goest thou, thou art betray'd, then vanish'd. Soon after a Page who carried a Lance sleeping on horseback, let it fall upon a Helmet which another carried before him. At this shrill noise, and the sight of the posture of the Lance, the Apparition or Fantasmie, and its threatnings came fresh into his mind, his Fancy was disturbed, he imagines they were going to deliver him up to his enemy, and believed all those that were about him to be Traitors. This puts him into a violent fit of Fury, he runs, strikes, kills without Rime or Reason, till he fell into a Swoon. They carry him bound in a Chariot back to *Manse*.

Witchcrafts and Poysonings were so frequent in those days, that it was believed, his malady proceeded from some such Cause. The third day he recover'd his Senses, and by little and little his Strength (which was attributed to the publick Prayers made for him,) but not the full vigor of his understanding. In this disorder his Uncle resumed the Government, conducted him back to *Paris*, seized upon the three Citizen Favourites, who having undergone three Months imprisonment, with the continual fear of being led to execution, as was threatned, were set at liberty by the Kings Command, who ordered the greatest part of their Goods to be restored: but declared them for ever incapable of holding any Office-Royal. The Constable was so fortunate as to make his escape to his own Countrey in *Bretagne*, where he most bravely defended himself against the Duke, by the assistance of the Duke of *Orleans* and the rest of his friends. The Princes gave his Office to *Philip of Artois* Earl of *Eu*. All Offices being as then but Commissions, which were revocable.

1390.

* *Chartreux*.

Urban the Pope of *Rome* died in the Month of *October*, Anno 1389. *Boniface IX.* succeeded him; this Pope shewed himself to be very much inclined to re-unite the Church, dispatched a * Frier to *Clement*, to consult of some method to bring it about, *Clement* puts him in prison, but the University exclaimed so, that he released him.

Clement

Clement was therefore compell'd to feign, that he had a desire to put an end to that Schism. But when the University had declared, it was impossible to be effected without the renunciation of both Competitors, he and the Duke of *Berry* who took his part, highly broke off the Proposition. But they could never stop the mouth of that Mother of all Learning and Piety, from crying out against that scandal, which so afflicted the whole Church.

The 29th of *January* at the Nuptials of a Lady, belonging to the Queen, while the King and some young Lords were Dancing a Mascarade cloathed like Bears, the Duke of *Orleans* holding down a Flambeau to discover their Faces, set Fire to the Tow which was fastned upon the Bear-Skins with some kind of Glue. The Hall was in an instant fill'd with Flames, Shreeks, and the astonishment of all the Presence, they almost crouded themselves to death for haste to get out all together; some cried aloud, Save the King; the Dutches of *Berry* cover'd him with her Gown, which being clapp'd close about him, preserv'd him from that torrent of Fire; Three of those Masqueraders were most miserably broiled. The *Parisians* hated the Duke of *Orleans* to death for it, as if it had been a premeditated design, he durst not appear for several days; and to expiate that fault, he founded a Chappel at the *Celestines*.

1393.

This accident did somewhat discompose the Kings health, who was before it, pretty well recover'd; however, the strength of his age and constitution, or the Vows and Pilgrimages he made in Person, as other devout People did for him, did again restore him to a better temper and state: inasmuch as his Uncles having a Rendezvous at *Lellinghan*, between *Ardes* and *Guisnes*, to Treat about a Peace with the Crown of *England*, in whose behalf the Duke of *Lancaster* was commissioned; perswaded *Lancaster* to go to *Abbeville*, that the *English* might be satisfied how well he was. But he relapsed into his phrensy the Twentieth day of *June*, which held him till the Month of *January* following. They had recourse to Prayers, Fasting, Processions, the ablest Physicians, then Mountebanks, and even to Magicians. All this was in vain, the distemper lasted as long as his life, not continually, but at several times and Fits, and still worse and worse, they drawing him into great debaucheries and disorders in his better intervals.

They did not know well whom to lay the blame upon; the *Jews* were for the Seventh time enjoyned to quit the Kingdom, or their Religion, and become Christians: some chose to forsake their Religion rather than that Countrey, others sold all they had and went away.

The University continued the pursuit they had began, with mighty earnestness, the King being pleased with it, they held a great Assembly, wherin above Ten thousand of their Members gave their Suffrages in Writing, which tended to bring the Popes to one of these three things, either a Cession, or a mutual promise of Arbitration, or the Decision by a Council. And *Nicholas de Clamengis*, Batchelor in Divinity, a Man very eloquent, was ordered to compose a Discourse to the King, in an Epistolary Form, to which receiving no favourable answer, they put a Second stop to all their Exercises.

1391.

The new Constable, for want of other employment, had leave of the King to go into *Hungary* to make War upon the *Turks*, who having withdrawn themselves, the *Hungarians* employ'd him against the *Patarins*, these were a kind of Sectaries that were esteemed Heretiques.

1393.

Upon the Remonstrances of considering and prudent People, who laid open the ill consequences of Gaming, ever attended with idleness, the ruine of the richest Families, slinking, swearing, and even blasphemy: the Council set forth an Edict, prohibiting all sorts of sports, but that of the Long-Bow and Cross-Bows. The Courtiers, a very idle sort of People, and such as often neglect to acquire any other stock of virtuous knowledge, whereby to make better use of their spare hours, were concerned at this prohibition, as if it had been a business of great weight, and much to their prejudice, never leaving their intrigues, till they had got it to be repeal'd.

1394.

The free and bold Remonstrances of the University of *Paris*, being carried to Pope *Clement*, and read against his will by the Cardinals assembled, made him die through rage and displeasure. This news being brought to Court, the King wrote speedily to the Cardinals, to forbear the Election of a new Pope: but they guessing what his Letters imported before they open'd them, immediately proceeded and named *Peter de Luna* an *Arragonian*, who took the Name of *Benedict* * XIII. Before this Election they took an Oath to labour all they could to heal up this Schism, and that whoever were chosen, should be obliged to lay it down again, if it were judged

* Or *Benedict*.

judged necessary. *Peter de Luna* confirmed this Oath, and at the first shewed himself well inclined to do so.

1394. Upon this ground the King called an Assembly of the Prelats of *France* in his Palace; who concluded all unanimously, that a Cession was the most certain, and the most easie method. The Dukes of *Orleans*, of *Berry*, and of *Burgundy*, with Ambassadors from the King, and some Deputies from the University, went to *Bennet* at *Avignon*, to propound this expedient to him. Of his Fifteen Cardinals there was but one that withstood it; they therefore pressed him to condescend. He avoided it by a thousand wiles, and did so tire the Princes with his delays and evasions, that they returned again without obtaining any thing; and likewise without taking their leave; nevertheless he stopp'd their Mouths, and pacified them, by granting them power to raise another Tenth.

1395. King *Richard* and his Uncles, *Lancaster* and *Glocester*, were in mortal jealousies of each other for the reasons above-mentioned. *Richard* desiring to strengthen himself against them, demanded the Kings Daughter *Isabella* in Marriage, aged but Seven years. This was agreed unto, with the prolongation of the Truce for Twenty eight years. The Marriage was performed by Proxy.

The King relapsed for the third time into his former distemper; Some days he appeared to be quite stupify'd, at other times he would cry out as if they pricked him with a thousand Bodkins. He forgot his own quality and Name, and could not endure the sight of his Wife, but would suffer himself very patiently to be Governed by the Dutcheffs of *Orleans*; for which reason the common people would needs be perswaded that *Italian* had bewitched him. Indeed the Duke her Husband had the reputation of seeking for, and conversing with Magicians. The less credulous might well enough imagine, that she charmed the King with something that was a more natural spell, much like to those wherewith the Duke Governed the Queens mind. However it were, fearing the foolish multitude should do her some mischief, her Husband sent her for a while to *Chasteau-neuf* upon the *Loire*.

1396. In his best intervals, the King labour'd with all his might towards the re-union of the Church, using all his interest with the Christian Princes for that end. Divers Princes of *Germany*, the Kings of *Hungary*, *Castille*, *Aragon*, and *Navarre*, offer'd to joyn with him for the Cession; the *English* were for the having it to be determined by a Council. *Benedict* flatter'd and soothed them all, and promised one thing to one, and the quite contrary to another; his greatest care and drift being to keep them from agreeing all together upon one method, or expedient.

1396. The *Gallican* Church did not allow of Confessors to such as were condemned to suffer death by the Law; in this particular she followed the usage of the antient Canons, which did not admit to the Communion those that were branded with enormous crimes. The Monk of *St. Denis* observes in this year, that *Charles* the VI. was the first that granted them this favour, and says, the honour of obtaining it, was attributed to *Peter de Craon*, because he set up a Cross of Stone nigh *Montfaucon*, where those poor wretches use to make a stop to be confessed. In those times they did not hang any criminal within their Cities, they would have been thought too much polluted by that infamous execution, but they cut off their Heads. In many places they led the condemned persons on foot to the Gallows, and that before break of day.

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1396. The Seignery of *Genoa*, rather then submit to the command of *John Galeazzo*, Viscount of *Milan*, put themselves under obedience of the King, and transferr'd all the right of propriety they had to him. The Kings Commissioners left the Government to the Doge or Duke, after he had first resigned his Power and Dignity into their hands; but in a little time they gave that Command to *Boucicaut*.

The Factions in that Seignery had very near destroyed and brought it to nought; The City was filled only with Robbers and Murderers, the Noblest were banished thence, Merchants durst not open their Bank, those most in power made War upon each other from street to street, and had raised Towers at each corner of their Palaces, to defend themselves. The Marechal desiring to settle some Order, and his own Authority amongst them, commanded they should bring all their Arms into his Palace, forbad all Assemblies, cut off the Head of *Boccanegra*, and a dozen or fifteen more of the most Factious, made strict inquiry after such as had committed notorious crimes, raised and entertained several Companies that kept Guards in all the Markets and publique places, and built two Castles which had communication, with each other, the one named the *Darse* at the mouth of the Port, the other in the City, called the *Chasteles*.

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The Twenty seventh of *October* was appointed for the stately and magnificent interview of the two Kings upon the confines of their Territories, between *Ardres* and *Calais*, where they confirmed the Truce. The King of *England* espoused the Daughter of *France*, and rendred up *Brest* to the Duke of *Bretagne*, and *Cherbourg* to the King of *Navarre*: who three years afterwards sold it to the King.

"*France* having granted succors to the King of *Hungary* against *Bajazeth*, the Duke of *Burgundy* gave them *John* Earl of *Nevers* his Son to be their Leader. He had in his Army Two thousand Gentlemen of quality, besides the Earl of *Eu* Constable, Admiral *John de Nienne*, *John le Maingre-Boucicaut* Marechal of *France*, *Henry* and *Philip*, Sons of the Duke of *Bar*, *Guy de la Trimouille* his Fathers Favourite, and other Lords.

At first they performed such valiant acts, as are almost incredible, but their follies and dissolute lives, did after render them ridiculous to the very *Turks*. Besides, their presumption swoln by success, engaged them with the *Hungarians* in the Siege of *Nicopolis*, and then in a Battle the Twenty eighth of *September*, where the *Hungarians* not caring to second them as they ought, they were all cut off, or taken prisoners. *Bajazeth* caused above Six hundred to be hewed in pieces, in presence of the Earl of *Nevers*; and having made him dye almost as often with his threats and terrors, he reserved him with Fifteen more of the great Lords, for whose Ransom he obliged himself to pay Two hundred thousand Ducats. That sum being made good to them five Months afterwards, they were all set at liberty. The Earl of *Nevers* arrived in *France* about the end of *March* following. It is said that *Bajazeth* was so far from taking any Oath, that he should never make War again upon the *Turks*, that he exhorted him to take his revenge, and promised he should ever find him in the Field ready to give him any satisfaction.

The King was seized with the Fourth Fit of his Malady more severely then all the former had been. He recover'd it again, but was ever after troubled with it, at least three or four times each year.

The Earl of *Eu* dying in his imprisonment amongst the *Turks*, the Earl of *Sancerre* who was a Marechal of *France*, was honoured with the Office of Constable.

"We must observe, the better to understand what we shall relate hereafter, that this year King *Richard*, for some conspiracy, whether real or pretended, put his Uncle the Duke of *Gloucester* to death, as also the Earl of *Arundel*, and divers other Lords; and banished the Earl of *Derby* Son to the Duke of *Lancaster*, who sheltered himself in *France*, and began to Reign very tyrannically.

The Emperour *Wenceslaus*, King of *Bohemia* took a fancy, for what reason I know not, to visit the Court of *France*; the King went to meet him as far as the City of *Rheims*; this was in the Month of *March*, and received him with as much magnificence as affection. That Prince shewed his brutality the very second day the King had invited him to Dinner; and when the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bourbon* went to fetch him from his own Lodgings, they found he was already drunk, and taking his Nap to refresh himself, and digest his load of Wine.

Next day the King Treated him, the Entertainment and Mirth had lasted longer, if the King had not found a Fit coming upon him, which brought him back to *Paris*. He left the Duke of *Orleans* with him to keep him company, and confer with him about the means of putting an end to the Schism.

The Kings Council being weary of *Bennets* playing fast and loose, and daily disappointments, did decree, according as they were advised, by a great Assembly of Bishops, Abbots, and Deputies of the Universities, that the whole Kingdom should be subtracted from his Obedience, till he would condescend to the Session propounded; and that in the mean while the *Gallican* Church, conformable to her antient liberty should be governed by her Ordinaries, according to the Holy Canons.

Bennets Cardinals approved of this subtraction, and forsook him, retiring themselves to the new Town of *Avignon*: but he stood it out, and having gotten some *Aragonian* Soldiers to serve him for a Guard, shut himself in the Palace of *Avignon*. The Marechal *Boucicaut* had order from the King to besiege him there; he acquitted himself faithfully, and pent him up so close, that in a few days he would have been reduced to want of Provisions, when order came to him from Court to change the Siege into a Blockade, and suffer refreshments to be carried in. *Bennets* Artifice

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and his Money had gained some of the Grandees who contrived this for him. 1398. The Earl of *Perigord*, *Archambaud Taleyrand*, tormenting the Countrey with the help of the *English*, to whom he had ally'd himself, and especially the City of *Periguenx* which belonged to the King, was forced in his Castle of *Montagnac*, brought to the Parliament and condemned to death. The King gave him pardon for his life, but bestowed his forfeited Estate upon the Duke of *Orleans*.

Archambaud de Grailly *Capit de Buch*, having a Right to the Earldom of *Foix*, as having married the Sister of Earl *Matthew*, dead without Children, got into possession of it by the Sword. The King would not endure this, because he was a Vassal to the *English*, and from Father to Son very affectionate to that party. He therefore sent the *Mareschal de Sancerre*, who pursued him so close, that he was compell'd to desire a Cessation, during which he came to the King, and submitted himself to the judgment of the Parliament, giving up in the mean time, his two Sons in Hostage. The Parliament declared in his favour, conditionally he would relinquish the *English*; and the King put him in possession. This was in the year 1400.

1399. *Constantinople* was invested by the *Turks*, and in the greatest danger; *Pera* which is as the Suburbs to it, and from whence they fetched all their Provisions, was very likely to be taken. It belonged to the *Seignory of Genoa*: the *Mareschal de Boucicaut* going thither with only Twelve hundred Men, secured it, and by consequence the City. After he had disengaged all the parts round about, and made the *Turks* retire, whom he worsted in several Rencontres; his Pay, and Soldiers failing him, he came into *France* to sollicite for a greater reinforcement, bringing the Emperour along with him; leaving the Lord de *Chasteaumoran* in *Constantinople* to defend it.

1399. The disorders in the Court of *England*, caused by the ill Government of *Richard*, and the ambition of his Uncles, ended in a most Tragical Catastrophe. *Henry* Earl of *Derby* became Duke of *Lancaster* by the death of his Father, puts King *Richard* prisoner in the Tower of *London*, Deposed him by the Authority and Consent of Parliament, who degraded and condemned him to a perpetual imprisonment. Then he took the Crown the Eighteenth day of *October*, and was anointed with a Holy Oyl, which some *English* say, was brought by the Virgin *Mary* to *St. Thomas* of *Canterbury*, whilst he took refuge in *France*. This *Amponle* (or *Bottle*) that contains the Oyl, is of *Lapis*, and on the top stands a Golden Eagle enriched with Pearls and Diamonds. Notwithstanding this Unction, some while afterwards he gives way to the outcries of the People, who demanded that the unfortunate King might be strangled. The *London* Citizens held *Richard* in execration, because he had deliver'd up *Brest* and *Cherbourg* to the *French*.

1399. The Duke of *Bretagne*, who enjoy'd some repose, after the many traverses which had disturbed him from his Infancy, died the First day of *November* in the Castle of *Nantes*. He left his Children to the custody, not of his Wife *Jean* of *Navarre*, but of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and *Oliver de Clisson*, who alone were able to trouble them. He had three, *John*, *Arthur*, and *Giles*.

"In the Month of *November* of this year 1399. a Comet was seen of an extraordinary brightness, and darting its train towards the *West*. It appeared only for one weeks time, and was by Prognosticators, held as a sign of those great Revolutions that hapned all Chriftendom over, especially in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Empire.

1399. *Lewis* of *Anjou* had peaceably enough enjoy'd the better part of the Kingdom of *Sicilia*, when *Thomas de Sanseverin*, Duke of *Venousia*, offended for that he did not conclude upon the Marriage of his Brother *Charles*, Earl of *Mayne*, with his Daughter, made him odious to the *Neopolitans*, and introduced *Lancelot* and his Mother into the City, where he was Crowned King, and invested by the Pope of *Rome*. So that *Lewis* having only some Castles left, returned into *France* to crave assistance.

1400. "The Electors could no longer endure the Vices and brutish drunkenness of *Wenceslaus*, they degraded him, and in his stead elected *Henry* Duke of *Brunswic*, a generous Prince and great Captain; and this *Henry* being basely assassinated upon his return from the Diet, by the Count of *Waldeck*, they substituted *Robert* Duke of *Bavaria*, and Count *Palatine*, who was of the Electoral Colledge.

The Duke of *Milan*, fearing lest he might dispossess him, shut up all the passages, and hindred him from going to take the Imperial Crown at *Rome*; and *Sigismund* King

King of *Bohemia*, having procured himself to be chosen Guardian to *Wenceslaus* his Brother, under this Title made many of the *German* Princes of his party, who adhered to the House of *Luxemburgh*, or rather made this a colourable pretence to avoid the owning any Sovereign.

This year 1400. the Court of *France* received *Emanuel II.* Emperour of *Greece*, who came to give the King thanks for his assistance, and to crave more help of him. He met with all manner of good Entertainment, but nothing else, unless it were an annual Pension for his subsistence. He remained almost two years in *France*, at the and whereof, news being brought of the defeat, and taking of *Bajazet*, by *Themir-Lanc*, the King lent him the Lord of *Chasteaumorand* with two hundred Men at Arms, and gave him a sum of Money to re-conduct him to *Constantinople*.

There was not any thing of advantage presented it self, which the Duke of *Orleans* did not embrace with passion: he undertook the quarrel of degraded *Wenceslaus*, and raised a good force to restore him: but being informed of the ruine of his whole party, he came back again.

The desire to Rule, and ambition for Government grew hotter every day betwixt him and the Duke of *Burgundy*. Twice had they displaced each other from that advantageous Post; and besides, the *Burgundian* resented it highly, that the Duke of *Orleans* would have the Duke of *Bretagne* to be thrust out of all, who was his Wives Cousin-german, and his own surest friend. The frequent punctillo's between their Wives, exasperated them more then their own true interests; the Duke of *Burgundy's* being the elder, Heiress of a vast Estate, and sprung from very Noble Blood, despising the other, who in truth had been much beneath her, had she not been considered as Wife of the Kings only Brother.

The Duke of *Orleans* had then the upper hand, and was seized of the management of Affairs; the *Burgundian* could not quit his part, both the one and the other got their friends together, and *Paris* was surrounded with Soldiers. The *Orleannois* had called in the Duke of *Guelders* with Five hundred Men at Arms, the *Burgundian* was not weaker: but the Queen, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bourbon* appearing as Mediators, reconciled the Uncle and the Nephew, at least to outward shew.

At that time the King was in his Fits; when he was recover'd, the Duke of *Orleans* obtained of him that when he was ill, he should have the Government of the Kingdom. He imprudently began it by new Imposts, which rendred him odious to the People.

Infomuch that the *Burgundian* being returned to Court, found his party strong enough in the Council to obtain the Government again. Soon after the King coming out of another Fit, gave order that they should Govern jointly: but the Council, the Queen, and the other Princes and Lords, prayed him to recal it.

The Duke of *Orleans* went to take possession of the Dutchy of *Luxemburgh*, which he had purchased of *Wenceslaus* King of *Bohemia*, and made an agreement between the Duke of *Lorraine* and the City of *Mets*.

As for the Duke of *Burgundy* he went into *Bretagne*, where he rendred a signal piece of Service to *France*. *Jean de Navarre*, the Widow of Duke *John de Montfort* was going to be married with *Henry* King of *England*, and was ready to have carried her three Daughters with her; the Duke prevented this, and having taken order to preserve the Dutchy for them, brought them to the Court of *France*, to be bred up in an affection to that Crown.

Bennet found means to make his escape out of the Palace of *Avignon*, hearing about him the Body of our Lord, and certain Letters from the King, in which he had made promise never to forsake him. Immediately his Cardinals were reconciled to him, the City craved his Pardon, and the King of *Sicilia* made him a visit. The Court of *France* was hugely divided about the business of the Substraction; the Dukes of *Berry*, *Burgundy*, and *Bourbon*, insisted to persevere therein; the Duke of *Orleans* on the contrary: The Clergy of *France* were assembled to decide it.

The King of *Spain* declared by his Ambassadors, that he would take it off. In a word, they bestirred themselves so with the King, that he restored the Kingdom to the Obedience of *Bennet*. All the Universities consented, even that of *Paris* at last, unless the *Norman* People who resisted a long while. And all this change was made upon the Duke of *Orleans* becoming security for *Bennet's* good intentions: who after this, settled himself in *Avignon*, fortify'd it, and got some Soldiers into the City, and others quarter'd round the neighborhood, to maintain himself by power.

The Dukes of *Orleans*, *Berry*, and *Burgundy* disputed daily, and contended daily for the Government: they agreed in no one thing, but the laying of new Imposts: they had

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had their shares all three, but the odium fell chiefly upon the first for this as well as for the Schilm in the Church.

1404. All the whole time of this Reign, poor France was beaten with divers rods of Affliction, sometimes with parching Droughts, then otherwhiles with Floods of Rain and Inundations of Rivers; sometimes with violent Storms and Tempests, often with contagious or epidemical Diseases. There hapned so great a Mortality at Paris, in the year 1399. that they were fain to forbid all great Meetings. This year another was so rife it carried off an infinite number. Philip Duke of Burgundy dyed of it at Halle in the Countrey of Brabant the Twenty seventh of April. His Heart was brought to St. Denis, his Body to the Chartreuse of Dijon, which he had built most magnificently.

* Or Seque-
stred. This Prince, without being a King, had the greatest Estate in Lands of any in his Days; but his Magnificence, which we may say hath been Hereditary to the House of Burgundy, which yielded not for number of Officers, nor rich Furniture, to that of the Royal Family, and the excessive expences he was at upon all occasions, had so much impoverish'd him, that his Wife renounced the Community*, and laid down his Girdle, Keys, and Purse upon his Cushin as her surrender.

He had three Sons and four Daughters. Of his Sons, John had the Dutchy and the County of Burgundy, with Flanders, and Artois. Anthony was Duke of Brabant, Lothier and Limbourg: Philip had the Earldoms of Nevers and Rhetel. Of the four Daughters, Marguerite espoused William, eldest Son of Albert, Duke of Bavaria, who was Son of the Emperour Lewis, and Earl of Haynault, Holland, and Zealand, and Lord of Friesland. From them came an only Daughter named Jacqueline, of whom we shall have many things to relate. Mary was wedded with Ame VIII. First Duke of Savoy, who afterwards was made Pope, under the name of Felix. Catharine was Wife of Leopold IV. Duke of Austria and Earl of Tyrol. Bonna died before she was Married.

1404. It was now two years that the Duke of Bretagne's Children had been bred in the Court of France; this year the Eldest who succeeded to the Dutchy (he was called John, and was the Sixth of that name) went to take possession thereof, and shewed himself a better Frenchman than his Father.

They were sensibly troubled in France for the death of King Richard; and they had used all their endeavours to turn that great affection the Cities of Bourdeaux and Bayonne had for Richard, into a hatred against his Murtherer; but they were so strictly tied to the English by their intercourse of Trade, they could not pervert them from their Interest and Obedience, nor gain the least of their ends upon them. And the Kings indisposition would not suffer them to venture to take a revenge for the Murther of his Son-in-law. There were none but the Duke of Orleans and Valeran Count de St. Pol, who had Married Richards Sister, that shewed any resentment. The First sent to defy Henry in very opprobrious terms, but received a futable return. The Second after most outrageous challenges and bravado's much above what was in his power to perform, besieged Mere by Land, from whence he was driven away most shamefully.

1404. Henry had sent back Queen Isabella to her Father with her Portion and all her Jewels, and Truces had been made at divers seasons, but those were more punctually observed on the French side then by the English. For accordingly as Henry settled himself, he loosed the Reins of the Englishmens hatred, who committed many hostilities by Sea and Land in Normandy, and in Guyenne. The Bretons and Normans did not leave them un-retaliated; as likewise at the same time the Constable Albert (he succeeded Lewis de Sancerre in that Office) cleared all the neighborhood of Bourdelois of a great many petty Castles, by means whereof they gathered great Contributions in the Countrey of Guyenne. The Earl de la Marche Son of the Duke of Bourbon, did as much in Limosin.

1404. But this last by his too long delay, ruined that relief he should have carried to Clindon, a Prince of Wales who made War upon the English, and a very beneficial diversion for France.

* House or Inn. Observe we hear a great mark of the power of the University of Paris, as they were going in Procession to St. Catherine du Val, near the Hostel * of Charles de Savoisy, Chamberlain to the King; some of that Lords Domestique Servants quarrell'd with the Scholars, and coming insolently into the Church with their Swords drawn, committed great Outrage there. The University prosecuted this business with so much heat, that by a Sentence in Parliament, to whom the King referr'd it, three of Savoisy's Servants were whipp'd and banished, and his Hostel (or Houle) razed by

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found of Trumpet, excepting his Galleries, where on the Gate we have seen an Inscription containing the Fact, which was obliterated when they rebuilt the Houle. It is now the Hostel de Lorrain.

The Treasury being quite exhausted by the Duke of Orleans, who was a gulph, that nothing could fill up, or supply fast enough, he called the Council together, to give Orders for some new Levies. John Duke of Burgundy who had taken his Fathers place, opposed it publicly, and thereby gained the love of the Parisians. However, the plurality of Votes inducing him to a compliance with the rest, they laid new Impositions upon pretence of raising great Forces. The Princes had agreed to lock the Money up in one of the Towers belonging to the Palace, and no one was to touch a Penny of it without the knowledge and consent of all: the Duke of Orleans for all this Engagement, scrupled not to come one night with a strong hand, and take away the best part of it.

The Thirtieth of April, Lewis Dauphin of France and Duke of Guyenne, espoused Marguerite Daughter of John Duke of Burgundy; and John's eldest Son (his name was Philip) was betrothed to Michelle the King's Daughter.

When Benet was confirmed in the Papacy, he vexed the Clergy as he had done before, and would have Levied the Tenth: but he found the Univerfity in his way who put a stop to his Undertakings. In the mean time his Soldiers having consumed all his Silver, even his very Plate, the Duke of Orleans, because he had nothing else to give him, went to Avignon to press him in the behalf of the King, to labour for a re-union in the Church, as he had promised. For this purpose he sent a Legation to Boniface, where they set upon him with so many Reasons to consent to the Abdication, that having nothing to reply, he fell sick and died upon it.

His Cardinals elected Cosmo Meliorat, who was called Innocent VII. He likewise appearing to be well enough inclined to some methods of accommodation; Benet resolved to confer with him, promising himself to gain him by his skill, or by the strength of his genius, which was prevalent; Thus he went to Nice, and from thence passed in some Gallies to Genoa, being accompanied by Lewis II. King of Sicilia.*

They were scandaliz'd both at Court and in the City of Paris, at the too close union between the Duke of Orleans and the Queen, especially since the death of Philip the Hardy, whom she ever dreaded, and also, because they took the whole management of the Government to themselves, and oppressed and loaded the Kingdom with redoubled and violent exactions. The Queen they said, sent one part of it into Germany, and employ'd the other in all sorts of profusions, whilst the Kings Children were in a pitiful equipage, and himself was left to rot in his own ordure, without any care of undressing him, or exchanging his foul Linnen.

They were not only hated by the People, but the other Princes; the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne retired from Court. The King having a lucid interval, and understanding the reason of his Uncles absenting, and heard the general complaints against the Queen and his Brother, he thought it necessary to call a great Assembly, and sent for the Duke of Burgundy thither. This Duke thought it unfit to come, without bringing a good force along with him, as well for his own security, as because he knew the Queen and her Duke had a design to seize upon the Kings Children and prevent that double Alliance he would contract between his, and them.

Upon the noise of his arrival, the Queen and Duke take Alarm and withdraw to Melun, having left order with Lewis of Bavaria, Brother to the Queen, to bring away the Dauphin, and even the Duke of Burgundy's Children, to the Castle of Pouilly. The Burgundian who was arrived at the Louvre, gets upon his nimblest Horse, with a good guard of brave fellows, gallops thorough Paris without stop or stay, and made so much haste that he overtakes the Dauphin at Juvisy, and brings him back to Paris with his own consent, and in despite of the Bavarian.

This Rupture was followed with justifications on the Burgundians part, who gave his reasons for this action, in presence of the Kings Council and the University; as also for his reproaches, and the drawing of Soldiers together on either side. All Paris was in a perpetual Alarm, the Dukes of Berry and of Burgundy fortify'd themselves in their own Houses: the Duke of Orleans breathed Fire and Flames, and the Burgundian omitted nothing to gain the favour of the People. The Duke of Bourbon and the University labour'd in vain to make a reconciliation; the King of Sicily had as ill success: but at last the King of Navarre, and the Duke of Bourbon, after several goings and comings, brought it about, the two Princes embraced each other in Paris, and swore mutual friendship with their Tongues, but in their Hearts quite other things lay hid.

England

1406.

England was in a bad condition, by reason of the Famine that pinched her, and the defeat they received by Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, who would revenge the death of King Richard. The Constable Albret and the Count d' Armagnac had taken, or by Intelligence and Money, got possession of above Threescore places in Guyenne. The Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy undertook to drive them totally out of France; the first by attacking them in Guyenne, the other about Calais, to which he was to lay Siege.

The Duke of Orleans lost both his time and reputation before Blaye and before Bourgh: the Second after very great expences durst not approach near Calais. Thus neither reaped any thing but shame, and the Burgundian increased his hatred against the other, whom he accused of having spoiled his design, by craftily hindring the Levies of those sums of Money had been allotted for the payment of his Forces.

1406.

The valour of the Mareschal de Boucicaut encreased the power and reputation of the French, not only in Italy, but thorough all the Levant. The City of Famagousta belonged to the Signory of Genoa, they having gained it from the King of Cyprus: that King had a design to recover it by force, and to this end had besieged it; the Mareschal having armed himself to relieve it, the Grand Master of Rhodes undertook to make an accommodation.

1406.

Whilst they were in Treaty, the Mareschal employ'd his Arms against the Turks. After he had conducted the Emperour Manuel from Modon to Constantinople, he went and besieged the City of Scandoloro, which he took by assault. Then the Peace with Cyprus being made, he turned his designs towards the coasts of Syria, because he had War with the Sultan of Egypt, for some Merchants Goods, which that Barbarian had taken from the Genoise. The Venetians jealous of their prosperity, and watchful of the Mareschals actions, gave speedy notice by a nimble vessel to all the Ports upon that coasts: So that where ever he would have gon on shoar, he found them armed and well provided to receive him. Thus he missed Tripoly and Sayeta, but he took Barne which he carried by storm.

This good success encreased the Venetians rage so much, that lying in wait for him upon his return, having discharged the greatest part of his Men and Ships, Charles Zeni who commanded their Gallies, set upon him without any War declar'd. How weak soever he was, he defended himself so stoutly that they could not force him; but they took three of his Gallies, wherein was Chasteau Morand, and Thirty Knights of Note.

The mournful Letters these prisoners sent to the Court, because they knew the Venetians never set any free whom they had taken, till the Peace was made, and their friends lamentations to the Princes and the Kings Council, wrought so much, that they sent to the Mareschal, not to revenge himself for this Treachery, but allow of those excuses the Venetians made. The Mareschal knowing they were contrary both to the Truth and his own Honour, published a Manifesto, directed to the Duke and to Zeni, relating the whole Fact in a quite different manner, giving them the Lye, and challenging them to a Combat, either One to One, or Ten against Ten, all Knights, or either of them in a single Galley; to which no answer was made.

1406.

The University of Paris did not desist from pursuing the re-union of the Church, and had in order to it, dispatched some Deputies to Rome to Innocent, but Bennet endeavour'd to break these measures by his intrigues in the Court of France. The Cardinal de Chalan his Envoye, was but ill receiv'd; yet he for a while hindred the Decree the Parliament were about to make against the University of Toulouse, who had embraced the defence of that Pope, and written Letters in his favour, injurious both to the King and his Council: but that of Paris addressing themselves to the King with as much zeal, obliged the Parliament at last to give Sentence; That the said Letters should be burnt at the Gates of Toulouse, Lyons, and Montpellier, and those that wrote them should be proceeded against. Notwithstanding they could not obtain that subtraction so many times demanded.

1406.

"During these Transactions, Innocent the Pope of Rome dies, and his Cardinals elected Angelo Coraro a Venetian, called Gregory XII. but obliged him both by Oath and Writing, to abdicate the Papacy when Benedict would do the same, and to give notice of this condition to all Princes.

He at first comply'd with his Promises, and sent an Embassy to his Competitor for the Union. They agreed upon the City of Savonna for their Conference; all necessary Orders for their security, and for their conveniencies were issued out, and the

the King omitted nothing that might be helpful, sending his Ambassadors to labour in it, who were well received every where. But the two Anti-Popes, each on his part, fought difficulties and delays, denying to meet personally, and endeavouring to put things off by a thousand tricks. Bennet shuffled a long time before he would give up his Abdication in Writing; Gregory yet longer about his security, and the way he should go. Sometimes he pretended he must go by Sea, another while it must be by Land, finding out most incomprehensible difficulties in adventuring either way.

1407.

The Duke of Burgundy, notwithstanding his feigned reconciliation which he daily coloured over with new marks of confidence, causes the Duke of Orleans to be assassinated. The executioner of this so abhorred a Fact, was a Norman Gentleman, named Rodolphe d'Oquetonville, animated by a particular resentment, for that the Prince had put him out of an Office he held under the King. Upon the 23 or 24th of November in the night time, as the Duke returned from visiting the Queen, who was then in Child-bed, mounted upon a Mule, with only two or three Servants about him (he who had Six hundred Gentlemen his Pensioners) the Murderer who waited for him in the Street called Barbette, accompanied with Ten or a Dozen more like himself, first gave him a blow with a Battle-axe, which cut off one hand, and then a Second, that cleft his Head in two; the rest likewise mangled him with divers wounds, and left him lying in the Street. This done, they all saved themselves in the Duke of Burgundy's House, having strowed the way with Calthrops, and set fire to a House that they might not be pursued.

1407.

Upon the first noise of this Murder, the Burgundian put a good face upon it, and went to the Funeral of the deceased, bemoaned him, and wept for him: but it being mentioned in Council, that search should be made in all Princes Hostels for the murderers; the horror of this crime did so confound him, that he took the Duke of Bourbon aside, and confessed to him that he was the Author of it. Afterwards being come to himself again, he went from thence, and the next day fled into Flanders with his Cut-throats.

His retreat with his threatnings, gave some apprehension that he would put the Kingdom into a flame; and every man feared the like treachery might fall upon his own Head. And for this reason, instead of prosecuting him, they fought by all mean to appease him. The Duke of Berry and the Duke of Anjou King of Sicilia, took a journey to Amiens to confer with him; he came to them well attended, his ill act leaving him no security but force, and promised to return to Paris, and justify himself before the King, provided they kept no Guards at the City Gates.

In the interim the Dutches of Orleans, who was at Blois when her Husband was murdered, came to Paris with her Sons, she had three, Charles, Philip, and John, the eldest was not above Fourteen years old, to make her complaints to the King. He gave her the Guardianship of her Children, but durst not promise to do her justice, for fear of over-turning his Kingdom. The disconsolate Widow knowing therefore that her Husbands murderer was returning, retired with her young ones to Blois.

1407.

According to his word, the Duke of Burgundy came to Paris towards the end of February, at the head of Eight hundred Gentlemen, all armed from Head to Foot, only they did not put their Helmets on. The Queen and Princes received him with all the demonstrations of confidence; but they could not prevail with him to own the murder of the Duke of Orleans publicly: He gave Commission for it to a Cordelier, named John Petit, Doctor in Divinity, his Orator, * and obtained Audience for him in the Great Hall of the Hostel de St. Pol.

1408.

This mercenary Divine endeavour'd in presence of the Princes and Council to make it appear, That the Duke of Orleans had been a Tyrant every way, that he was guilty of the crime de Lese Majestais, both Divine and Humane; That he had once bewitched the King, another time had conspired to kill him, and another to have him Deposed by the Pope: That therefore his death was just and necessary. It was not the Monks Harangue, but necessity and danger that perswaded the Council. They gave him an Act in Writing that abolished this crime, and in appearance reconciled him with the Queen.

The King desired to put an end to the collusion of the Anti-Popes; he resolved to publish an Order for Subtraction the Fifteenth of May. In the mean time Pope Benedict having intelligence of it, sent his Bulls to Paris, forbidding him to do so upon pain of Excommunication. Those that brought them, to wit, Sancho Lupi, and a Rider belonging to the Popes Stable, having delivered them to the King, and the Duke

*Ever since Philip de Valois, Eloquence was in vogue, they having need of it to persuade the People; and because they held divers great Assemblies, as well Civil as Ecclesiastical.

1408.

Duke of Berry the Fourteenth of May, were immediately seized on. The Council sat three days, to consider what was to be done; having heard the Opinions and Remonstrances of the University, the King caused a Pen-knife to be stuck into the Bulls, which the Rector of the University afterwards cut in pieces.

1408. The Subtraction was after this published, and then those that brought the Bulls, were tried by Commissioners. Their Sentence was severe, they were drawn on a Sledge twice about the Palace-yard, then mounted upon a Scaffold, where being adorned with Paper Miters, and clothed with long painted Vests, after the *Dalmatian* fashion; upon which *Benedict's* Arms were fastned; they were severely reproached by a Doctor, and after led back to their prison. Divers Prelats and Clergy-men that sided with him, were likewise sent to Goal.

Upon this news the two Popes who pretended to be going to *Savona*, fled each his several way, *Benedict* into *Catalogna*, in a Galley; and *Gregory* by Land to *Sienna*, both of them forsaken by their Cardinals.

When the *Burgundian* was again returned to *Artois*, the Dutcheß of *Orleans*, supported by the Queen, who had Cantonized her self at *Melun*, came to intreat the King that he would hear her Orator (this was the Abbot of *St. Denis*) in justification of the memory of her Husband, and reparation for his death. They gave him Audience in the Castle of the *Louvre*, the King, the Queen, and Princes of the Blood being at the Council. After this Harangue of the Widows Orator, there were divers Assemblies held, with more animosity, then zeal for Justice, where in fine the *Burgundian*, notwithstanding his Act of Abolition, was declared an enemy to the State; and it was ordered that Forces should be sent to fall upon him on every side, and that all the ways should be strongly guarded to keep both him and all others from coming near the King.

He was at that instant at *L'Isle in Flanders*, arming himself to restore *John of Bavaria* his Wives Brother, to the Bishoprick of *Liege*. (This false Prelate, who had nothing but the vain Spirit of the World, deferring to take Holy Orders, gave occasion to the *Liegeois*, to turn him out of the Episcopal See,) and to put in *Thierry*, one of the Lord de *Perruveys* sons, whose Original was from the House of *Brabant*. They were not satisfy'd with having driven him out of their City, but besieged him in *Maastricht*, and had kept him blocked up for four Months. When they had notice that the *Burgundian* had taken the Field, they raised the Siege and retired, but those haughty and rude People, hearing that he had in all but Sixteen thousand Men, forced the Lord de *Perruveys* to seek him out, and give him Battle.

They were three to one, yet were they routed and cut in pieces, *Perruvey* and his two Sons, and Thirty thousand *Liegeois* lay dead upon the place: they had no quarter given them, the Bishop, rather a Tyger then a Shepherd, could not have Blood enough to satisfy his cruel Thirst. Their submission did not appease his sanguinary Rage: when he was settled, he fell not only upon the guilty and the ring-leaders, but upon Women and Children, Priests and Religious Votaries: There was nothing else to be seen round about *Liege*, and those other Cities that were Dependencies, but Forreßts of Wheels and Gibbets, and the *Meuse* was choaked up with the multitude of their wretched Carcasses, thrown into that River, bound two and two together. From hence began that implacable hatred of the *Liegeois* against the House of *Burgundy*.

Had the Duke been worsted in that Battle, all the *Orleanois* party were ready to have run open mouth upon him: when they had received this news, they found more cause to consult their own safety, then his ruine. The Queen did not believe her self secure in *Paris*; She departed thence the Thirteenth of November, being attended by the Duke of *Bretagne* her Son-in-law, and took the King with her to *Tours*.

1408. The Duke informed of all particulars by the *Parisians*, soon got to *Paris* with Four thousand Horse, and Two thousand Foot mounted behind them; they received him with great joyfulness, and sent some Deputies to the King to desire he would return. *William* Earl of *Holland* proffers to endeavour an accomodation: A Second Peace was Treated on between both parties, which being well advanced, the widow of *Orleans*, a haughty and vindicative Princess, died with grief and anger the 4th of December.

The Orphans were forced to consent to a reconciliation with him that had murdered their Father. It was concluded in the City of *Chartres* about the end of the month of *March*. The King with the Queen, and the Princes being on a Scaffold in the Great Church, but palliased round about to hinder the People from seeing what they did; the *Burgundian* fell on his knees before the King, and pray'd him by the Mouth

Mouth of his Advocate, and afterwards with his own to lay aside his anger, and receive him into his Favour: but touching the Murther, he expressed himself thus, *That he was ready to justify himself*. The Princes that were present, kneeled likewise, and joyned their Requests to his. Then addressing himself to the Princes of *Orleans*, he desired them to forget what was past, and harbour no revenge in their hearts. After this, they made them embrace and promise amity to each other: and for a farther tie to make this agreement sure, they stipulated the Marriage of a Daughter of the *Burgundians*, with *Philip* Count de *Verme*, the Second of the Three Brothers.

The Peace concluded, the King returned to *Paris*, and the *Burgundian* to the *Low-Countries*. From whence, coming again about the month of *July*, he took the whole Government upon him; and to give some satisfaction to the People, whose affection he had gained, in shewing his dislike against Taxes; he caused the Council to call the Financiers to Examination and Account. The most of them got off for Money, but it cost *John de Montaigu* his Life, who had been Sur- * Intendant.

He was a man of mean birth, Son of a Citizen of *Paris*, whom the Kings favour, without any great desert of his, had raised to the Office of Grand *Maistre* of his House, and his Brothers, one to the Arch-Bishoprick of *Sens*, the other to that of *Paris*. His immense Riches, which never are acquired without crime, did blind this little fellow, and drew the eyes of all great Men upon him; inso much as he had married his Son to a Daughter of the Constable d' *Albret*, and his Daughters to the greatest Lords of the Kingdom.

Though he had been very serviceable in negotiating the Treaty of *Chartres*; nevertheless the Duke of *Burgundy* and the King of *Navarre* conspired his destruction, because he had given the advice to carry the King to *Tours*. They caused him to be accused of divers hainous crimes, taking their opportunity, when the King, who loved him, was in one of his Fits of Folly, he was Arrested by *Peter des Essards*, Provost of *Paris*, examined by Commissioners of Parliament, and cruelly tormented on the Rack. His sufferings could not draw one word from him; however, his Head was chopt off at the * *Halles*. At his death he freely of his own accord, confessed his depredation of the Kings Treasure, which in it self contains all the greatest crimes. The Trunk of his Body was hanged on a Gibbet, his Head planted upon a high Pole.

Afterwards the Vicount de *Lionnois* had interest enough to re-abilitate his memory, and having caused the Body to be taken from *Montfaucon*, with an honourable convoy, or attendance of Priests, and Torches, carried it to the *Celestines* Church at *Marconssy*, which he had founded.

At this examination of the Officers, it was ordered that all the Receivers should Account before the Earls de *la Marche*, de *Vendosme*, and de *St. Pol*, and that till the had so done, nothing should be allowed without Receipts and Vouchers. The Treasurers were likewise all put out, and the management thereof was given to some Citizens, who were esteemed rich and less interested.

Thus the Princes strove to gain the affection of that Queen of Cities. For the same reason they renewed all their former Priviledges, and the Provostship of Marchants, of which they had till now only given them the keeping; and they also granted them, (but to such only as were Natives) the priviledge of holding Fiefs with the same Franchise as any Gentleman.

The Kings sorrow was very great, when upon his recovery he heard of the death of *Montaigu*, whom he had tenderly loved. But there being no way to recall things past, he would consider of what was to come. Having therefore assembled the Grandees of the Kingdom, he told them, that he desired when he was at any time ill, the Queen should take cognisance of Affairs; and upon her default, the Dauphin Duke of *Guyenne*, whom he discharged from being under the conduct of his Mother, but would that he should Govern with the Councils of the Dukes of *Berry* and of *Burgundy*. This last usurped all the Authority.

Whilst the Marechal de *Boucicant* was gone to *Milan* to receive that State under the Kings Protection and Government, (for *John Galeazzo* chose this, rather then that of the Marquis de *Montferrat*, and *Facin Can de l'Escale*, who had halfe subdued it) the Marquis to prevent him in it, had caused the *Genoese* to rise up in Arms, by means of the *Gibbeline* party. They massacred all the *French* within their City, forced the Cittadel, and called him in to be their Lord; but soon after they threw him out as they had done *Boucicant*.

1409.

* Sur-Intendant was not then in use.

* Cut off with an Axe.

1409.

1409.

1409. "Maugre the fulminations of the two Anti-Popes, Maugre the Councils each of them had called, Gregory in the Patriarchat of *Aquileia*, and *Benedict* at *Perpignan*: that Assembly which the Cardinals of both parties had summoned, was open'd at *Pisa* the Five and twentieth of *March*. The Anti-Popes having been cited to appear there, and all the Forms observed, the Substraction was first order'd, then they declared Schismatiques and Hereticks, and Faculty given to the Cardinals to elect another. Their Suffrages agreed in favour of Cardinal *Peter Philargi*, called of *Candia*, because a Native of that place. He was named *Alexander V*.

1409. During the Schism, *Ladislaus* King of *Naples*, had seized upon *Rome*, and the Lands of the Church; which was the cause why the Council, and the new Pope *Alexander*, more willingly invested *Lewis* of *Anjou* with that Kingdom, and gave him the Command of Lieutenant-General of the Church. In the beginning, he had good success, regained all the places that *Ladislaus* had usurped, and drove him out of *Rome*; but the end was not alike.

1410. Emp. "The Eighteenth of *May*, or according to others, the First of *June*, the Emperor *Robert* dyed at *Oppenheim* in *Bavaria*. The Electors divided into two parties, whereof one elected *Sigismund de Luxembourg*, King of *Hungary*; the other his Cousin *Jesse*, Marquis of *Moravia*. This last dying soon after, all the Suffrages joined for *Sigismund*.

1410. R. 27 years. *Alexander V*. had been a Cordelier Frier, upon this consideration, he granted a new Privilege to the Four Orders of Mendicants, to Administer all the Sacraments in the Parishes, and receive the Tythes, if they were bestow'd on them. The University of *Paris* much offended at this Novelty, retrenched all these Orders from their Body, unless they would renounce this Bull. The Jacobins, &c. . . . and Carmelites, who found themselves feeble, obey'd this Decree. The Cordeliers and the Augustines remaining refractory, were deprived of the Pulpit and Confessional, of which the Jacobins made advantage, as the Cordeliers had done upon their being in disgrace. Pope *John XXIII*. revoked all these Privileges, and reduced all things to the same condition they were in before.

6 quotation. "We find amongst Historians, that in these times there were many bloody Battles fought betwixt Birds of all sorts, even amongst the smallest, as Sparrows, and amongst the domestique ones, which proceeded from certain minute Bodies spread in the Air, which pricked, and irritated them in such measure, as provoked and pushed them on to discharge their anger upon one another. This year 1410. in the Countrey of *Hainault*, the Storks were observed to League with the Herons and Pyles, and give battle to the Ravens, who in their Flocks had Rooks and Choughs; the Storks gained the Victory. In the Countrey of *Liege* in like manner some Crows or Ravens having insulted over a Faulcon, breaking the Eggs in its Airy; the next day were to be seen in that very place, a vast quantity of Birds of both those kinds, who fought most obstinately, till the Crows betook themselves to flight, after a very great slaughter of their Forces."

1410. It was wisely Counsell'd, whereby to lay asleep all discords, to employ all the Forces of *France* in a War upon the *English*, under that specious pretence of revenging the death of King *Richard II*. The Nobles went about it with much resolution; but the envy which other Princes had against the greatness of the *Burgundian*, who fate at the Helme, broke off this design.

1410. At the end of *August*, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bourbon* having made a League at *Gyen* with the House of *Orleans*, and with the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Earls of *Alençon*, *Clermont*, and *Armagnac*, who were all his friends, or picqued against the *Burgundian*, sent to make their demands of the King. Every one armed himself, the King might command them to lay down their Arms, but it was in vain, for they went on with their Levies. The *Burgundian* having to little purpose proffer'd them Peace, made use of the Kings Authority to summon the *Arrière-ban*, puts Ten thousand Men into *Paris*. The Duke of *Berry*, and the Princes lodged themselves at the Castle of *Wicestre*, and began to make the War.

The neighbouring parts round that City were eaten up by Two hundred thousand hungry Soldiers. About the end of *November*, when all the Provisions were consumed, necessity compell'd both parties to come to an agreement. It was Articled, that the Duke of *Burgundy* should go out of *Paris*, and that the Duke of *Berry* should not go in; That those two Princes should name some Lords that should take care for them

them of the Government and the Dauphin's Person; That the King should chuse Council of Twelve Persons not suspected, whose Names he should communicate to them. That all the Princes should withdraw with their Forces, and that none of them should return near the King, unless he were commanded by Letters under the Great Seal, and written in Council.

The *Burgundian* obey'd with sincerity, and retir'd forthwith; but the Duke of *Orleans* with those of his party, began immediately to make new Levies. The Queen and the Duke of *Berry* appeared as Neuters, and offer'd to be Mediators. The King spake for Master, and Commanded them to disarm; the *Burgundian* lay quiet, and remained in Obedience, but the *Orleannois* with his Sword in hand, demanded Justice for the death of his Father. After many Letters, and fruitless Negotiations, he sent a very biting Cartel * to the *Burgundian*, who answered in the same stile. Their Challenges were in the month of *August*.

The King had ordained the Queen and the Duke of *Berry*, who were at *Melun*, to labour for a Peace, and sent thither Persons that were *Notables* of the Clergy, the Nobility, the Parliament, and the University, the better to Authorize what they should conclude therein; but their design was only to pillage *Paris*, and deliver themselves to the *Orleannois*. The *Parisians* having timely notice, demanded the Count de *St. Pol* might be their Governour: It was agreed to, but instead of strengthening himself with good honest Citizens, he furnishes himself with Rascals, and raises a Company of Five hundred Butchers, Commanded by the *Goix*, the Kings Butchers, who committing a thousand insolencies, obliged a great many good Citizens to retire elsewhere.

France then divided her self in two Factions, the one the *Orleannois*, vulgarly named *Armagnacs*, from the Count of *Armagnac*, one of their principal Chiefs; they carried a White Bend, and a * Cross with Right Angles: and the other the *Burgundians*, who bare the *St. Andrew's* Cross. The best of the Citizens of *Paris* inclined towards the First, the Populace towards the Second. From thence proceeded so many Murthers, Plunderings, and Proscriptions, according as the success varied on either side.

The *Burgundian* party was then the strongest, having the King, the Dauphin, Duke of *Guyenne*, and the City of *Paris* on that side; so that they displaced the *Prevost des Marchands*, and imprisoned and banished divers of the contrary party.

In the mean time the Forces under the Duke of *Orleans* plundered *Reims*, and he seized upon *Montlebery*. Upon this they perswaded the Duke of *Guyenne* to oblige the King to recall the *Burgundian* to his assistance. This Duke embraced the opportunity, enters into *Picardy* with Sixty thousand Men, besieged and forced *Ham*; but he could go no further. The contest about the plunder of that City, begot a mortal dissention between the *Picards* and the *Flemmings*, wherewith his Army was made up; insomuch as the Duke of *Orleans* approaching with his, the *Picards* forsook him, the *Flemmings* withdrew, and he, though much against his Will, with them.

The greediness with which the party *Orleannois* gaped for the plunder and spoil of *Paris*, hindered them from pursuing and destroying the *Burgundian*. They marched immediately to block up this great City, made themselves Masters of *St. Denis* by a Siege, of the Tower of *St. Cloud*, by the Treachery of him that Commanded it, and fired the Houses of such Citizens as were not of their Faction. In retribution, the Company of Butchers went and burnt the Castle of *Wicestre*, which belonged to the Duke of *Berry*.

The *Orleannois* thought themselves so very sure of the taking of *Paris*, that they had already agreed upon their shares in the spoil. But now the *Burgundian* returns with a relief of *English*, pierces thorough the midst of their Forces, and the Thirtieth of *October* is received into the City, as the deliverer of the Kingdom. Then their party declines, *St. Cloud* is forced out of their hands, with the loss of above Nine hundred Gentlemen; they raise their Blockade, and having drawn all their Men together at *St. Denis*, retreat in disorder over the Bridges they had laid upon the *Seine*.

All the misfortunes that attend a routed party fell upon these. The victorious *Burgundian* causes them to be excommunicate and proscribed, gives them chase every where, puts their Goods to sale by out-cry, imprisons all their Friends and Servants, displaces the Constable *Albret*, *John de Hangest*, *Hugueville*, Grand Master of the Cross-Bow-Men, and the *Sire de Rieux*, Marechal, to give their places to the Count de *St. Pol*, the Lord de *Rambures*, and *Lewis de Longny* his partisans. All the neighbouring Cities about *Paris* enter into the same interests; *Orleans* alone remains of the

the side of her Princes. The other places, and of such as followed them, are forced to abandon them; even *Guyenne* and *Languedoc* submit, and renounce the Government of the Duke of Berry.

1412. That party being reduced to despair, and finding themselves ruined even in those Provinces of the Kingdom where they had been strongest; makes an Alliance with the *English*, but upon Conditions very prejudicial to *France*. The King being again restored to his health, and finding this Treaty was agreed upon, vowed their destruction as the greatest of his enemies. After he had been at *St. Denis*, and set up the Standard of the *Oriflamme*, which never was display'd but against the publique enemy, and against Infidels, he went in Person to besiege the Duke of Berry in the City of *Bourges* (this was in *June*) and marched with so much eagerness, that he did not stop one day in all that march, although he received a kick on his Leg from one of his Horses. In the mean time his other Commanders made War upon the *Orleanois* in several other parts.

There were too many brave Men in the Town, and too much Division and Treachery in his own Army to gain it easily. The Siege drawing out in length, Sickness invades his Forces, and constrained him to grant a Peace to the Princes. The *English* who landed at the same time in *Normandy*, under the conduct of *Thomas* Duke of *Lancaster*, the Kings Brother, to assist them, made themselves formidable to both parties; the dread they had, made them hasten the execution of the Treaty. But the Duke of *Orleans* who had called them in, was obliged to satisfy them at his own expence and gave them his Brother *John* Earl of *Angoulême* for hostage.

1412. The Treaty having been confirmed at *Auxerre*, they carried the King, whom they found to be falling again into his distemper, to *Melun*, and from thence when he was grown better, to *Paris*. He made his entrance in great pomp, together with the Queen and the Dauphin, and caused the Peace to be proclaimed, to the unspeakable joy of the People.

1413. in January. The University and the honest Citizens of *Paris*, the only Members of the State that were not utterly corrupted, observing that the Grandees and such as were in Office, desired no other but to continue those troubles, that they might fleece the People: And that besides, unless it were prevented, the *English* had undertaken to conquer *Guyenne*, persuaded the King, who ever intended well, to labour towards the Reformation of his Kingdom, that so he might be the better enabled to resist them.

For which purpose he calls an Assembly of *Notables* at *Paris*, towards the latter end of *January*. The University thoroughly noted all the disorders in the administration of the Revenue, in Courts of Justice, the *Chancery*, the choice of Officers, and the Mint; such as were guilty were not spared, not even the Chancellor *Arnand de Corbie*, who was accused of Concussion.

There were Commissioners chosen of all the three Orders, to reform the State in all these particulars; but neither the Princes, nor others that were in power, could endure to be obliged to be honest, they must have lost too much by it; especially those that were about the Dauphin Duke of *Guyenne*.

⊕ This young Prince, aged but sixteen years, was fantastical, inconstant, and debauched; Besides, they bred him up in all manner of Licentiousness and disorder, as "Gaming, Women, Feasting, and dissolute Dancing; and worse yet, in Maxims of "irregular Government; very proper indeed for such a life as he would lead; for "to enable ones self to commit all Licentiousness, a Man must set himself above all "Laws.

1413. These People put it into his Head, that to be absolute Master of *France*, *Paris* must be quell'd, and the Citizens disarmed, whom he might afterwards load with Taxes, even as he pleased. It was therefore by their advice, that he seized upon the Castle of the *Bastille*, by the means of *Peter des Essards*. The Burghers took the Alarm, the *Burgundian* under-hand exasperates the People, and incites his Companies of Butchers. He gets together Ten or Twelve thousand Men, who having a Chyrurgion at the head of them, named *John de Troyes*, ran all about the streets; one part of them surrounds the *Bastille*, the rest went and planted their City-banner before the House of the Duke of *Guyenne*. He shews himself at the Window to appease those furies, *John de Troyes* lets him understand that they came thither to take away those from about him, who mischievously corrupted his youth. The Chancellor having desired they would name them, they delivered him a List of them, wherein he found his own Name to be the very first, and forced him to read it aloud twice over.

At

At the same instant they beat open the Gates, search every where, and carry away above twenty Persons, of whom were the Duke of *Bar*, Cousin-german to the King, *John de Vailly* Chancellor to the Duke, *James de la Riviere* his Chamberlain, whom they led Prisoners to the *Louvre*. The next day *Peter des Essards* surrenders the *Bastille*, and himself to the Duke of *Burgundy*, who kept him very strictly in the *Chastelet*, because he had been accused of a design, to have carried away the King and the Duke of *Guyenne*.

The University refused to joyn with those Factionous people; the Princes of the Blood detested such attempts; but they were glad in their hearts, that the Duke of *Guyenne* had met with such correction.

In the beginning of *May*, the Factionous bethought them of making White Hoods*, they carried some to that Prince, and *John de Troyes* usher'd in the Fine present with a very rude Remonstrance. A Doctor of Divinity, named *Eustatious de Pavilly*, a Religious Carmelite, being their Mouth, very freely told him of his extravagant manner of life. He scrupled not to say, that the misfortunes of the King his Father, and of the Duke of *Orleans*, was a punishment due for their Debaucheries; And added likewise, that if he did not suddenly change, he would render himself unworthy of the Crown, and give just occasion to transfer his Birthright to his Brother. Which he urged with the more confidence, because the Queen had often menaced him in the same manner.

* Chappetons.

He would very fain have freed himself out of the hands of these impertinent Pedagogues, but the doors were too well guarded, the People being Masters. One day as the King was going to *Noſter-Dame*, *John de Troyes* obliged him to put on a white Hood. Two days after he came to the *Hôtel de Saint Pol*, justified before the King, by his Spokesman *de Parilly*, the imprisonment of the Duke of *Guyennes* Servants, and named many others yet that were to be rooted out; then Addressing himself to the Duke of *Guyenne*, demanded him to deliver them up.

Whatever Intreaties he could make, they took away a great many more; not only Private Gentlemen, but likewise *Lewis* of *Bavaria* the Queens Brother, several Ladies that belonged to her, to the Dutcheſs of *Guyenne*, and to the Countess of *Charolois*, whom they accused as Instruments of the most pernicious Intrigues, and dissolute Actions at Court.

It was not without ground that they accused the *Burgundian* of bringing Fuel to maintain this scorching Fire of Sedition, though in effect he could not govern their hot Heads as he would. In the mean while all were forced to give way to this Torrent. The King was forced to consent they should bring their Prisoners upon their Trial, to go to Parliament in his white Hood, and publish certain Ordinances for reforming some abuses touching his Revenue, displace *Arnand de Corbie* his Chancellor, who surrendered the Seal to *Eustace de Laitre* his Son-in-Law, and to deliver up to Execution an Esquire belonging to the Duke of *Guyenne*, and *Peter des Essards*, whose Heads were cut off.

⊕ *James de la Riviere* Chamberlain to the said Duke, rather than undergo so great ignominy, beat out his own Brains with a large drinking Bowle, or else was kill'd in Prison by *Helion Jaquerville* a Captain of *Paris*: but however it hapned, they dragg'd him to the Gallows as one that had despair'd and Murther'd himself.

So violent a Government could not last long. The Duke of *Guyenne* privately agreed with the Leagued Princes; they made use of the Kings name, and a pretence of confirming the Peace of *Chartres*, which was not fully executed, to enter upon a Conference with them at *Verneuil*. Their Deputies being come to the King at *Paris*, the Seditious often broke up their Assemblies where they were Treating about the Peace: but yet could not by all their art or insolent rudeness prevent so good a work from going on.

To attain their ends, an Enterview was propounded between the Duke of Berry and the Duke of *Burgundy*, then a Conference concerning the other Princes at *Pontoise* by Deputies. All that were soundest and wisest, the University, the Parliament, and the honest Citizens, inclined to Peace, the *Burgundian* had but little stomach to it, as promising but slender advantage to him: however it was concluded at *Pontoise* the first day of *August*; and the King agreed the Princes should come and Congratulate him in *Paris*.

This being so settled, the Duke of *Guyenne* puts himself in Arms at the head of the honest Citizens, and having gotten together above Thirty thousand Men well fitted, marched through the Streets. The Chiefs of the Factionous who held the *Bastille*, the *Louvre*, the *Palace*, and the *Town-Hall*, left those places to him, and withdrew.

Then

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1413.

Then he sets free all those they had imprisoned, he changes the Sheriffs, and putting out the Chancellor whom they had put in by force, gave that Office to *John Juvenal*, then restores the Seals to *Arnaud de Corbie*, who gave them up to *Henry de Marie* the first President.

The *Burgundian* not thinking himself too safe, resolved to be gone before the *Orleanois* were come. Having therefore got the King one day forth a Hunting, he takes his leave on a sudden, and without bidding adieu to *Paris*, hastens to *Flanders* by long days Journeys, though very well attended.

1413. After his retreat there was an absolute Revolution. The Duke of *Orleanse* was so much in the Kings favour, that he would have him ever near his Person, and would have him Cloathed in the same Stuffs as himself wore. The Countable d'Abret returned to *Paris* with great splendour; the Chiefs and Authors of the Sedition were sought for, some executed, some proscribed, all the *Burgundians* Creatures were removed, divers Gentlemen and Burghers Friends to him imprisoned.

They went farther yet, the Declarations that had been made against the Princes were declared a surprize, their Innocency owned and published, and he on the contrary detested as an execrable Murderer. And for the greater affront, *Lewis* of *Anjou* King of *Sicilia* sent him back his Daugher who had been put into his hands in order to be Married to his eldest Son; and two months after he gave one of his own to *Charles* Earl of *Pontieu* the Kings third Son, who was not fully Twelve years of age; by this means making both himself and his Son-in-Law, mortal Enemies to the House of *Burgundy*.

1413. The ill Treatment was hard to be digested: the *Burgundian* complained to the King, wrote of it to the Citizens of *Paris*, the Parliament and the University: but neither his Complaints nor Letters effected any thing. Finding he did not succeed that way, he found means to renew some kind of Correspondence with the Duke of *Guyenne* his Son-in-Law; who in effect was angry to be detain'd at Court, and as it were a Prisoner in the *Louvre*.

This was pretence enough for him to raise a great Army and take the Field to come and deliver him. He was received at *Noyon*, at *Soissons*, and at *Compiègne*; but *Senlis* shut her Gates against him. He made himself Master of *St. Denis* by Intelligence, and afterwards presented himself before *Paris*, notwithstanding the King had forbid him to come near upon pain de *Lèse Majesté*. He thought to have received the former humour of the People, and have made some rising that would have given him entrance. Thereupon the King being recover'd of a Fit, made a thundering Declaration against him: When he found this, he was afflicted, and retreated in most horrible confusion.

1414. Every one baw'd after him, stop Traitor, stop Murderer! The Bishop of *Paris* Brother of *Montaigne*, and the Faculty of Theology having examined the Heresie of his Orator *John Petit*, who was then dead, drew seven Propositions out of it, condemned them of Impiety and Heresie, and caused them to be burnt in the Porch of *Noster-Dame*. *John Chartier* named *Jarson* from his Native Village near *Reims*, Chancellor of the University, and a Doctor of great Reputation, shewed himself mighty zealous in this Prosecution. He had formerly some contest with *Petit*, and the *Burgundians* had sold his Household Goods the year before for certain Taxes.

The following year, the *Burgundian* removed this Business by Appeal to the Council of *Constance*, where it was debated with much heat. He maintain'd that those Propositions that had been condemned at *Paris*, were not *Petits*: but that they were forged and contrived by *Jarson*. The Commissioners deputed to examine the thing, having made their Report, the Council, without taking any notice of *Petit* or *Jarson*, did in general condemn that pernicious Proposition, that a Tyrant may be killed, or put to death by his Subject, in what manner soever.

At the same time the King proceeded against him as an Enemy to the State, went to *St. Denis* to set up the Oriflame*, and summoned the Ban and Arriere-Ban against him. He takes the City of *Compiègne* upon Capitulation, and *Soissons* by force: This was miserably plundered, and *Bourbonville* who had defended it to the uttermost, had his Head cut off.

Without doubt the *Burgundian* was in a great consternation at the taking of it, and more yet when the *Flemmings* refused to serve him, and sent Deputies to the King to offer him all Obedience. The taking of *Bapayne* by the Duke of *Bourbon*, encreasing his astonishment, he sent the Earl of *Nevers* his Brother to the King then the Countess of *Hainault* his Sister, and afterwards the Duke of *Brabant* his other

* Standard so called.

other Brother, who made several Journeys to Court to endeavour to put some stop to the Kings wrath: but nothing less would serve then the Confiscation of all his Lands.

Happily for him the King fell ill again. In this interval, taking breath a little, he got a Garison into *Arras*, the Princes brought the King thither and besieged the Town. It made an obstinate defence, perhaps encouraged by advice from some of the Besiegers: So that their Army growing tir'd and weak by Sickness, the Countess of *Hainault* took this opportunity, and solicited the Duke of *Guyenne* so earnestly, who had all the Authority in his hands, that without consulting the rest of the Princes, he granted a Peace to the Duke of *Burgundy*.

This was made about the end of *September*: but the Agreement or Articles were not Signed till the sixteenth of *October* at *Quessnoy*. The Conditions were very hard upon the *Burgundian*; That five hundred of his Men should be excluded from the Indempnity; That several Officers belonging to the King, the Queen, and the Dauphin who favoured him, should be removed; That he should not come near the Court without expresse Order from the King, under the Great Seal, and by Advice of the Council. It was added, That for the Kings Honour, his Banner should be set upon the Walls of *Arras*, the Governor displaced, and the Burghers obliged to take an Oath of Fidelity to the King.

We have not taken notice what the *English* did both by Sea and Land these two last years against the *French*, as being of little importance; nor how they Conquer'd several places in *Guyenne*, the Earl of *Armagnac* and the Lord d'Abret siding with them because they had been banish'd from the Court. The Animosity of that Nation would allow of no Peace with *France*, but their King (*Henry V.* the Son of *Henry IV.* who died of a Leprosie the twentieth of *March* in the year foregoing) sought to make an Alliance with the *French*, that he might be supported against the inconstant and factious humour of his own Subjects; so that the Duke of *York* was come into *France* the preceding year for that very purpose. In the Month of *February* of this same, his Ambassadors came to make Overtures, and demanded *Catharine* the Kings Daughter, agreeing to a Truce for a year, to commence from the second day of the same Month.

"A strange Rheum called the Coqueluke, tormented all sorts of People during the Months of *February* and *March*, and made them so very hoarse, that the Bar, the Pulpits and Colledges became all dumb. It caused the death of most of the old People that were affected with it.

"*Ladislaus*, of whom we have made mention, was become Master of the whole Kingdom of *Naples*: but as he was too much addicted to Women, and besides mightily hated for his Cruelties, he was this year poisoned after a Villanous manner; He found his Death in the Fountain of Pleasure and Life. *Jane II.* of that name, his Sister, Widow of *William* of *Austria* succeeded him; she was then forty years old, and nevertheless, her many years, were so far from quenching her Passions, they rather inflamed them to the highest excess.

"The Council of *Pisa* had ordained that another general one should be held within three years, and in the mean time was continued by Deputies. At the expiration of that time *John XXIII.* had called one at *Rome* for the year 1412. which being not numerous by reason of the troubles occasioned by *Ladislaus*, was put off till another time. Now the Emperor *Sigismund* being gone into *Italy* in the year 1412. about some Disputes he had with the *Venetians*, the Pope sent some Legates to him, to appoint the place and time for the Council. They agreed upon the City of *Constance* on the *Rhine*, and as to the time the Pope assigned it on *All-Saints-day* of the following year.

"Notwithstanding it was not opened till the sixteenth of the Month by the Pope himself. The Emperor came thither upon *Christmas-Eve* and sung the Epistle at the Holy Fathers Midnight-Mass, being in the Habit of a Subdean. The second Session was not held till the second day of *March* following. He was present at divers afterwards, array'd in his Imperial Robes.

"In this Session the Pope sitting on his Throne, being turned towards the Altar, read a Schedule aloud, wherein he promised and gave his Oath that he would renounce the Papacy, in case the two others, *Gregory* and *Bennet*, did renounce, or happen to dye. Now, whether this act were by compulsion, or that he had done it without reflecting on the Consequences, he immediately repented, and fearing lest

"left they should take him at his word, he ran away by night to the City of *Schaffhausen* under the protection of the Duke of *Austria*.

1415.

"After he had wandred some Months from one City to another, forsaken by that Duke, and not able to find any that could afford him a secure retreat, he was taken Prisoner, brought back to *Constance*, and deposed the eighteenth of *May* by the Council.

"He then made a vertue of necessity, and submitted to the Sentence very calmly. *Gregory* did likewise submit to the Judgment of the Council, and gave in his Cession by Proxy. *Bennet* only remained obstinate, and kept himself shut up in his Castle of *Paniscote* in *Aragon* till the year 1424. when he ended his days. Even at his death he commanded a couple of Cardinals, who had all along kept him company, to elect him a Successor. They put a Cannon of *Barcelona* in his place, who took upon him the name of *Clement VIII.* and King *Alphonso* caused this Idol to be adored for five years, in hatred to Pope *Martin*, with whom he had some quarrel, then obliged him to lay down his pretended Tittle Anno 1429.

1415.

The Treaty concerning the Peace and Match between *France* and *England* was yet continued: and three or four solemn Embassies were sent on either side. They offer'd the King of *England* Eight hundred thousand Florins of Gold, and to give up to him fifteen Cities in *Guyenne*, and all *Limosin* as a Portion for the Lady *Catherine*. He seemed to give ear to these Propositions: yet demanded every day some new thing to hinder the concluding of it.

His design was to fall upon *France*, his Subjects desired it with so much passion, that the whole Kingdom would have risen against him, if he had not satisfi'd their longing. It was suspected likewise that he was encouraged to it by the instigation and correspondence of some Traytors; at least he was assured he should have but half the *French* to deal with, it being impossible for the two Houses of *Orleans* and *Burgundy* ever to be united.

1415.

When all his Forces were in readines, he made no scruple to declare his Pretensions: and after he had written Letters full of Protections and Threatnings to the King, whom he stiled only his Cousin *Charles of France*, he came and landed at *Havre de Grace* at the mouth of the River of *Seine*, where he put on shoar six thousand Men at Arms, thirty thousand Archers, and all other Necessaries proportionably.

With these he laid Siege to *Harfleur*. The place defended it self bravely by the courage of four hundred Men at Arms, and seven or eight Lords of that Province that had thrown themselves in there. In fine, it was taken by assault and sacked, perhaps not without some secret intelligence, or at least the cowardize or baseness of the Chiefs of the *French* Army, who took no great care to relieve them. The blame fell on the Constable d'Albret.

In the mean time the King having set up the Oriflamme or Standard, at *St. Denis*, got his Soldiers together. The *English* had lost a great many of their bravest Men upon their Attaques, Diseases reigned in their Army, and a scarcity of Provisions, for they were forced to keep close together, reduced them to great streights. In-somuch as having held his Quarters for three weeks together along the Sea Coasts, they were forced to remove, and took their march towards *Calais*. They crossed the Country of *Caux*, the Earldom of *Eu*, and the Lands of *Vimeu*, with intention to pass the River *Somme* at *Blanquetaque*.

1415.

The *French* Army, which was as yet nothing but a multitude of Rascals pickt up in haste, durst not attaque them in their march: but when the King, who was come in Person to *Rouen*, had sent fourteen thousand Men at Arms, and all the Princes to them, excepting the Dukes of *Guyenne*, *Berry*, *Bretagne*, and *Burgundy*, it was resolved they should go and fight them; and instead of strongly guarding the passages over the *Somme*, whereby to ruine them, they went to way-lay them on the other side of the River, and lodged themselves at *Azincour**, in the County of *St. Pol*.

* Or Agincourt.

The *English* being tired, seeing the *French* to be four times stronger then themselves, and believing they should be utterly lost if they came to an Engagement, sent to proffer them reparations for all damages done from the time of their landing in *France*. But their Offers were rejected; and Battle presented for the next day, being the five and twentieth of *October*.

1415.

The same causes that made them lose that of *Crecy*, and that of *Poitiers*, made them again lose this same, I mean the necessity or desperate condition they reduced them unto, either to vanquish, or to dye, their impetuous precipitation, the confusion in which they fought, all the Chiefs striving to be in the Head; besides the ill order

order of their Van-guard drawn up so close, that none but the first Ranks had room to stir themselves, and the inconvenience of the Soil, so fat and slippery with the Rain, and withal so deep that they stood half way the Leg in Myre.

The Field was bestrewed with Six thousand of theirs, and with Sixteen hundred of the *English*. Amongst the slain were the Earl of *Nevers*, and *Anthony* Duke of *Brabant*, Brothers to the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Alençon*, the Constable d'Abret, the Duke of *Bar*, the Marechal de *Boucicaut*, the Admiral *Dampierre*, the Archbishop of *Sens* Brother of *Montaigne**, and the Vicount de *Lannoi* Son of the same; Amongst the Prisoners the Dukes of *Orleans* and of *Bourbon*, the Earls of *Vendosme* and *Richemont*, and fourteen hundred Gentlemen. The Army indeed victorious, but as much shatter'd as if they had been vanquish'd, had much ado to crawl to *Calais*; from whence their King *Henry* went over again into *England*.

* That Montaigne who lost his Head.

This great misfortune, begot such Civil Discords as made the Wound much greater. The Duke of *Burgundy* went on with his design of usurping the Government; and he believed this juncture very favourable towards it. But when it came to be known that he was marched to *Dijon* with the Duke of *Lorraine*, and ten thousand Horse to come again to *Paris*, they brought the King back with speed; and the Duke of *Guyenne* quartered Men in all the places thereabout.

1415.

The *Burgundian* being arrived at *Lagny*, sent to the King to desire he might come to him, and that the Duke of *Guyenne* might receive his Wife again, whom he had pack'd away to entertain a Mistress. He was promised satisfaction in this second thing he demanded: but for the first he could never obtain it, he was expressly forbidden to come near *Paris* but only with his own Servants. There had been no security for him, he found they had put all his Friends in Prison, Hang'd up all his Soldiers they could light upon, and sent for the Count of *Armagnac* his greatest Enemy to take the Constables Sword.

The mischief proceeded principally from the evil Counsels of certain Plagues in Court, who for their private Interests, promoted the differences between the Princes, and plunged the young Duke of *Guyenne* into all Debauchery. The University and Parliament made loud Complaints, and moved that young Prince so much, that he did promise to take some order: but in few days afterwards he fell sick of a Loofness, whereof he died the Five and twentieth of *December*, not without visible marks of Poyson.

1415.

The Count d'Armagnac being arrived at *Paris* the nine and twentieth of the same Month, set aside the Propositions for Peace, envenomed the Sore instead of healing it, and made himself absolute Master of the Government, having obtained the Sovereign Administration of the Treasury, and the Command of Captain General of all the Fortresses, with power to put in what Governors and what Garrisons he pleased.

After the death of the Duke of *Guyenne*, the Succession to the Crown was to fall to his second Brother *John* Duke of *Touraine*. The Earl of *Hainault* whose Daughter he had Married, had carried him into his Country: all honest *Frenchmen* wished he might return to inform himself in all Affairs. In the mean time to gain the affection of the People, and shew he was not engaged to any Party, he Commanded both of them to lay down their Arms. The *Burgundian*, who had stood gaping idly in *Lagny*, was glad of so fair a pretence to retire. He went back into the *Low-Countries*, vexed to the very Soul, that his Enemies should deride him and call him *John de Lagny*, not much in haste.

The Emperor *Sigismund* desiring to procure the Churches Peace, and also a Peace amongst Christian Princes, made a Voyage into *France*, and from thence into *England*, but without any success, because the Constable refused the Truce for four years which he had propounded betwixt those two Crowns. The King received him magnificently at *Paris*, and was willing he should take his place in Parliament; but it was not so well relished that he should upon any occasion assume the Authority to bestow the Order of Knighthood upon a Gentleman.

1416.

"He resolved to erect the Earldom of *Savoy* to a Dutchy for *Amé VIII.* and "divers Authors tell us he had made choice of the City of *Lyons* for that purpose: "but the Kings Officers let him know it would not be suffered, wherefore he performed the Ceremony at the Castle of *Montluel* in *Bresse*, out of the Territories of the Kingdom. However the Letters Patents for the said Erection are dated "from *Chambery* the Nineteenth of *February*.

1416.

✠.

"It is fit we observe that ever since the time of the *Carlian* Race, the Title of Count or Earl was as eminent as that of Duke; and it seems the *Grande*s liked it better, since we find some who having Dutchies yet took the names only of Counts. Such in *France* was the Count of *Toulouse*, who held the Dutchies of *Septimania* and *Narbonne*; and the Earl of *Savoy* did the same, though he had the Dutchies of *Chablais* and *Aoste*, which he did not omit amongst his Titles. But as Men who in length of time change their humours and fancies, had an imagination that there was something greater in the Title of Duke, *Ame VIII.* Earl of *Savoy* was willing to have that Title given to the Earldom he bore the name of.

1416.

France met with nothing but misfortune upon misfortune, the defeat of the Constable before *Harfleur* which he besieged, then of the Naval Forces upon that Coast, the continual Incurfions of the *Burgundian* Troops, the death of the Duke of *Berry*, who was the only Person that could have allayed these Disorders, the King of *England*s second landing, this was at *Tonques*, with the loss of divers places in *Normandy* taken by his Forces. Besides all this, the earnest endeavours of both Parties to make an Alliance with him: but the *Burgundian* with most industry and forwardness, enraged that they had thrust him out of the Government; and the Earl of *Hainault* his Cousin, to get a support for the Dauphin *John* his Son in Law, whom the *Orleans* Faction would deprive of his Birthright, to prefer and advance *Charles* Earl of *Pontieu* his younger Brother.

1416.

The new Governor rendered himself daily more odious by Exactions, without measure, equality, or justice, laid upon the Clergy as well as the Laity, for which reason the *Parisians* heartily desired the *Burgundians* return: and indeed there was a Plot discovered to have let in his Forces. The chief Conspirators paid down their Heads for it, the rest were imprisoned, all who were suspected banished, even Members of the Parliament and University, the Burghers Arms seized upon, their Chains taken away, and the Butchers Company abolished.

1417.

The passion for Government did so far transport the *Burgundian* that he Conferr'd with the King of *England* at *Calais*, and renewed the Truce for his Countries only; which was in some manner an obligation, not to assist the King at all. From thence retiring to *Valenciennes*, he had confidence with Duke * *William* Earl of *Hainault*, and the new Dauphin his Son in Law. They swore mutual assistance against all their Enemies. So the Dauphin declared himself against the *Armagnacs*, and promised the Duke he would never return to Court till he carried him along with him.

* He was called Duke because in Germany all the Children of a Family bear the same Title as the eldest.

It was therefore resolv'd that the Earl of *Hainault* should go thither to treat of those Affairs, but should leave the Dauphin at *Compeigne*. Not being able to obtain the recalling of the *Burgundian*, he threatened to carry back the Dauphin home with him: whereupon they intended to detain him till he had given up the Dauphin: but having private notice, he craftily made his escape. But they secur'd themselves of the Dauphin another, but a more wicked way, by giving him Poyson, of which he died the eighteenth of *April*.

Charles his Brother, a sworn Enemy to the House of *Burgundy*, succeeded to the Title of Dauphin and of Duke of *Touraine*, and which is more, to a right of inheriting the Crown, to the great satisfaction and joy of the Duke of *Anjou* his Father in Law, who was mightily suspected to have had some hand in the removal of the two eldest out of the World, that his Son in Law might Reign.

1417.

But his joy was not long lived, dying in the following Month of *August*. He left three Sons, *Lewis*, *Rene*, and *Charles*; the two first had successively the Titles of King of *Sicilia*. *Charles* was Earl of *Maine*.

The Kings Person, the Dauphin, and the City of *Paris*, were in the hands of the Constable & *Armagnac*: the Queen only was some kind of counterpoise to his Power. They living with much freedom and licence in her Family, it was easie for the Constable to fill the Kings head with jealousies against this Princefs; so that he commanded one named *Bouredon* to be taken thence and thrown into the River as a Party concerned in those Intrigues; and afterwards sent away the Queen his Wife, as it were a Prisoner to *Tours*. She could never be brought to forgive him this injury, nor even the Dauphin her own Son, it being by his consent, although he were not then above the age of Sixteen years.

1417.

The Queens confinement, the lamentable death of the two Dauphins, the displacing of a great many Officers, the plundering of all the open Country by the unpaid Soldiers, the depredations of the *Armagnacs*, who robbed the very Shrines in the Churches, furnished the *Burgundian* with specious Pretences to publish his Manifesto's,

manifesto's, and to send to all the chief Cities to desire they would be assisting towards the restoring the King to his liberty. The most part of those in *Champagne* and *Picardy*, with the Isle of *France*, received him with open Arms, because he put down all Subsidies.

However all was nothing unless he could get into *Paris*, he marched round about it, approaching or going farther off for two Months together, according to the Advice he had from his Friends that were in the place. Whilst he was besieging *Corbeil*, he goes away in haste to *Tours* with some Troops of Horse, and having had a Conference with the Queen at *Marmouster*, whither she was come purposely under a pretence of taking the Air, he brought her with him to *Troyes*; From that time she claimed the Regency.

In so favourable a juncture, the King of *England* failed not to push on his Affairs, *Caen*; *Bayeux*, *Contance*, *Carentan*, *Lisieux*, *Falaise*, *Argentan*, *Alençon*, and in fine the greatest part of *Normandy* surrendered themselves up to him without scarce a blow given, excepting *Cherbourg* which defended it self three Months; and yet the Constable chose rather to see the Kingdom lost than his Authority, and the *Burgundian* consented rather to have it dismembered by the *English*, then governed by his Enemy.

1417.

"In *Germany* there were several Companies of Vagabonds began to strowle about, having no Religion, no Law, no Country or Habitation, their Faces tawny, speaking in a particular Canting Language of their own, and using a Slight of Hand in Picking Pockets, while they pretended to tell Fortunes. They were called *Tartars* and *Zigans*. These were the same in my own opinion as those the *French* at present call *Bohemians* and the *English* Gypsies."

"We find in the Acts of the Council of *Constance*, how the memory of *Wickliffe* was Anathematiz'd, and *John Huss*, who treading his steps, had sowed new Doctrines in *Bohemia*, was burnt alive Anno 1415. notwithstanding he had a safe Conduct of the Emperor, and how *Jerome* of *Prague* his Associate, but more cautious then he, chose rather to be condemned absent then present. In the same Council *Benet* having been declared Contumacious, and intruded into the Papacy, the Cardinals of all Parties joyning together, elected *Otho Colonna*, who took the name of *Martin*, as being promoted on the Eve of that Saints day.

1417.

He immediately employs his Care and Paternal Authority to endeavour the making a Peace in *France*. To this end he sent two Cardinal Legats, upon whose solicitation an Assembly was held at *Montereau Faut-yonne*, where the Deputies on either side agreed upon the Seventeenth of *May*, that all hatred being laid aside, the Dauphin and Duke of *Burgundy* should have the Government of the State, during the Kings Life. But the Constable, the Chancellor, and those that had the greatest share in the management of Affairs, fearing they should be pack'd away, or apprehending the *Burgundian*s Resentment, formally opposed it, and the Chancellor did absolutely refuse to Seal the Treaty, he who was said to have Sealed so many Instruments to the Peoples ruine and for his own private Interest.

1418.

Paris being sick of the War, this was an excellent Theme to be preached to the People, and stir up their hatred against them, and also to rowze the *Burgundian* Faction, who had still remained quiet, had not the Populace been drawn to side with them upon this ill management. In fine, those of his Party holding themselves assured of his Affection, introduced into their City *Philip de Villiers L'Isle*, *Adams* Governor of *Pontoise*, by *St. Germain*s Gate.

He entred by night upon the Twenty eight of *May* with Eight hundred Horse, crying out Peace! and *Burgundy*! The People did not stir till they were come into the Streets of *St. Denis* and *St. Honore*; then they came out on all hands and joynd with them. *Tannequy du Chastel*, Provost of *Paris* hearing the noise, ran and took the Dauphin out of his Bed, and wrapping him up in his Night-Gown, convey'd him to the *Bastille*, and from thence to *Melun*. The King who was in his Hostel remained in the power of the *Burgundians*.

1418.

From thence spreading themselves over the whole Town, they fell upon the Houses of the *Armagnacs*, and searched from the very tops of the Garrets to the bottoms of the Cellars. Some plundered the Household Stuff and carried away the Money, but were most eager to seize upon their Persons, and those were least unhappy that were coop'd up in private places till they had paid their Ransoms. Most of them were haled to Prisons, whither a great many fled voluntarily to avoid other

mischiefs. The Chancellor was taken the very same day and imprisoned in the Palace. The next day the Constable was dragged to the same place; He had concealed himself in a Masons House, but Proclamation being made to discover all the *Armagnacs* upon pain of death, his Hoste produced him.

1418. The Banished being return'd from divers parts, with indignation and revenge in their Hearts, made the most cruel Mutiny that ever was heard of; this was upon the Two and twentieth of *June*. They began with the Palace, whence they drew forth the Constable and Chancellor, Murther'd them, and exposed their Bodies upon the Table de *Marbre*. From thence they went to the Prisons, Massacred the Bishops of *Senlis* and de *Contances* in the *Petit Chastelet*, and made the rest leap from the tops of the Towers, receiving them below upon the points of their Swords and Javelines. There was no part of the City which was not stained with the Blood they spilt. Near two thousand Men were killed, whose Carcasses were drawn into the Fields, with deep Incisions made upon their Backs in form of a Bend or Scarfe, which was the Signal that Party had marked themselves withal, for distinction. Such as were found with them were held to be worse then Hereticks, the Priests denied them Burial, and Baptism to their Children.

1418. Whether it were Policy or not, the Duke of *Burgundy* would not come to *Paris* till a month after *L'Isle Adam* had made himself Master of it. The Queen and he made their entrance the fourteenth day of *July* as Triumphantly as if they were returned from the Conquest of some new Empire. There was nothing heard in the Streets but the soft Musick of Voices and Instrumens; and yet their pretence did not stop the bloody hands of Murtherers. Whoever had Money or an Enemy, an Office or a Benefice, was an *Armagnac*.

The vilest and the most wicked had made themselves the Chiefs of that Blood-thirsty Militia; The very Hangman was one of them; and he had so much impudence as to shake the Duke by the Hand, who knew not what he was.

The One and twentieth of *August* they made another great Commotion, that infamous Villain being their Captain; in which they killed above two hundred Persons, and amongst others even some of those that dwelt in the Dukes *Hostel*; and perhaps they would have carried it home to himself, had he not been provided against that Scum of the Rabble. He bethought himself of a wyle, which was to send six thousand of that common Herd to besiege *Montleberry*, and when they were gone, he ordered the Hangmans Head to be chopt off, and several of the most deserving to be Hanged, or cast into the River.

1418. It seemed that Heaven would revenge those horrible Murthers with its severest Rod; About the Month of *June*, *Paris* began to be infected with the Plague, which raged extreamly to the end of *October*, carried off above forty thousand, most of them being the meanest of the People, and such as had dipt their Hands in Blood.

After the Dauphin was gone from *Paris*, his Partisans made War in his Name. Those *Frenchmen* that were disinterested and impartial, found themselves much perplexed between the Kings Commands, whom the *Burgundian* made to speak as pleased himself, and the Commands of the Presumptive Heir to the Crown; which side soever they could take, they were sure to be treated as Rebels and Traitors.

1418. The Duke of *Bretagne* labour'd so much that he made up the breach a second time. All the Articles were agreed upon at *St. Maurdes Fosse*; but those that had influence over the Dauphin kept him from Ratifying them; so that there was only a Truce for three weeks.

1418. After he had taken all the pains imaginable to find out some way to reconcile the two Parties, perceiving as little faith on the one side as the other, he retir'd into his own Country, and renewed his ancient Alliance with the *English*, only for his defence. When now he thought himself out of all trouble, he found himself fallen into the greatest Peril. *Marguerit de Clisson* Widow of *John de Blois* Earl of *Poitiers*, a Woman ambitious even to the highest Crimes, never left provoking her Sons (she had four in all) to seize upon the Person of the Duke, that they might enter upon the Dutchy of *Bretagne*, which she told them was their Inheritance. The Dauphins Council offended because the *Breton* did not Arm himself against the *English*, Treated underhand with these Brothers, and gave them Letters and Orders to prosecute their design.

To effect this they made use of all sorts of means to get into the Dukes favour, went to visit him at *Nautes*, gained great Credit with him by their Respect and Complaisance: in fine, engage him to go and divert himself at their House of *Chantocéaux* in *Anjou* upon the Second of *February*. Going thither with his Brother *Richard* unarmed, and with

with little Company, as being unwilling to give them too great trouble, *Oliver* the eldest of the four, causes him to be set upon and taken by forty Horsemen well armed, who carried them away bound Legs and Arms, to the Castle of *Paluan* in *Poitou*: From thence they were removed from place to place all the year round, causing divers reports to be spread, sometimes that they died in despair, at other times that they were drowned, and lastly, that for a Penitance they were both gone on Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, there to end their days.

They had made account that if they could but once catch these two Brothers, they should find strength and friends enough to get themselves into possession of the Dutchy: but the Act was so base, that even their most devoted friends were ashamed to own it. All *Bretagne* moved with the horror of the Fact and the lamentations of the sorrowful Dutcheis, took up Arms, and sent her above fifty thousand Men to recover her Husband. In the absence of *Arthur* Earl of *Richmond*, whom the *English* would not set at liberty, the *Bretons* chose Commanders of their own Nobility, to lead them.

Chantocéaux was besieged. The Duke was not then there as they had hoped; but *Marguerit de Clisson* and one of her Sons were in it. The breach being made, this Womans heart failed, fear seized upon her Spirits, she dispatches Messenger after Messenger to her Son *Oliver* to intreat him, if he would ever see her again alive, to release the Duke. The Dukes Head was a pawn sufficient enough to answer for his Mothers: notwithstanding he was so weak as to let him go. But he had beforehand made him sign to what Articles he would. The Estates of the Country never regarded them, the four Brothers were brought to their Trial, who were condemned to die, their Houses razed, their Lands confiscated and given to great Men, that so they might never be recover'd again.

During these Brouilleries, King *Henry* had laid Siege to *Rouen* from the Month of *June*. The importance of that City, and the constant fidelity of her Burghers, deserved some care should be taken to relieve them. They first endeavour'd it by treating with the King of *England* concerning the Marriage with *Catharine* of *France*, by the Mediation of the Popes Legats, who for that purpose carried the Picture of that beautiful Princess to him. Then, that Project having failed, he making too high demands, they got some Forces together and carried the King as far as *Beauvais*: but they were found too weak to attempt its relief. The Besieged being in the greatest extremity make their address to the Dauphin: this was the fairest Jewel of the Crown which was so near being lost: he took no care for it, considering the place as rather belonging to the Duke of *Burgundy* then to *France*.

What Miseries did they not undergo? Thirty thousand died of Famine, hunger forced them to eat their very Bed-straw, and all the Leather they could come at. The King of *England* refusing to receive them on any other terms then at discretion, they undermined five hundred Rod of their Walls, and in their extremity resolved to set fire on the Timbers that propt it, and then fall out of the breach both Men and Women and take their fortune either in Death or Victory. This desperate Resolution gave the King some apprehension, he allows them tolerable Conditions, and was contented with the payment of three hundred thousand Gold Crowns, and three of their Chiefs whom he should name, of those, one called *Blanchard* lost his Head. Upon these Conditions he confirmed all their Priviledges; He made his entry the nineteenth of *January*.

The taking of this City brought in all the rest of *Normandy*; and that Province for some few years returned to the obedience of the *English*, from whom it had been conquer'd two hundred and fifteen years past, by King *Philip Augustus*.

They did notwithstanding negotiate between the two Kings, and at the same time between the two Parties of *Armagnacs* and *Burgundians*. A Truce for three Months was agreed upon between the two Crowns, after which there was to be an Interview near *Melun* to conclude on the Peace and Marriage. Men of most Judgment foreseeing *France* must be ruined if it came to that, never left off till they had made Truce betwixt the two Factions. The Dauphin would have had it for three years, the *Burgundian* for two Months only; his aim was, that if within that time he could make a full and perfect agreement with the Dauphin, they might with their united Forces fall both joyntly upon the *English* when the Truce expired, if not, he would make a Peace with them that he might be the more enabled to quell the Dauphinois.

The first not succeeding well, he comes back to Treat with the *English*. To this purpose there was an Interview between both Kings in a Park prepared for it near *Melun*, in the midst whereof they had pitched a Tent for the Conference. The King of *France*

France being fallen ill at Paris, the Queen supplied his place, and carried thither (but only the first time) Madam Catharine whom the King of England sought in Marriage. They met in this Tent frequently almost three weeks together, the King of England coming from Mantes, and the Queen from Pontoise, where they were lodged.

The Dauphins Council knowing what they treated on, sought to the Burgundian for an Accommodation, and flattered him with a perfect Reconciliation. The Duke did ardently desire it; and therefore being pleased with that hopes, he stood on higher terms with the English, and would scarce condescend to any thing that he demanded. Thus they began to shew some coldness, and then were picqued at one another: the Burgundian breaks off the Treaty, and thinks of nothing now but to accommodate Affairs with the Dauphin.

They conferred therefore in the open Field near *Povilly le Fort*, within two Leagues of *Melun* between the two Armies, each of them attended by half a score Horsemen; and there they made a Treaty, in which they swore to love and assist each other like Brothers, submitting themselves in case of any failure to the Sovereign Judgment of the Holy See. After which they agreed to meet upon the Bridge de *Montereau l'aut-ynne* the Eighteenth of August, each accompanied with ten Men armed, to determine all their disputes in a most amicable manner.

The Servants belonging to the deceased *Lewis Duke of Orleans*, particularly *Taneguy du Chastel*, and *John Louvet* President of *Provence*, procured these Interviews for no other end but to find an opportunity to revenge the death of their late Master upon him that was the Author of it: They durst not attempt it at *Povilly*, but they put things in better order at *Montereau*, by the contrivance of certain Barriers, which being made in appearance for the mutual safety of them both, served as a snare or trap to that unfortunate Prince.

The day being come, the Dauphin arrives at *Montereau*: the Duke made him wait almost fifteen days. His friends forewarning and advice, his own presentiment, all humane prudence and reasoning forbid his going thither: the power of his ill destiny dragg'd him along, by the horrid treachery of a second *Dalila*, I mean the Lady de *Gyac* his Mistress; or perhaps it was the hand of Divine Justice, for the Blood of his own Cousin, and so many thousands of Men as had been spilt in that Quarrel.

To allure him the better, they delivered up to him the Castle of *Montereau*, but wholly unfurnish'd of Provisions or Artillery. From thence he descended to the Bridge with his ten Men, and placed a guard at the end. While he was kneeling before the Dauphin, *Taneguy du Chastel* and some others, leaping over the Barriers Massacred him by several wounds, his People making but a slight defence, only this act was done without the Dauphins order, for he was not above Seventeen years of age, and Heaven would never have permitted a Prince designed to wear the Crown of France, should have perpetrated so horrible and base a piece of treachery. However it were, the event made it appear how much those wounds did blemish his Honour, and not only proved hurtful to him, but almost mortal to the whole Kingdom.

For *Philip* the only Son of the deceased, although a very good Prince, highly undertakes to revenge his Fathers death, and wanted not for means to do it. All that were friends to that House, all those that were discontented came and tendred their service to him: compassion and horror for this Murder renewed and heated the affections even of such as were grown coldest; the *Parisians* sent to assure him of their Services; and he to gain the love of the People obtained a Truce of the English, to the exclusion of the Dauphins People who were come to *Rouen* to desire the same thing, for which they made great profers. From this time the French, the English, and the Burgundians, began to mix and live together as if they had all been but one Nation: but the difference of their humours and interests, would suffer no long unity amongst them.

On the other hand the Dauphin gathered up all his Friends in the Provinces of *Poitou*, *Orleannois*, *Berry*, *Auvergne*, *Lyonnois*, *Dauphine*, *Provence*, and above all thought to secure himself of *Languedoc*. He took away that Government from the Earl of *Foix*, and gave it to *Charles Count de Clermont*, eldest Son of the Duke of *Bourbon*. From these Provinces it was that he drew his Succours that maintained him. Besides, the Kings of *Castille* and of *Scotland*, with the Duke of *Milan*, suppli'd him in his necessities with some of their Forces.

Accord-

According to what had been agreed upon, the King of England and *Philip Duke of Burgundy*, met at *Troyes*, where the King and Queen were; and there the Peace was Treated together with the Marriage of *Catharine of France* with King *Henry*. Which was first sworn to by all the Lords there present, and then by all the good Cities that were of their Party. The Marriage was compleated the Second day of June.

This Treaty amongst other things contained; That King *Charles* named and owned *Henry* for his Heir to the Crown of France; That however *Henry* should not take the Title of King of France during the life of *Charles*; but that he should have the quality of Regent, and the government of Affairs; That the two Kingdoms of France and England should be united and held by the same hand, viz. by *Henry* and his Heirs: but that they should not depend upon one another, and should be governed according to their Laws; That all Privileges and Rights should be preserved to all Estates and to every particular Person; That no Treaty of Accommodation should be made with the Dauphin without the consent of both the Kings, the Duke of Burgundy, and the three Estates of both the Kingdoms.

The two Kings afterwards with the Burgundian having taken *Sens* and *Montereau*, journeyed towards Paris. *Melun* made the King of England know how much all France might cost him: he was four Months before it, and not able to force it: Famine only did what his Sword could not. The Besieged surrendered upon composition, but contrary to the faith given, they were all detained Prisoners.

At their departure from thence, the two Kings made their entrance into Paris, the first Sunday of Advent; and the next day the two Queens. The Duke of Burgundy having tender'd his complaint before them and their Councils, in the *Hôtel St. Pol*, the Dauphin was summon'd to the Table de *Marbre* with the usual formalities; and afterwards as attainted and convict of Murder, was declared unworthy of all Succession, namely of that to the Crown of France, and banished the Kingdom to perpetuity.

From this Sentence given by incompetent Judges against all Right, and contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom, he appealed to God and his Sword, and transferr'd the Parliament and University to *Poitiers*, at which place the most illustrious Members of those two Companies did not fail to appear.

Thus almost every thing was double in the Kingdom, there were two Kings, two Regents, two Parliaments, two Constables, two Chancellors, two Admirals, and so of most of the great Officers, not to mention the multitude of Marshals of France, whereof each Party made seven or eight.

"This year 1420. the Portugal Navigators defray'd and encouraged by *Henry Duke of Viseu* Son of *John King of Portugal*, sailing at large in the Ocean found in their midway between *Lisbonne* and the *Fortunate Islands*, a little Island which they named *Madera*, because it was full of Wood or Materials fit for building. From thence steering along the exterior coasts of *Africa*, they there discover'd several large Countries, and in time failed to the *East-Indies*, which till then were unknown, at least those parts towards the Sea. Pope *Martin*, and after him his Successors, bestowed upon the Portugals all those Lands by them discover'd or to be discover'd, from the Cape which lies at the end of Mount *Atlas*, to the *Indies*.

When the King of England had sojourned some weeks at Paris, he laid Siege to the City of *Meaux*; the only place the Dauphin had left, upon the Rivers of *Seine* and *Marne*. After a three Months brave defence, the Besieged capitulated the ninth of May; the Inhabitants had their lives and liberties: but all the Soldiers were sent Prisoners to divers places, where they let them cruelly perish for hunger. The Bailiff named *Lewis de Gas*, had his Head cut off in the *Halles* at Paris. The City taken, King *Henry* went into England to draw over a new supply of Men and Money.

"So great was the fondness of the French for the Conquest of the Kingdom of Naples, that *Lewis Duke of Anjou* forgetting those disasters of his Father and Grandfather, and abandoning his own Country to the mercy of the English, suffers himself to be cajoled by the promises of the Pope and *Sforza*, who called him to dispossess Queen *Jane*, a Princess lost in her Reputation by her continual Gallantries or Amours. The Affairs of *Lewis* being in a pretty good posture in that Country, *Alphonso King of Arragon*, who held the Island of *Sicilia*, undertakes the protection of *Jane*, she having adopted him her Son, *Sforza* does reconcile himself to her; and in a word there was nothing left for the poor Angevin but the way to walk home again.

One

Emp. John II.
by the Session
of Emanuel
his Father,
Reigned
Twenty seven
years, and Sigismund.

1419.

1419.

1420.

1420.

1420.

1421.

1421. One of the first seeds of division between the English and the Duke of Burgundy, was about *Jacqueline* Countess of *Hainault*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Friseland*. After the death of *John* Dauphin of *France*, they had Married her to *John* Duke of *Brabant* Son of *Anthony* and Cousin German to Duke *Philip*: but the young Gossip not being satisfied with her second Husband, a Man of little merit, prosecuted for a Divorce, and confederated with some Captains to carry her away, as it were by force, into *England*, where she Married *Humphrey* Duke of *Gloucester* Brother of King *Henry*. This undertaking turned much to the contempt of *Philip*, who besides observed that the English began to treat him with more pride, and endeavour'd to settle their affairs as they might have no further need of him.

1421. The War was very hot in every Province on this side the *Loire*, particularly in *Champagne*, *Picardy*, and in the Countries of *Perche*, *Maine*, and *Anjou*. The Duke of *Clarence* Brother to King *Henry* having got together eight or ten thousand Men went and besieged *Bauge*, in *Anjou*: *John* Earl of *Bouchain* a Scot, and the *Mareschal de la Fayette* marched to its relief, gave him battle and won it. He was slain upon the place with two thousand of his Men, the rest escaped through the Country of *Mayne* into *Normandy*. This Earl of *Bouchain* had brought three or four thousand Men from his own Country to the Dauphins service, in recompence he gave him the Constables Sword.

1421. The Field being clearly left to the French, the Dauphin accompanied with his new Constable and the Duke of *Alençon*, regained some places in the Countries of *Perche* and the *Chartrain*. In the mean time *Henry* being come back from *England* with a great reinforcement, and in a rage and fury for the defeat and death of his Brother, did endeavour all that was possible to meet with the Dauphin. He marched by *Chartres* and *Chateaudun*, lodged in the Suburbs of *Orléans*, and not meeting him in the Field, but a violent Dysentery that took off three thousand of his Men, he falls upon the City of *Dreux*, which being surrendered upon Composition, he goes to rest himself at *Paris*, and sends over his Queen, who was great with Child, to be deliver'd in *England*.

1421. Whilst he lay at the Siege of *Dreux*, an honest Hermit unknown to him, came and told him the great evils he brought upon Christendom by his unjust ambition, who usurped the Kingdom of *France* against all manner of right, and contrary to the will of God; wherefore in his holy name he threatened him with a severe and sudden punishment, if he desisted not from his Enterprize. *Henry* took this exhortation either for an idle whimsy, or a suggestion of the Dauphinois, and was but the more confirmed in his design.

1422. But the blow soon followed the threatening: for within some few Months after he was smitten in the Fundament with a strange* and incurable Disease, the acuteness of its pain, made him go to *Senlis* to seek for cure.

The Queen his Wife was a while before this returned out of *England*, having brought forth a Son to whom they gave the same name as his Fathers. Both she and her Husband made their entry with great splendour into *Paris*, and kept open Court at the *Louvre* upon the Feast of *Pentecost*, each Crowned with their Royal Diadems: but the People that went to see the Ceremony, had cause to regret the liberalities of their ancient Kings, and detest the niggardliness or pride of the English, who gave them none of their good Cheer, nor did vouchsafe to profer them one Glass of Wine.

The Dauphin in the mean time had besieged the City of *Cosne* on the *Loire*, and the place had capitulated to surrender, if they were not relieved by a prefixed day, with an Army able to give them battle. The Duke of *Burgundy* got a great number of Men to go thither, the Dauphin being informed of his march, did not think fit to stay for him, but raised his Siege.

1422. The King of *England*, though already indisposed, was gotten into his Litter that he might be present at this memorable Action. While he was at *Melun* his distemper increased so much that he could proceed no further, but made them bring him back to *Vincennes*, where he died the eight and twentieth day of *August*. He had only one Son who was named *Henry*, he left him to the education of the Cardinal of *Winchester* his Uncle, who bred him in *England*, gave the Government of that Kingdom to the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Regency of the Kingdom of *France* to *John* Duke of *Bedford*, to whom he recommended above all things to give content to the Duke of *Burgundy*, never to make any Peace with the Dauphin unless *Normandy* were yielded to be left in full Sovereignty to the English, and not to release those Prisoners that were taken at the Battle of *Azinconr* till his Son were come to his majority.

The

The one and twentieth of *October* following, King *Charles* VI. the weakness of whose Brain, stupified with so many relapses, made him a prey to every one that could but come to deal with him, ended his Life, and his unhappy Reign in his Hostel of *St. Pol* at *Paris*, attended only by his first Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, his Confessor, and his Almoner. His Funeral was at *St. Denis*: no Prince of the Blood went to it, not even the Duke of *Burgundy*, who was ashamed to give place to the Duke of *Bedford*. This last as soon as the Ceremony was over, caused young *Henry* his Nephew to be proclaimed King of *France*.

Charles VI. Reigned two and forty years and five and thirty days, and lived fifty two. He had by *Isabella* of *Bavaria* six Sons, the three first of them died in their infancy, the other three *Lewis*, *John*, and *Charles* appeared on the Theater: and the last survived him and Reigned. He had the same number of Daughters, *Isabella*, *Jane*, *Mary*, a second *Jane*, *Michel* and *Catharine*. The first was Married to *Richard* II. King of *England*, then to *Charles* Duke of *Orléans*; the second died in her Cradle, the third devoted her self to God in the Convent at *Poissy*; the fourth Married *John* VI. Duke of *Bretagne*, the fifth *Philip*, who was Duke of *Burgundy*, and the last *Henry* V. King of *England*.

Before him the Kings of *France* were wont at all Ceremonies to appear with all their Regal Ornaments, and wear some marks about them every day, as their Robes lined with *Ermines*, and a Crown upon their Hoods or their Hats: In the Army a Coat of Armour sem'd with Flower-de-Luces, and a Hoop with Flowers pretty high upon their Helmets: This King neglected all these Ornaments, and did not distinguish himself at all from other People, so that he seemed to have degraded himself of all Royalty.

That Quarrel which Pope *Boniface* had with King *Philip* the Fair, was the Rock whereon the Papal Power both Spiritual and Temporal was split and shipwreck'd, which till then had Master'd and Lorded it over the Emperors and other Western Princes. The translation of the Holy See to *Avignon* brought them lower yet, by removing them out of their natural place, and laying open their defects, which exposed the Court of *Rome* to the great contempt and scorn of all that did but make the least observation on their ill Conduct. But to say the truth, *France* that thought to aggrandise it self by this Spiritual Power of the Popes Court, gained nothing but their Vices, with the plague of Litigious Disputes, and the *Malerio*, or extraordinary Taxes. But if the multitude of Cardinals were an advantage to the State, *France* might have vaunted that she alone had as great a number as all the other parts of Christendom besides.

We have seen how *Clement* V. promoted to the Papacy by a method not strictly Canonical, extinguished the Order of the Templers who were found to be all guilty in *France*, but innocent in divers other Countries. *John* XXII. was the first who made it a fixt and permanent right to reserve the Fruits of vacant Benefices for the Holy See.

He bestowed the same Honour on the Bishoprick of *Toulouze*: but thinking it too rich and of too great extent, he divided it into five, whereof *Toulouze* is one, *Montauban*, *Lavaur*, *Rieux*, and *Lombers* are the other four: which he would have to be its Suffragants, as also *Mirepoix* and *Lavaur* created new by him. Moreover he restored the Bishoprick of *Pamiez* to that of *Toulouze*, which had been taken away and brought under *Narbonne* by *Boniface* VIII. when he erected it.

To recompence *Narbonne* in some manner, he made two more in the same Territory, these were *Alet*, whose See was first at *Limoux*, and *St. Pont de Tomieres*. He likewise made four for that of *Bourges*; *Castres* of a portion of that of *Alby*, *St. Flour* of part of *Clermont*, *Vabres* of part of *Rodez*, and *Tulles* of part of *Limoges*.

He likewise erected four for the Archbishoprick of *Bordeaux* which had been dismembered, *Condon* from the Territory of *Agen*, *Sarlat* from that of *Perigueux*, *Mallezais* and *Lucon* from that of *Poitiers*. Most of these sixteen Churches were Abbies changed into Bishopricks, and their Abbots converted to Bishops.

The Popes return to *Rome* was attended with a Schism of forty years, which troubled all Christendom: but afflicted *France* particularly, overthrew the Discipline of Elections and of Collations; filled all the Churches with Mercenary Pastors, nay hungry Wolves, and afforded all her Revenues; not only by ordinary Taxes upon each of them, by Annats, and Rights of Provision: but by extraordinary Taxes and Tenth.

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Church, the fourteenth Age.

Schism.

Church.

The Princes, first the Duke of *Anjou*, then the Duke of *Berry*, and after him the Duke of *Oyleans* favoured the cupidity of the Popes of *Avignon*, that they might share in the prey; the Cardinals gorged themselves: the Prelats either for want of courage, or in hopes of getting into fatter Benefices, gave their consent; the lesser ones were so much under the pawes of the Wolf, they durst not so much as open their mouths. The University of *Paris* alone opposed these disorders, and notwithstanding the Princes menaces, the corruptions of the Court of *Avignon*, the tricks and artifices of the Popes that were Competitors, they saved the Temporals of the *Gallican* Church, and restored the Universal Churches Peace by extinguishing the Schism.

And truly this great work is in the first place due to their zeal and labour, and in the second place to the care and perseverance of the Emperor *Sigismund*, who called and maintained the Council of *Constance*, and who made divers Voyages into *Italy*, *France* and *Aragon*, to establish Unity and Peace.

University.

There was not in all the Kingdom, so powerful a Body as the University, as well for the multitude of her Scholars, which sometimes exceeded the number of thirty thousand, as because she was the Nursing Mother of all the Clergy of *France*. The remonstrances she took the liberty to make to the Princes, the care she had to procure the reformation of the State during the troubles, and that which hapned to *Savoisy*, are very strong proofs of it. But we will add two more. The one, that in the year 1304. the Prevost of *Paris* having caused a Scholer that was a Clerk to be hanged, they carried their complaints to the King and left off their Exercises till they had satisfaction. He was fain to go to the Pope for his absolution. The other was thus, in the year 1408. *William de Tignonville*, who was at that time in the same Office, having likewise sent a couple of Scholars to the Gallows who well deserved it, but were Clerks, was forced together with his Lieutenant to go and unhang them, to kiss their Feet, and cause them to be brought with great ceremony to the *Maitburins*, where yet their Epitaph is to be seen.

We find by the Letters of Pope *John XXII.* that the Oriental Languages, the *Greek*, the *Arabian*, the *Chaldean*, and *Hebrew* were taught in the year 1325.

Learned Men.

There sprung up, if we may so say, a vast quantity of excellent Plants in this fertile Nursery. I cannot tell whether I ought to reckon the Scholasticks in the number since they have brought forth more Thorns and Prickles than either Flowers or Fruit that is wholesome. *Henry of Ghent*, *John of Paris*, *John Duns the Scot*, all lived in the beginning of this Age, which was the Fourteenth Century: but perhaps some would rather have them placed at the latter end of the Age foregoing: the two first were Secular Doctors, the third a Cordelier. Of the same Order were *Aureolus*, *Mayrons*, *Okam*, and *de Lyrz*. *Peter Aureolus* amongst other Works, composed a short and pithy Commentary upon the Bible. The Criticks may examine whether we must distinguish him from another of the same name and of the same Order, a Native of *Verberie* upon the *Oyse*, who was a Cardinal. *Francis de Mayrons* having been rejected at the *Sorbonne*, would needs, to shew his ability, maintain an Act, where without having any President, without eating or drinking, without rising from his Seat, he answer'd from five a Clock in the morning till seven at night. Since that the other Batchelors pretend to imitate him. And from hence came the Act which they name the *Grand Sarbonnique*. *William Okam* by birth an English Man, wrote of the power of the Popes and Emperors against *John XXII.* *Nicholas de Lyrz*, a Native of the Diocess of *Evreux* in *Normandy*, whom they say was Originally an *Hebrew*, compiled a Commentary or Postil upon the Bible, of which great use is yet made.

From the Order of the Dominicans came *Bernard de Guy*, Inquisitor of the Faith against the *Albigensis*, Bishop of *Lodeve*, of whom we have divers Volumes, as well of Holy History as Profane; *Durand de Saint Pourcain* Bishop of *Meaux*; *William de Rance* Bishop of *Sees*, Confessor to King *John*; *Herve Noel*, by birth a Breton, General of the Order, and Contemporary with *Durand*; *Peter de la Palud* a Burgundian, Patriarch of *Jerusalem*.

Amongst the Seculars we find *William Durand* Bishop of *Mandes*, called the Speculator, who composed the Book Entitled *Speculum Juris*, it was he made likewise the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*. He lived in the beginning of this Age, about twelve or fifteen years before the other *Durandus* Bishop of *Meaux*. The Cardinal *Bertrand* Bishop of *Autun*. *Nicholas Oresme* Grand Master of the Colledge of *Navarre*, Dean of the Church of *Romen*, and Tutor to King *Charles V.* who made him Bishop of *Lisieux*, who amongst other Works translated the Bible into *French*, which was perhaps the first Translation that ever was seen in our Language, that

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is to say in *French Romance**, for there had been one in *French Tulesque*, even in the time of the second Race.

King *Charles* the Wise will not disdain to be placed in the number of the Learned, since he is beholding for his Wisdom in some measure to the Writings of Learned Men, whose Eloquence and Politiques, drawn from examples in History, did both animate and instruct his Captains.

May not *France* also reckon amongst her Learned Men the famous *Petrarque*, since he spent so great a part of his Life here, though he were Originally a *Floure tize*, and was both born and buried beyond the Mountains. This great Genius having in his youth exercised his Pen for his Mistress *Laura*, repented a terwards his having trifled away so much time, and imploy'd it afterwards in works that were more Philosophical and more Christian-like.

We must own that in this Age, as in the last, the *Jacobins* and the *Cordeliers*, furnished the *Roman* Church with a great number of Bishops and Cardinals, and that they were so powerful, that if they had but wisely managed their prosperity, the favour of the Grandees, and the affection of the People, they might have made themselves Masters both of the Church and State. But they retarded their progress by their own faults; and if we may say, it hung Clogs upon their own Feet which hindered their higher flight; the *Jacobins* in being so stiff to maintain their old opinion about the Conception of the Virgin, and the *Cordeliers* in commenting with too much severity upon the observation of *St. Francis's* Rules, and Philosophising too Metaphisically, touching propriety of Goods which are consumed by the use of them.

John Duns the Scot had taken up the Cudgels against *St. Thomas*: In all which Controversies he came short of the solidity of that Angelique Doctor, though he had great advantage in the point of the Conception of the Holy Virgin, maintaining that it was perfectly and entirely Immaculate, wherein he varied from the Master of Sentences. This opinion appearing more to the honour of the Mother of God, and more suitable to the zeal of devout Souls, was embraced by most Christians. The *Jacobins* having stumbled at it, lost themselves mightily in the esteem of the World: however the Question was never fully debated till about the latter end of this Age.

Disputes.

The *Cordeliers* had their time of suffering likewise, for in a few years after they were brought so low they came almost to nothing, even as the *Templers* before them. A pretence for the strict observation of the Rules given by *St. Francis*, without admitting those interpretations of the Popes *Nicholas III.* and *Clement V.* had possessed divers Monks of that Order with such crude and ambitious imaginations, as caused them to be divided into Parties, who rambling from one Country to another, confounded them almost with the *Bischoes* and the *Frerats*, who were Hereticks indeed. *John XXII.* endeavoured to cure them of this obstinacy, but not prevailing with them, he threatned Excommunication. They, far from obeying him, retired into *Sicilia*, where they prescribed amongst themselves Rules very strict, but withal very ridiculous, made choice of a General, Provincials and Guardians, and began to live as independent from the Holy See. Their fancies carried them yet further, for they had the confidence to affirm that there was a Carnal Church over-grown with Riches and Vice, of which Church the Pope and Bishops were the Prelats; and likewise a Spiritual one, girded with Poverty, adorned with Vertue, which consisted only of them and such as were like them, in whom was all Authority, as well as Sanctity: That the Rule of *St. Francis* was the same thing as the Gospel, and nothing therefore that was contained therein could possibly be changed. But the Pope pursued them so close, that by burning, whipping, and shutting them up between four bare Walls, he made an end of them.

Others at the same time debated the Question concerning Property, with as much heat and contention. *Nicholas IV.* had declared by his Bull, that they were to have only the use of those things that were given them, and that the propriety belonged to the *Roman* Church. Now it hapned that a Begard whom in *Anno* 1322. they had brought to the Inquisition at *Toulouse*, having reply'd that neither our Lord Jesus Christ nor his Apostles had possessed any thing either in common or in particular: One *Berenger* who was Lecturer in their Convent, undertook the affirmative, and maintained it was an Article of Faith, and very far from any thing of Error. The difficulty was laid before the Pope at *Avignon*; Whilst he was ordering it to be examined by all the Universities, the General Chapter of the Friars Minors assembled at *Perouse*, declared that they would hold to the Decretal of *Nicholas*, which said it

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* The several Dialects in several Ages and parts of the Nation.

Church.

was so, and as for that abdication of all propriety, it was certain that Jesus Christ and his Apostles had taught it both by their Preaching and Example. Which having by their Letters signifi'd through all Christendom, and all their Doctors teaching the same in their Schools, and in their Pulpits. *John XXII.* nettled for that they had prevented his Judgment, declared that the assertion in reference to our Lord Jesus Christ and his Apostles, was erroneous, for they might have sold, changed, or given away the things that were presented to them; and for the Friars Minors, That the Bull mentioned was not to be understood of things that consumed, because the propriety of such things cannot be separate from the use of them, but only of immovables; For which he forbid them to make any further prosecution or proceedings in the name of the *Roman Church*. For under that colour they troubled many People, and often contended with the Prelats.

All this was but words and air; for whether they had the property, or simply the use only of the Meat and Drink bestow'd upon them, they neither eat nor drank more nor less; nor could the Pope have any advantage by it, whether it were so, or not so. These Bulls nevertheless did so anger them, that a great many went to the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria* with their General *Michael de Cefene*. The others that did not follow them in their Schism, however stood stiff in the maintenance of their opinion, saying that *John XXII.* was an Heretick in this point. Neither was he sparing to them in his Ecclesiastical Censures, nor in punishing them with Faggot and Fire. A great number of them were burnt in several Countries *Anno 1324.* and such had a cheap and easie bargain of it, that had nothing but their Writings condemned to the Flames, as it luckily hapned to *Peter John de Serignan* one of their Readers in Theology.

I fear I should fall into the ridicule should I set down the disputes they had about the colour, the fashion, and the Stuffs for their Cloaths, whether they ought to be white, black, grey, or green, whether their Hoods or Capouches should be pointed or round, large or streight, whether their Garment was to sit loose or close to their body, long or short, Cloth or Serge. We shall only observe that concerning these Debates they were fain to Consult as much with his Holiness, hold as many Chapters, assemble Congregations, publish Books and Manifesto's, as if the whole weight and being of Religion and Christianity had depended upon it.

At the same time, *Philip* Son of the King of *Majorca*, and Cousin to the King of *France*, took a fancy to have this Rule observed, in its pure literal sense, as not to live but by the labour of their hands, and by Alms: but to preserve their full liberty, to own no Superior, and to ramble wherever they pleased. The Pope having deny'd him his Request, he vented his anger against him in the same terms as the Begards and the Minors of *Michel de Cefene*.

The same Spirit of presumption possessed two Monks of the same Order, *John de Roquetaillade*, and one *Haibalus*, (if at least they were two distinct Persons) who undertaking to speak against the abuses of the Court of *Avignon*, and withall to make Prognosticks of Divine Punishments that were to fall upon the Pope and his Cardinals, of the coming of Antichrist and the end of the World, were detained a long time in Prison by Pope *Innocent VI.*

These fogs thus obscuring the Order of the Friars Minors being dispell'd, they soon recovered their credit: But the Preaching Friars or *Jacobins*, who had gotten the upper hand in this, went and entangled themselves in the Controversy concerning the Immaculate Conception. It befell them what we have observed elsewhere in speaking of *John de Monteson*. To which I shall add, that they moreover lost the honour and priviledge they had enjoy'd so long while of providing the King with a Confessor of their own Order, and the Peoples hatred grew so outrageous against them, that some beggerly Rascals having poisoned the Wells and Fountains, these were accused as Authors thereof, and hardly did they escape the fury of the Populace.

It would be an easie Task to fill a whole Volume with the wicked Prelats of this Age, who sailed and steered by the Compass of the Court and Wind of the World, who dishonoured their Profession, betray'd the Body of the Church by flattery, or sold her for Interest, and in fine chose rather to be famous for their Crimes, then for their Acts of Piety. I shall observe only for the singularity of the Fact, that *Hugh de Gerand* Bishop of *Cabors*, whom Pope *John XXII.* degraded of the Episcopacy, for having conspired against him, and deliver'd him over to the Secular Power, who caused him to be Flayed, drawn on a Hurdle, and burnt alive. The names of those other wicked Pastors deserve as little to be inserted in History as in the Holy Canon: But the names of *St. Roch*, born of a noble Family at *Montpellier*, much called

Wicked Prelats.

Saints.

Church.

called upon in a time of Plague, of *St. Gertrude*, a Nun at *Delft* in *Holland*, of *St. Peter* of *Luxembourg* made a Cardinal by *Clement VII.* Pope in *Avignon*, of *John Peter Birelli* General of the *Chartreux*, and *Roger le Fort* Archbishop of *Bourges*, of *Peter d' Alenfon* of the Blood of *France*, who enroll'd himself in the Order of *St. Francis*, and was afterwards made a Cardinal much against his will, are worthy of — and immortal remembrance.

Besides the Begards, the Bisoches, and the Frerots who appeared in the former Age, and the Flagellants, of whom we are going to speak, if there had been any other errors in *France* we might have called them the Offspring of School-Divinity. One *John de Paris* of the *Jacobins* Order, to whom they had given the nick-name of *Point-lasne*, subtilized I know not what Proposition touching the situation of the Body of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist; the Bishops, *William* of *Paris*, *Gilles* of *Bourges*, and another *William* of *Amiens*, with the Doctors in Divinity having examined him, forbid him to teach any more.

Heresies.

In the fourth Tome of the Biblioth of the Fathers, we find that in *Anno 1347.* the Bishop of *Paris* together with the Doctors, condemned certain Propositions made by one *John Mercour* of the Order of *Cisteaux* touching Volition and the Will of our Lord, the causes of Sin, and other such like, which sounded but ill.

In the year 1348. we find that a Doctor named *Nicholas d' Ourecour*, was forced to retract from sixty Articles which he had framed upon divers Heads of Philosophy and Divinity, owning them to be false and Heretical, and the Books wherein they were contained were ordered to be torn and thrown into the Fire.

The year 1369. a Frier Minor named *Denis Soulechat*, had taught some errors concerning the renouncing of Temporal Goods, and about Charity, and the perfection of Love, which being condemned by the Faculty of Divinity; he appealed to the Pope, who confirmed their Judgment, and sent him back to *Paris* to retract them in the presence of *John de Dormans* Cardinal Bishop of *Beauvais*.

The great Plague which reigned over the whole Earth about the middle of this Age, begot a Spiritual one, which was the Sect of Flagellants, which taking birth in *Hungary*, spread it self in short time over *Poland*, *Germany*, *France*, and *England*. They carried a Cross in their Hands, and wore a Capouch on their Heads, were naked to their Waist, scourged themselves twice a day and once in the night with knotted Cords, stuck with sharp pointed Rowels, prostrating themselves upon the ground in form of a Cross, crying out for Mercy. Each Band had their Chief. These Pious beginnings degenerated into Heresie by their own pride, and their herding with the Begards, Rascals, and all sorts of idle People. They affirmed that their Blood was united in such manner to the Blood of Christ, that it had the same vertue, and that after thirty days scourging, all their Sins were remitted both as to the guilt and punishment, so that they did not care for the Sacraments. This phrensy lasted a great while in the subsequent Age, and neither the Censures of the Church, nor the Writings of Learned Doctors, nor the Edicts of their Princes, could purge the Brain of these melancholy Zealots.)

There started up another sort of Hereticks that were more pleasant, but more infamous withall, in *Dauphine* and *Savoy*, they were called *Turlupins*. These lived without any shame, like the *Cynick* Philosophers, prayed not but with their hearts, and believed that Men who were perfect ought to have a liberty of Spirit not subject to any Law.

That Opinion which Pope *John XXII.* endeavoured to set up touching the state of the Soul till the day of Judgment, had, it seems, been very common in the foregoing Ages: but the World had examined and consider'd it better: so that for a long while it had passed for an error. The University therefore corrected the Holy Father in that point, and he not only desisted from it himself, but likewise gave a publick Act of his Retraction, whether upon King *Philip de Valois* his threats, who sent a Message to him in these very words, That * if he did not retract, he would have him burnt, or rather his being better satisfied in the Point.

The grand Assemblies being formidable to all such as govern by absolute Authority, rather then by Law, there were very few Councils in this Age. I have told you to what end that of *Vienne* was held *Anno 1311.* some will have it a General one, because Pope *Clement V.* presided there, and it consisted of a great number of Bishops and Prelats.

In the year 1318. *Robert de Courtenay* Archbishop of *Reims* convened one at *Seulis*, where his eleven Suffragants were in Person, or by their Proxies. They there pronounced Excommunication against all those that were Usurpers or Detainers of the Churches Goods.

* Or, if you will not turn, you shall burn. Councils.

The

* Roux, or
Red.

The Eighteenth of June of the year 1326, the Archbishops of *Arles*, *Aix*, and *Embrun*, assembled the Prelats of their Provinces in the Abby of St. Ruf* near *Avignon*, to labour for the reformation of Manners, the establishment of Discipline, the preservation of Ecclesiastical Immunities, and the Hierarchical Authority over the Regulars.

Anno 1337. there was another at the same place and from the same Provinces, which treated about the same things. Pope *Bennet XII.* presided there.

That of *Lavaur* in the year 1368. composed of three Provinces, *Narbona*, *Toulouze*, and *Auscb*, and convened by the Authority of Pope *Urban V.* had for their chief aim the reformation of Manners.

We must not omit that in the year 1377. King *Charles V.* used his intercession to Pope *Gregory XI.* to order it so, that the Bishoprick of *Paris* might be no longer subject to the Metropolis of *Sens*, and that it might be honoured with the Pall like the other Bishopricks in *France*. His Holiness excused himself as to the first point, as a thing too prejudicial to the Church of *Sens*, whereof *Clement VI.* his Uncle had been Archbishop, and where himself had held one of the highest Dignities: but for the second he willingly granted it. However we do not find that the Bishops of *Paris* ever thought of making use of it.

Charles

Charles VII. King LIII.

POPES,

MARTIN V. Eight years five Months under this Reign.

EUGENIUS IV. Elected the 15th of March 1431. S. sixteen years.

NICOLAUS V. Elected the 12th of March 1447. S. eight years, wanting twelve days.

CALIXTUS III. Elected in April 1455. S. three years three Months.

PIUS II. Aeneas Silvius, Elected the 19th of August 1458. S. six years, whereof four under this Reign.

CHARLES VII. Called the Victorious, King LIII. Aged Twenty years eight Months.

THE Dauphin was at the Castle of *Espailly* near *du Puy* in *Auvergne*, when he received the news of the death of his Father. The first day he put himself into Mourning: the second he Cloathed himself in Scarlet, and after he had heard Mass, in the same Chappel made them set up the Banner of *France*, upon sight whereof all those Lords that were then present with Pennons of their Arms, cried out *Vive le Roy!*

The English and the Burgundian held the best Provinces of *France*, they had *Normandy* entirely, and all that is between the *Scheld* even to the *Loire* and the *Saône*, excepting some few places which *Charles* had yet here and there. As for his part he had only all that lies beyond the *Loire*, excepting *Guyenne*: but then he had all the Princes of the Blood on his side (the Burgundian excepted) the best Captains, and the bravest Adventurers or Volunteers; as the Bastard of *Orleans*, *Taneguy du Chastel*, *James* and *John de Harcour*, *Lewis de Culan*, *Lewis de Gaucour*, the *Mareschals de la Fayette*, *de Rieux*, *de Severac*, *de Boussac*, *Poton de la Hire*, *Stephen de Vignoles-Saintrailles*, *Ambrose de Lore*, *William de Barbasan* called the Knight without reproach, and a great many others: and indeed he purchased them at a dear rate; for he was constrained to engage his Castles and the best part of his Demeasnes in pawn for them. Now because during his first years he commonly resided in *Berry*, his Enemies nick-named him in raillery the King of *Bourges*.

In the beginning of November he was Crowned at *Poitiers* whither he had transfer'd his Parliament. The accident that hapned to him at *Rochel* some days before, was a kind of preface that he should fall into extream dangers, but yet should happily get out of them at last. Holding one day a grand Council in a House near the Walls of the City, the Floor sunk down under his Feet, *James de Bourbon* Lord de *Preaux* was crushed beneath the Ruines, divers others mightily bruised and hurt: they had much ado to pluck him out, but he had no other hurt then only some parts of his Skin rubb'd off.

In like manner at his first coming to the Crown all was in a tottering condition threatening to overwhelm him. The Duke of *Bretagne* enraged for that amongst the Papers belonging to the Lords de *Pontieu* they had found Orders, which authorized and warranted them to make him Prisoner, went his way to *Amiens* about mid-March

1422.

1422.

March with his Brother *Arthur* Earl of *Richmond*, where he made a League against him with the Duke of *Bedford* and the *Burgundian*. These four Princes confirmed their Alliance by a double Marriage of the Duke of *Bedford*, and the Bretons Brother *Arthur*, with two of the *Burgundians* Sisters; he had seven in all, whereof six Married, *Arthur* took the eldest named *Marguerite*, Widow of the Dauphin *Lewis*, and *Bedford* the fifth who was called *Anne*.

1423. There appeared not the least glimpse of good fortune for King *Charles*, he received melancholy news from all Quarters, the taking of *Meulan*, *Crotoy*, *Compeigne*, and *Bas* in *Gascogne*. But the worst of all was that of the defeat of his Men before the City of *Crevent* near *Auxerre*. The Earl of *Salisbury* had laid Siege to it: the Constable *de Bouchain* and the Marechal *de Sevrac* who went thither to relieve it were beaten, a thousand of their valiantest Soldiers lay dead upon the place, and almost as many led away Prisoners, amongst whom were the Constable and the Count *de Ventadour*.

1423. The Birth of his first Child, which came into the World in the City of *Bourges* the fourth of *July*, did for a time afford him some consolation: This was a Son whom they named *Lewis*.

1423. "The Council of *Constance* had by their Forty four Session appointed a Council at *Paris* for the year 1423, so few Prelats met there that they were fain to transfer it to *Sienna*. When they had held some Sessions, *Alphonso* King of *Aragon* endeavoured by his Ambassadors to bring the business again on foot concerning the Anti-Pope *Peter de Luna*; which he did in revenge for that *Martin V.* had denied him the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which he could not possibly grant him, because the Council of *Constance* had bestowed it on *Lewis III.* Duke of *Anjou*. Now *Martin* to prevent a Schism, could find no readier Expedient then to dissolve the Council, upon pretence of a Plague in the Neighbourhood, though there appeared no sign of it. But that it might not be suspected he in the least apprehended the Judgment of so Holy an Assembly, he aligned another in the City of *Basle*, or *Basil*, for the year 1430.

* Vulgarly
Said.
1423. "Some jealousy and mistrust arising, which afterwards grew up to hatred betwixt *Jean* Queen of *Naples* and *Alphonso* King of *Aragon* whom she had Adopted: This ungrateful Man endeavour'd to dispossess her, and carry her away by force into *Catalonia*. They fell to open War, he held his Benefactress a long time besieged in one of the Castles at *Naples*, and without doubt had forced her to surrender, if *Sforza* had not come to deliver her. This offence, in respect of the publick, and according to strict Rules of Law, was cause enough to annul the Adoption. *Jean* (or *Joan*) therefore sets it aside, and by the advice of her Barons, gave the same right to *Lewis III.* Duke of *Anjou*, whom she immediately called into *Italy*, caused him to be owned by her Subjects, and gave him the Duchy of *Calabria*.

1424. The year 1424. proved not more happy to King *Charles* then the foregoing one had been. True it is that the Earl *Douglas* a *Scot* brought him four thousand Men, and the Duke of *Milan* sent him six hundred Lances, and twice as many Cross-bowmen on foot: but they were almost as soon defeated as arrived. The Duke of *Bedford* after the taking of some places, had besieged *Troy* which had capitulated after the manner used in those times, to surrender upon the Twentieth day of *August*, if no Army appeared before that time expired, able to give battle. Upon this the Constable, the Duke of *Alencon*, and seventeen or eighteen Lords more, got all their Forces together, and marched near the Town of *Troy*: but not daring hazard a battle, they went all to *Verneuil*, and made him that kept it for the *English* believe they had gained the Victory, and by this Stratagem wrought upon them to open the Gates to them.

The day assigned for the Battle being past, *Troy* surrendered. *Bedford* the same moment went and fought them out under the very Walls of *Verneuil*, fought them and carried the day, having slain four thousand of their Men, and taken Prisoners the Duke of *Alencon*, the Marechal *de La Fayette*, *Lewis de Gaucourt*, and above three hundred Gentlemen. Amongst the dead were found Earl *Douglas*, and the Vicount *de Narbonne*. The Body of this last was quarter'd and set upon Stakes in several places, he being an Accomplice in the Murder of *John* Duke of *Burgundy*.

1424. On the other hand the King drew over *Arthur* Earl of *Richmond* to his Party, with hopes by his means to regain the Duke of *Bretagne*. This Earl had ever a Soul devoted to *France*, and hated the *English* the more, for that he had offended them in making his escape from thence after the death of *Henry V.* pretending the

the faith he had given, obliged him only to that King, but not to his Successor. He had afterwards patch'd up an agreement with the Duke of *Bedford*, at their interview at *Amiens*: but that tie was too weak to hold him; he forsook them upon some little piquant words, which passed between him and the Duke of *Bedford*, and Treated with King *Charles*, perhaps, not without the instigation, or at least the consent of the Duke of *Burgundy*.

There were a great many precautions before he could adventure to come to Court, they were fain to give him Lords and Towns in Hostage. Having his securities he saw the King at *Tours*, but he obliged himself to nothing till he had taken advice of the Duke his Brother, the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Savoy*.

After all these Formalities, he came to wait upon the King at *Chinon*, and from his hands received the Constables Sword in the Field of *Chinon* in presence of all the Lords the Seventeenth of *March* 1425. as the *Bretons* tell us, though there is a Chronicle that says it was in the Month of *November* 1424.

He was positively promised the King would dismiss all those that were of Counsel for the Murder committed at *Montreuil*, and in that for seizing the Duke of *Bretagne*. The most fixed of all these was *Louvet* the President of *Provence* who had an ambition to govern in despite of all the *Grandeess*. He chose rather to be the ruin of his Master whom he had strangely fetter'd, then to be thrust away from him, so that he found means by his contrivances to animate him against the Constable: but the Constable made his Party so good, that the King found himself abandoned of all the *Grandeess*, and all his places refused obedience to him, excepting *Selles* and *Vierzon*.

Then he saw it was high time to discharge *Louvet* and all the rest. *Taneguy* generously sacrificing his fortune to serve his King, begged leave to be gone as his Reward. *Louvet* upon his retreat, as his Master-piece of Court-craft, put the Lord *de Gyac* in his place.

The Constable had no little ado to reconcile himself to the King, who fled before him that he might not see him. At length he suffers him to approach that he might get assistance of the *Breton*. Who being in the end satisfied by the expulsion of his Enemies, came to him at *Saumur*, rendred him Homage, and gave him his Contract, and the Contracts of all the Lords within his Duchy under Hand and Seal, commanding them to go upon his Service. They did him but little good, but they might have done him a great deal of hurt.

The Seventh of September, Charles the Noble King of *Navarre* ended his Life; Blanch his only Daughter Married to John the Brother of *Alphonso* King of *Aragon* was his Heiress.

As on the one hand these Broils prejudiced the Affairs of King *Charles*, on the other hand the Quarrel which hapned between the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Duke of *Gloucester*, about *Jacqueline* Countess of *Hainault* and the Duke of *Brabant* her lawful Husband, did much retard, nay set back those of the *English*, forasmuch as it diverted the Forces of those two Princes, who would undoubtedly have wholly subdued *France*, had they joyned them to the Duke of *Bedford*. *Jacqueline* would not endure that the Duke of *Brabant*, whom she affirmed was nothing to her, should enjoy her Lands; and the Duke of *Gloucester* who had Married her, did serve and assist her in that Quarrel. The Duke of *Bedford* desiring not to distaste the Duke of *Burgundy*, endeavour'd to patch up some agreement between the Parties: the Duke of *Brabant* submitted, but *Gloucester* regarded it not, but still pursued the right of his pretended Wife with Sword in hand.

He and the *Burgundian* pickered by Letters, and went on so far as to defie each other to a Personal Combat, agreeing upon the time, the place, and the Weapons. The Duke of *Bedford* having assembled the chiefest of the *French* and *English* Lords, brought that Challenge to nothing, and declared that there was no just or legal cause for Combat. And to testify to the *Burgundian* that he had no hand in the Enterprizes of his Brother, he desired they might see one another at *Dourlens*, as they did upon the Eve of *St. Peters* day.

This did not hinder them from making a brisk War in *Holland*, where the Duke of *Gloucester* and the Duke of *Burgundy* tried their Forces: but at two years end, the Pope having declared that the Marriage of *Jacqueline* with the Duke of *Gloucester* was of no value, that Prince desisted from his prosecution, and Married a *Damisk* whom he entertain'd.

1425.

The English had taken and fortified the City of *Pontorson* nigh *Auranches*, from whence they perpetually molested *Bretagne*; the Constable laid siege to it and regained it in a short time. He was not so happy at *Saintle James de Beuveron* which they had repaired: His Soldiers having forsaken him for want of their pay, he made a shameful retreat and left all his Artillery and Equipage to the Enemy. *Pontorson* was afterwards besieged by the English, and having surrender'd, the Duke of *Bedford* came to the Frontiers of *Bretagne* with a great Army: upon which the Duke was so astonished that he renounced the Alliance he had made with *France*, returned to that with *England*, and promised to do Homage to King *Henry*.

✠.
1426.

The shocks great Captains meet with, does often times proceed from the malice and envy of those that are of the Kings Council, whose care and province it is to provide for the subsistence and payment of the Armies. The Constable knew that *Gyac* was the cause of his disaster, because in stead of sending him Money, he stop'd the current from running that way, and diverted it to his own use, and entertained his Prince in solitude and private pleasures, that he alone might enjoy his Person and his Favours. For this reason in the Month of *January* following he went with a strong hand to surprize him in his Bed at *Issoudun*, and after some slight formalities of Justice, caused his Head to be cut off, or as others relate, drowned him.

1426.

Another Gentleman named *le Camus de Beaulieu*, undertook to supply the place of *Gyac*, and tread in his footsteps: some while after People were amazed to see the Constable rid himself of him, as he had done of the other. The Marechal de *Boussac* by his order, slew him in the open Street, and almost in the Kings sight, in the City of *Poitiers*.

He remembred too well what the Favourites had contrived at *Montreuil*, and against the Duke his Brother; wherefore he would suffer none to be near the King of whom he was not well assured, he therefore places the Lord de *la Trimouille* at Court, whom he judged to have sentiments contrary to the two former, his House owing all their good fortunes and rise to the Dukes of *Burgundy*.

But this Man soon blinded with his new fortune, as well as those whose post he now had taken, he kept the Princes as much at distance as he possibly could, so that even the Constable himself retired into *Bretagne*. This proceeded to a kind of a War, which divided the Court and retarded all the Kings Affairs for seven or eight Months.

1426, and
27.

It would be endless to take notice of all the Sieges, Fights, and Enterprizes in these Wars both Foreign and Domestick. There was not a City or Burrough but had Garrisons, Forts and Castles were built in all convenient places, upon Hills, on Rivers, in narrow ways, and in the open Fields. Every Lord had his Soldiers, or to speak more properly, his Bands of Robbers, who maintained themselves by feeding on the poor Country People. I shall therefore mention only the most remarkable Events, in this place, that the French raised the Siege of *Montargis* in the year 1426. and the year after recovered the City of *Manse*, which had been taken by the English during the divisions of the Court.

1428.

The Siege of *Orleans* was yet much more memorable and more important. The Earl of *Salisbury* having brought new Forces out of *England*, began it upon the Twelfth of *October* of the year 1428, and made several Bastilles or Forts, as well on the side towards *la Beausse* as that towards *Soulogne*, having before cleared all the places in *la Beausse*, and all others for twelve or fifteen Leagues both above and beneath the Town along the River of *Loire*.

1428.

All the year 1428. the Duke of *Burgundy* was busied in the Low-Countries in pursuit of *Jacqueline* of *Bavaria*. He followed her so close, that having besieged her in the City of *Ghent*, he compell'd her to declare him Heir to all her Lands, so that to *Flanders* and *Artois* he joyned *Hainault*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Frise*; and again the same year, the Earldoms of *Namur* and *Zutphen*, after the death of Count *Theodoric*, who sold them to him, only reserving the possession to himself during his life time. Two years after, in Anno 1430. there likewise fell to him the Dutchies of *Lothier*, *Brabant* and *Limbourg*, the Marquissate of the *Holy Empire*, and the Lordship of *Antwerp*, by the decease of his Cousin *Philip* of *Burgundy*, the second Son of *Anbony*, who had succeeded to Duke *John* his elder Brother, Husband of *Jacqueline*, who died in the year 1426.

In the beginning of this year he went to *Paris* to the Duke of *Bedford*; whither came also some Ambassadors from King *Charles*, and Deputies from *Orleans*, to intreat him that he would suffer the said City to be sequestred into the hands of the Duke of *Burgundy*. They remonstrated that the Princes of the House of *Orleans* who were Prisoners in *England*, could have acted nothing, for which they ought to be disposed of

of their Towns, and that it would be sufficient to put them under Sequestration as a security for what they should do, when they were set at liberty.

The English believing this important City was now as good as their own, scoffed at the request: they would not lose the time and Money they had expended in the Siege; Besides *Bedford* granted but very little of those things which the *Burgundian* demanded. However that he might not be exposed between two Enemies without any Party to support him, he put on the masque of an apparent satisfaction upon the face of his discontent.

Their attacks at *Orleans* were very brave, and the defence of the Besieged much braver yet; the Earl of *Salisbury* lost his life by a Cannon shot: but the French having been beaten near *Rouvray* at their falling upon a Convoy of Herrings* which was going to the Camp, it was in *Lent*, and the Constable being retired Malecontent into *Bretagne*, the place was just going to fall, and the courage of all the French with it. The King was already disposing himself to retire into *Dauphine*; When a most extraordinary thing, pulled down the English pride, and raised up the hopes of *France*.

* It was called the Battle of Herrings.

About the end of *February* the Lord de *Baudricourt* Governor of *Vaucouleurs* in *Champagne*, sent a Maiden to the King, about the age of Eighteen or twenty years, who affirmed that she had an exprels Commission from God to relieve *Orleans*, and cause him to be Crowned at *Reims*, being solicited thereto by the frequent apparitions of Angels and Saints. She was named *Joan de Arc*, was Native of the Village of *Danremy* upon the *Meuse*, Daughter of *James* of *Ave* and *Isabella Gautier*, and bred to keep Sheep in the Country. Her Vocation was confirmed by miraculous proofs, for she knew the King, though meanly habited, amidst the throng, from all his Courtiers. The Doctors of Divinity and those that were of the Parliament who examined her, declared that there was somewhat of Supernatural in her behaviour; She sent for a Sword that lay in the Tomb of a Knight, behind the high Altar in the Church of *St. Catharine de Fierbois*, upon the Blade whereof were several Crosses and Flower-de-Luces graved; and the King openly affirmed that she had devined a very great secret, not known to any but himself.

They gave her therefore a suitable Equipage and some Forces; yet did they not trust the conduct of this relief to her management, but gave it to the Marechal de *Rieux*, and the Bastard of *Orleans*, followed by many other brave Knights who understood the Trade. When she had display'd her Banner whereon there were two Images, one a Crucifix, the other the Annunciation with the Sacred Names of *Jesus-Maria*, she wrote to the English in the name of God, That they should leave the Kingdom to the Lawful Heir, if not, then she would make them go perforce. But they kept her Herald Prisoner. He was found in Fetters when the City was relieved, and it was discover'd that they intended to have burnt him as a Contederate of hers whom they called a Witch.

The success made good her threatnings. From that very day all their Affairs declined; When she had thrown Provisions into *Orleans*, and soon after entred the City in Person, the Besieged believing her to be sent from Heaven, resumed courage, made divers Salleys, where she fought valiantly, and in two or three days took their chief Bastilles, and constrained them to decamp for good and all the Twelfth day of *May*.

The French ran up and down every where with this Heroine as to a certain Victory, the English fled before her as from a Thunder-Bolt, and durst not stand her approach. They were chased from *Jargeau*, from *Beaugency*, beaten at *Patay* in *Beausse* upon a retreat, and in fine dislodged from all the places in those Countries.

Touching the second point of her Commission, she over-ruled it in the Council that the King should go to *Reims* to be Crowned, though that City and all *Champagne* were yet in the Enemies power. In their passage *Auxerre*, *Troyes*, and *Chalons* surrendered to the King, then the City of *Reims* it self, (as soon as ever those Lords that held it for the Duke of *Burgundy*, were gone forth to fetch some assistance from *Burgundy*) he was Crowned upon a Sunday being the Seventh day of *July* by *Renauld de Chartres* Archbishop of that City and their Chancellor.

In recompence of these so important Services, the King Ennobled the Pucelle, her Father and her three Brothers, and all their Descendants even by the Females, changed the name of their Race, which was of *Arc* into that of *de-Luce*, or *Lily*, and for their Coat of Arms gave them a Field Azure with a Sword placed in Pal, the Cross and Pommel Or, accosted with two Flowers-de-Luce, and sustaining a Crown of the same upon its point.

1429.

1429.

1429.

1429.

Upon his return they gave him up *Laon, Soissons, Beauvais, Compiègne, Crespy*, and all the Cities even to *Paris*. The Duke of *Bedford* came and presented him Battle in the Plain of *Montepilloy*; the Armies were in sight, but parted after some Skirmishes. From thence he went to assault *St. Denis*, and made an attempt upon *Paris*; his Men were repulled with loss, and the Pucelle wounded at the foot of the Wall.)

(She was willing to have returned to her own Village, after she had executed the two points of her Mission: but was overpersuaded by the Soldiery to stay with them: which succeeded not so well for her, Heaven being not obliged to assist her in what it had not commanded her to undertake.)

That attempt failing, the King takes his march towards *Berry*. *En passant* he recovered *Lagny* upon the *Marne*. Soon after he made his approach near *Burgundy*, thinking to conclude an Agreement which was Negotiating at *Auxerre* with the Duke: but the business was not ripe.

But his good fortune was put to some kind of stand, by the differences at Court which lasted almost a year, concerning the Vicounty of *Touars*, which the Lord *de la Trimouille* had usurped, and held *Lewis d'Amboise* in Prison, whose Cause the Constable had taken in hand, as being of his Kindred. *La Trimouille* had so prepossessed the Kings mind, that he made him turn his Sword against his Constable; and by this means gave the *English* time to breathe.

The raising the Siege of *Orleans* had not much troubled the Duke of *Burgundy*, if he had not found the Kings success go on with greater speed than he desired. He was little less amazed at this suddain revolution, then the Duke of *Bedford*. He who had lately scorned his intercession in the Affair of *Orleans*, began to seek and court him with submission and earnest application. On the other hand the Kings Agents offer'd him an Accommodation, and granted him a Pass-port to come to *Paris*, upon some hopes they had that he would reduce them to the obedience of the King. But when he had conferr'd with the Duke of *Bedford*, he found it better to renew with the *English*, who gave him a *Blank*, and together with that the Countries of *Champagne* and *Brie*, only the Homage reserved.

1429, and 30.

The Duke of *Savoy* and *Lewis de Chalon* Prince of *Orange* and Partisans of the Duke of *Burgundy*, had promised to themselves to share the Country of *Dauphine* betwixt them: *Grenoble* and the Mountains, were to have been the Dukes, and *Vienne* for the Prince *Lewis de Gaucour* Governor of that Country for the King soon spoiled the Market; He gained a great Battle between *Colombiez* and *Anton* against the Prince, slew and took eight hundred Gentlemen, and afterwards seized upon all the places he held in those Countries. It is related that in the rout, the Prince chose rather to leap into the *Rhosne* on Horseback, Armed, and venture to swim over, then fall into the Enemies hands.

1429.

Towards the end of this year 1429. the City of *Sens* was reduced to the obedience of King *Charles*. *Melun* recover'd themselves, by shutting their Gates against the Garrison who had been making inroads in *Gastinois*. The Kings kindness to such Cities as returned to him, was a great bait for others to do the same.

1430.

At his departure from *Paris* the *Burgundian* returned to the Low-Country, where on the Tenth of *January* he Wedded in second Marriage *Isabella* Daughter of *John I.* King of *Portugal*. Then was it that to grace the Solemnity at *Bruges*, he instituted the most illustrious Order of the *Golden Fleece*, composed only of thirty Companions or Knights; nor did he quite fill up that number, making then but twenty four. The King of *Spain* as Heir to the House of *Burgundy*, holds it an honour to be their Chief, and maintains it in all its splendour, not only by the great dignity of those on whom he bestows it, but likewise by not making it cheap by too great a multitude.

1430.

Amongst the many Sieges in every Province, that of *Compeigne* was the most remarkable for the disgrace the *Burgundians* met with, as being forced to raise it, and much more yet by the Pucelles misfortune, who was there taken Prisoner the Four and twentieth day of *May*, upon their retreat after a Salley made, the misfortune hapning to her by the imprudence or else the malice of *William de Flavy* Governor of the place, who shut her out of the Barricado. She fell into the hands of a Gentleman of *Picardy*, who sold her to *John de Luxembourg* one of the Generals, he sold her again to the *English* for the Sum of Ten thousand Livers ready Money, and five hundred Livers yearly pension.)

1430.

The wonders of this Shepherdess having succeeded so well at *Orleans*, as we have mentioned, *Renard de Chartres* Chancellor of *France*, the Marechal *de Bouffac*, and

Poton

Poton de Saintailles, (resolved to go to *Rouen* upon the faith of a simple Shepherd, who told them that God had sent him to lead them into that place: but the *English* having notice of it, way-laid and fought them in their march, defeated part of them and took *Poton* Prisoner.

An *Arragonian* Captain named *Francis de Surienne*, who was in the *English* Service, surprized the City of *Montargis* after this manner. Having made himself familiar with a Damsel who was in Love with the Governors Barber, he promised her great Sums of Money, and a Contract of Marriage, if she would introduce his Men into the place thorough her House which was adjoining to the Wall. The Damsel gained the Barber with the temptation of Money, without mention of the other part concerning her Marriage; Both of them assisted the *English* in setting up their Ladders, and getting in: but the place being once taken they were turned out, for fear they might play the same trick again by some bargain for the *French*, and got nothing but scoffs and reproaches for reward.

1431.

In exchange the *French* surprized the City of *Chartres*, by the contrivance of a Fellow that carried Goods in a Wheele-barrow. Whilst he pester'd the Draw-bridge with his load of Merchandize, a hundred Men running out of a Cellar hard by, where they had lain hid that night, and upon a Signal by them given, the Bastard of *Orleans* and *Gaucour* who were within a League, hastned thither with three thousand Men. The Garrison without striking a blow fled to *Evreux* by another Gate. Some Burghers made resistance by the example of their Bishop (*John de Fritigny*) a zealous *Burgundian*, but he was slain with his Weapon in hand upon the steps of the great Church.

1431.

The Pucelle was a Prisoner of War, and they could use her no otherwise without violating the common right of all People. But the *English* too much enraged for their being beaten by a Maiden, could not endure her glory who caused their shame. They thought to repair their honour by branding her with infamy; so that having obliged that remnant of an University which yet remained at *Paris*, to make a Request to their King, desiring Justice might pass upon her, they carried her to *Rouen*, and accused her in the Ecclesiastical Court, for a Witch, a Seducer, an Heretick, and one that had forfeited her honour.

Those were the four heads of her Accusation, but which they proved very ill, as being unable to make out any thing clearly against her, but only that she cloathed her self in the habit of a Man, and had taken up Arms, which they imputed a Crime, because, said they, that change of habit stained the modesty of her Sex, and flatly contradicted the express command of God against it. *Peter Cauchon* Bishop of *Beauvais*, in whose Bishoprick she was taken, the Vicar to the Inquisition, some Doctors in Divinity and Canon Law, were her Judges; the Chapter of *Rouen* during the vacancy of the See, lending them place.

After divers captious interrogatories, they condemned her to perpetual imprisonment, the bread of sorrow and bitter water of affliction: but the *English* not being satisfied with moderate injustice, pressed them so earnestly that some days afterwards they said she had relapsed in putting on the Habit of a Man again, Excommunicated her and delivered her over to the Secular Power, who burnt her alive the Thirtieth day of *May* in the Market place of *Rouen*.)

Being on the Pile of Faggots she foretold the *English* that the hand of God was lifted up to strike them, and that his Justice would not only drive them out of *France*, but pursue them even into *England*, and make them suffer the same calamities and mischiefs they had inflicted on the *French*. It is related that her heart was found entire amongst the ashes, and that a milk white Dove was observed to fly out of the midst of the flames, a token of her innocence and her purity.)

"Charles Duke of *Lorraine* died in the year 1430. without any Male Children. "There was a debate for the succession between *Antony* Earl of *Vaudemont* his Brother, "who pretended that Dutchy was Masculine, and *Rene d'Anjou* already Duke of *Bar*, "who had Married *Isabella*, who was but the third Daughter of Duke *Charles*, but "the two elder had renounced the Dutchy. The *Burgundian* in hatred to the House "of *Anjou*, the capital Enemy to his, and the Duke of *Savoy* his Allie, assisted *Antony*, and fortune was kind to him in the Battle that was fought between *Bullegneville* "and *Neufchâtel* in *Lorraine*. For *Rene's* Army was totally routed, Lord *Bazan* a "great Soldier slain, and *Rene* taken and led away to *Dijon* to the Duke of *Burgundy*, "who detained him till the year 1437.

1431.

After

1431. After the death of the Pucelle the *English* Affairs went still worse and worse. To remedy this they brought their young King to *Paris*, and Crowned him with a double Crown in *Noître-Dame* the Twenty seventh of *November*; and withal the better to retain the Duke of *Burgundy*, who was ready to start from them, they confirmed the donation of the Countries of *Brie* and *Champagne* to him.

1431. The Lord de la *Trimonille* made ill use still of his favour and interest against the Constable and the rest of the Lords. One day, he being with the King at the Castle of *Chinon*, they by confederacy brought two hundred Men in thither, who took him in his Bed, gave him a wound in the Belly, and led him Prisoner to the Castle of *Montreuil*. The Queen her self consented to it, and therefore soon appealed the King: and that his fancy which never could be satisfied without some particular favourite might not be left unfurnished, she helped *Charles of Anjou* Earl of *Mayne* to gain the Kings good will and more then ordinary kindness. *La Trimonille* was not set free till he deliver'd up the City of *Tonars*, which he had usurped, and the King in an Assembly of the Estates at *Tours* owned all that had been done in respect to him.

1431. "By vertue of what had been ordained at *Pavia* by the Council and the Pope, the Council of *Basse* * began this year upon the Three and twentieth of *July* under *Eugenius IV.* who newly succeeded to *Martin V.* There was never any good correspondence between him and the Fathers of this holy Assembly. For if on their part the Fathers at the very first gave him to understand that they would put some curb to his Authority, by stoutly maintaining that ancient rule, That the Council is above the Pope: he on his part made them know that his greatest desire was to dismiss or dissolve them. But as he could not so suddenly do it, because the Emperor upheld them, he was obliged to confirm the Council after two years of Controversies.

1431, 32, 33, and the following. The War was carried in all the Provinces of *France* with various success, but very feebly. Do not wonder to see it languish in this manner for seven or eight years together, the weakness of both Parties was the cause thereof; they wanting Money could set no great Armies on foot. Add to this the weakness of the two Kings, *Henry of England* for his minority, and *Charles of France* for the easiness of his mind, still held in leading-strings by his Favourites and Mistresses.

1431. "The Twenty fourth of *November* in the year 1431. *Lewis of Anjou* King of *Naples*, died at *Cosenza* in *Calabria* without any Illue. The Second of *February* the year following, *Queen Joan*, or *Jane*, ended her life also, and left *Rene* the Brother of *Lewis* to inherit her Kingdom. The Pope confirmed this Institution; but as *Rene* was yet a Prisoner to the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Alphonso* King of *Arragon* had full leisure to seize upon the Kingdom. In this *Jane* ended the first Branch of *Anjou*, which had produced above thirty other Sprigs, furnished *Hungary* and *Poland* with Kings, and lasted near two hundred years.

1434. "Ame VIII. Duke of *Savoy*, wearied with the noise and perplexity of Sovereignty, had made his retreat to the delicious Hermitage built by himself at *Ripailles*, and taken on the habit of a Hermit with two more Gentlemen his Confidants, having resigned his Estates to *Charles* his Son Earl of *Geneva*, whom he had Married some years before to *Ame* Daughter of *Janus* King of *Cyprus*.

1435. Amongst an infinite number of petty Combats hapning within these two or three years, I do not meet with any that was considerable but that of *Gerbroys* a little City near *Beauvais*. *Saintraille* and *la Hyre* had undertaken to fortifie it, and the *English* to hinder them; These although three times more in number, were beaten, the Earl of *Arundel* their Achilles mortally wounded with a Culverin Shot in his Heel, and eight hundred of their Men left dead upon the place.

1434, and 35. The earnest intreaties of the Council and the Pope to the Duke of *Burgundy*, did at length incline his good nature to shew his just resentment, and to take pity of the miseries of *France*. His Treaty had been first begun and rough-drawn by *Ame* Duke of *Savoy*, who in the year 1423. had mediated a Truce between the King and him, for the Dutchies of *Burgundy* and the Earldom of *Nevers* on the one part, and *Bourbonnois*, *Beaujolais*, *Lyonnois* and *Forez* on the other. Then it proceeded a little further at *Nevers* in the interview of *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon* and the *Burgundian*, whose Sister *Charles* had Married. These two Princes having accommodated those Affairs that were between them, concerning the Homage for some Lands which the Duke

Duke of *Bourbon* refused to render him, and for which they had made a rude War for some time, began to fall into discourse of the Affairs of the whole Kingdom, and agreed together that there should be a Conference held at *Arras*, to find out the best means for procuring Peace between the two Crowns, and between the King and the *Burgundian*.

According to this Resolution there was held at *Arras* the greatest and the most noble Assembly that ever this Age had heard of. All the Princes of Christendom had their Ambassadors there, the Pope and the Council each their Legats; The Harbingers took up Stabling for ten thousand Horse. This was opened the Sixth day of the Month of *August*.

The Duke was obliged in honour not to Treat without the *English*, provided they would be satisfied with reasonable Conditions. They were profer'd *Normandy* and *Guyenne*, if they would do Homage for them: but when he found they would relinquish nothing of their Pretensions, he disengaged himself from them, and made a separate Treaty, the Popes Legat having absolved him of that faith he had given them. The Popes did often practise this, believing it a part of the power which our Lord *Jesus Christ* had given, to bind and unbind. Here is the Summary of the chiefest Articles.

"The King by his Ambassadors disown'd that he had consented to the Murther of "Duke *John*, wickedly perpetrated and by wicked Counsel, for which he was sorry "with all his heart; Promised he would do justice, and cause such as were guilty to "be prosecuted whom the Duke should name to him; That if they could not be "taken, he would banish them from the Kingdom for ever, and never admit them "upon any Treaty.

"He obliged himself to build for the Soul of the deceased Duke, the Lord de *Novailles*, "and of all those that died since in that quarrel, a *Chappell* at *Montreuil* on the place "where the Body of that Duke lay interred, to set up a Cross on the Bridge, to "found a Monastery or *Chartreuse* where should be twelve Friars, and a high Mass "that should be sung every year in the Church at *Dijon*. To pay fifty thousand "Gold Crowns, at 24 Carats, &c. for the Goods and Equipage taken, when the Duke "was Murther'd.

"Moreover he relinquished and acquitted him of all Homage due for any Lands he "held of the Crown, and his Service and Personal Assistance during his life.

"Gave him to perpetuity for him and his Heirs Males and Females, the Countries "of *Mascon* and *Auxerre*, the Lordship of *St. Jenson*, the Bailiwick of *St. Laurence*, "the Castlewick, or Chastelleny of *Bar* upon the *Seine*, and as security for four hundred thousand Crowns, payable at two certain terms, the Chastellenies of *Peronne*, "Roya, and *Montdidier*: and the Cities of the *Somme*, that is *St. Quentin*, *Corbie*, "Amiens, *Abeville* and others. As also the County of *Pontieu* on either side the "Somme, and the enjoyment of the County of *Boulogne* for him and the Heirs Male "of his Body, with all the Rights of *Tailles*, *Gabelles*, and *Imposts*, all profits of "Courts of Justice, of the Regalia and all others arising from all those Countries.

"That the *Burgundians* should not be obliged to quit the *St. Andrews* Cross, even "when they were in the Kings Army; That in case of any contravention of the Subjects both of the one and other of these Princes should be absolved from their Oaths "of Fidelity, and should take up Arms against the Infringer; That the King should "tender his submissions for the compleating of this Treaty into the hands of the Legats from the Pope and the Council, upon pain of Excommunication, Reagravation, Interdiction of his Lands, and all other to which the Censures of the Church "can extend; That to the same purpose he should give the Seals of the Princes "of his Blood, the Grandees of the State, the most noted Prelats, and the greatest "and chiefest Cities.

And to make this Reconciliation the more firm and durable, there was added the promise to bestow *Catharine* the Kings Daughter, upon *Charles* Earl of *Charolais* the Dukes Son, both as yet very young. Four years after they sent this Princess to the Duke of *Burgundy* to compleat the Marriage.

Besides this weighty blow which amazed the *English* much, they received another, which was the death of the Duke of *Bedford* Regent in *France*, after whom they never had any but Men that were very violent, hare-brain'd, without either prudence or conduct. The *French* in the mean time took *Diepe* by *Escalado*; and the kind usage they shewed to the Inhabitants brought them all the places of the Country of *Caen*.

1435. At the same time, which was about the last day of September, died the Queen Mother *Isabella de Baviere*, in the *Hôtel de Saint Pol* at *Paris*, where she lived in a mean condition since the time of her Husbands death, justly hated by the *French*, and ingratelously despised by the *English*. Some have written that to save the expences of her Funeral, they conveyed her Corps in a small Boat to *St. Denis*, attended only by four People. Her death is attributed to an inward grief occasioned by the outrageous raileries of such as delighted to tell her to her face, that King *Charles* was not the Son of her Husband.

1435, and 36. One of the greatest faults they committed, after they had refused the offers made them at *Arras*, was their not treating the Duke of *Burgundy* well, their giving him reproachful language, and not suffering him to be Neuter as he desired; but to fall on his People wherever they met them, endeavouring to surprize his places, and harrasing him so perpetually that at length they constrained him to become their utter Enemy.

The *Parisians* comparing the pride and wretchedness of these Strangers with the courtesie and magnificence of their Natural Kings, could no longer endure them; or if any thing did yet with-hold them, it was some remainders of that affection they preserved for the Duke of *Burgundy*; But this knot being broken, they now sought nothing but the opportunity to free themselves from their Bondage.

1436. The *English* having therefore been beaten at *St. Denis* by the Constable, the honest Citizens of *Paris* took that opportunity to treat about their surrender to him. Having obtained an Act of Oblivion and the confirmation of their Priviledges in such form as they desired, they introduced him by the Gate called *St. James*; This was on the Friday after Easter. When he was entred, the People fell upon the *English* on all hands, crying out, *a la queue*; Many had their Brains beaten out in the Streets, the rest escaped to the *Bastille*, where they made composition. All the little Neighbouring Forts were an Accessory to this Reduction.

* Or, Have at their Tails.

In the Month of August following, the King recalled the Parliament, the *Chambre des Comptes* and the University thither.

The *English* had declared themselves Enemies to the Duke of *Burgundy* by all Acts of Hostility upon his Countreys, and by underhand-dealings to stir his Subjects up to Rebellion, in those days very much knit to and concerned for *England*, as well by Commerce and Trade as out of a real hatred they had towards the *French*. He would therefore needs revenge himself by taking of *Calais*, which he esteemed no great difficulty, and laid Siege to it with a numerous Army. In the midst of this Enterprize, the *Flemmings* finding it spin out to a great length, fell into an imagination that they were betray'd, and herding together in several small parcels, on a suddain made up all their packs in great confusion, leaving their Provisions and Artillery behind for want of Waggons to carry them off. All that their Duke could possibly do for them, was to cover them with his Cavalry, lest the *English* should have charged them, and after that to follow them.

The Duke of *Gloucester*, who had sent word that he was coming to give him Battle, not finding him there, entred into *Flanders*, where he increased their former jealousy by his burning all those places he came near.

1437. It was impossible for *Rene* of *Anjou* to obtain his liberty of the Duke of *Burgundy*, without paying him an extraordinary Ransom, yielding up several places, and consenting to a Marriage between his eldest Daughter whose name was *Yoland*, as then but nine years old, and *Ferry* eldest Son of *Anthony* Earl of *Vaudemont*, the means whereby *Lorraine* returned to the Males of that House.

1437. In the interim they carried the King into *Lyonnois* and *Dauphine* to make Moneys in those Countries; and the following year he went even to *Languedoc* for the same end. Upon his return he laid Siege to *Montreuil Faut-yonne* which submitted not till after a long resistance. From thence he came to make his entrance into his good City of *Paris* the fourth of November; and then he might truly call himself King of *France*, having replanted his Throne in the capital City of his Kingdom.

1438. These long and tedious Wars did necessarily produce great licentiousness and daily Robberies. The Soldiers not being paid lived at discretion, and the extream scarcity of all things, rendered them most inhumane. There were divers Bands, commanded even by the Kings best Officers, who under colour of seeking for subsistence, ran from Province to Province, rising all they could lay hands on. Those called *Escoucheurs**, and then the *Redondens**, committed strange disorders.

* Flayers, * Shavers.

By these ravages, the flight of the Husbandmen and Peasants who neither ploughed nor sowed, and the continual Rains during two years, 1437, and 38. ensued a great Famine, and then a horrible Mortality over all *France*, especially at *Paris* and its Neigh-

Neighbourhood. That City was so depopulated the Wolves came and devoured Children even in the midst of the Street *St. Anthoine*. They were forced that they might rid themselves of those Beasts greedy of humane Flesh, to make Proclamation that any one should have twenty Solz a piece for every head of a Wolfe they brought to the Magistrate.

"Pope *Eugenius* and the Council of *Rasle*, or *Basil*, were imbroiled to that height, that *Eugenius* declared the Council dissolved, and called another to *Ferrara*; and on the other hand the Prelats that were at *Basil* having summon'd him divers times to come thither, began to think of deposing him, with the greater confidence, for that the Most Christian King seemed then to favour them, having forbid the Prelats of the *Gallican* Church from going to *Ferrara*.

"This Discord in the end turned to a Schism, he that might have extinguish it hapning to die. I mean the Emperor *Sigismond* who ended his days in *Moravia* the Eighth of November 1437. *Albertus* Duke of *Austria* his Son in Law, succeeded him in the Kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and the year following in the Empire by the suffrages of the Electors.

"The Clergy of *France*, ever since the translation of the Holy See to *Avignon*, had suffered infinite oppressions by the Court of *Rome*. And therefore the King having assembled them at *Bourges* to find out some way to reconcile the Pope to the Council; who had each sent their Legats: they embraced the opportunity which they could never have since the Council of *Constance*, and made their remonstrances touching those insupportable abuses. The King desiring to provide against it, order'd them to apply the most convenient remedies. To this end, by advice of his Council, they framed that so celebrated Reglement, called the *Pragmatique*, which preventing any the like Enterprizes of the Court of *Rome*, might well be termed the Bulwark of the *Gallican* Church.

"*Eugenius* transferr'd his Council of *Ferrara* to *Florence*, where they treated concerning the uniting the *Greek* to the *Latine* Church, their Emperor *John VI.* assisting with a good number of his most illustrious Prelats. But in the mean while those who were assembled at *Basil*, though reduced to a small number, and not well agreed amongst themselves, deposed *Eugenius* and elected *Ame VIII.* Duke of *Savoy*, who had retired himself, as was before related, to the solitude of *Ripaille*. *France*, *Germany*, and most part of the West paid their obedience to him during the life of *Eugenius*: but after his death, all of them almost turned to *Nicholas V.*

"Two years after *Rene* was delivered from captivity, he went into his Kingdom of *Naples*, where according to the example of his Predecessors, his entrance was very happy, but his exit very different.

The Siege of *Meaux* by the Constable, although long and full of difficulty succeeded happily for the *French*; but that of *Auranches* in the *Lower Normandy*, being ill managed by the same Person and the Duke of *Alençon*, brought them nothing but shame: the *English* having made them raise it, and taken part of their Bagage and their Ammunition.

At the Solicitation of the Dutcheys of *Burgundy* and the Popes Legats, a great Conference was held between *Graneline* and *Calais*, the Deputies of *France*, *England*, and those of *Burgundy* meeting, to treat about a Peace. The *English* not receding from that Condition, that *Normandy* and their other Conquests should be left to them in full Sovereignty, they parted without doing any thing in it.

The King by inclination was well enough disposed for the good of his Country: and we observe that from this very time even to the Reign of *Henry II.* the Kings did often and willingly make use of this term, The Publick Concerns of Our Kingdom. This year he held a great Assembly of Notables and Deputies of the Lords of the Estates at *Orléans*, where it was resolved that a Peace should be endeavoured, without which all designs for reformation would be useless and indeed impossible, and that in the mean while the Souldiery should be all reduced into Companies established and well regulated, every Gentdarm to three Horses, who should be paid every Month. Before this they had seven or eight, and a great number of Roguy-boys who devoured all the Country where-ever they passed.

This reform could not be pleasing to the Grandees nor Captains who grew fat by eating up the People, whole misery was their happiness. They interrupted it by a dangerous Commotion which was named *La Praguerie*. The Dukes of *Alençon*, *Bourbon*, *Vendôme*, the Bastard of *Orléans* and divers others had a hand in it. They complained that the King allowed no share in his Government, but to three or four private Persons; and thereupon entred into a League against his Ministers. *La Trimouille* who

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was

1438.
Emp. *John VI.*
and *Albert II.*
elected the
Twentieth of
April, Reigned
fourteen years
1438.

1439.

1439.

1440.

1440.

was in disgrace joyned also with them, that so he might by any means whatever be brought into play again at Court.

1440. The Conspiracy being made, the Duke of Alençon hies to *Niort* to debauch the Dauphin, who was his Godson, aged but sixteen years, but married already to *Marguerit* Daughter of *James I.* King of *Scotland*, and turned away the Count de *Perdriac* his Governor, and all those the King had placed about him. The King ran immediately to quench this new lighted Fire; after he had well provided his Frontiers against any attempts of the *English*, he takes the Field accompanied with his Constable, the Earls de *la Marche*, and *Dunois*, whom he had drawn off from that League, with eight hundred Men at Arms, and three thousand others. He pursued the Leagued so smartly into *Poitou*, and from *Poitou* into *Bourbonnois*, taking all the places where they thought to stand at Bay and make Head, that they were forced to give up his Son to him, and come and beg his pardon on their knees.

1440. A marvellous change: *Charles* Duke of *Orleans* who was detained Prisoner in *England* for five and twenty years, was delivered from captivity by that hand from which he had the least hopes in the world to expect it; It was by *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, who desiring to put a final end to the mortal quarrel between his Family and that of *Orleans*, by a principle of goodness, as generous as it was politique, contrived the deliverance of this Prince, and helped him to pay his Ransom which was three hundred thousand Crowns.

1440. These two Princes by a sincere and cordial Reconciliation quenched the mortal Enmities their Fathers had begot. *Philip* received *Charles* with great honour in his City of *Graveline* the Twentieth of *November*, gave him his Order of the *Fleece*, and accepted the Order of the *Porcupine* from him. Moreover *Charles* married his Niece, Daughter of his Sister and of *Adolph* first Duke of *Cleves*; In fine, each strove to shew the other all the marks and tokens of the most sincere and perfect amity.

"Amongst the Marshals of *France*, there was one *Giles* Lord de *Raiz* of an illustrious House and very valiant, but a great squanderer of Wealth, whose mind was so depraved that he addicted himself to all sorts of Vice and Sins both against God and Nature, entertaining Sorcerers and Enchanters to find out Treasures, and corrupting young Boys and Girls whom he afterwards murder'd that he might have their Blood to compound his Charm and Spells. This being a publick Scandal he was put into the hands of Justice, the Bishop of *Nantes* made his Process, the Seneschal of *Renes* Judge-General of that Country assistant, the Cause being of a mixt nature. He was condemned to be burnt alive in the Field of *Nantes*. The Duke was present at his Execution, but mitigating the Sentence, he permitted them first to strangle him, and then to bury his Body, not much consumed by the Flames. "I think I do remember in his Process that there was some Crime of State against the Duke, who was glad he had this occasion to revenge that offence, in punishing those hainous offences against Almighty God.

1441. The King had laid Siege before *Pontoise*, which charge the *Parisians* were to defray. The City having been re-victualled three or four times by *Talbot*, the honour of the *English* Commanders, his heart seemed to fail and he withdrew to *Poissy*: but observing this retreat despicable, he courageously returns, commanded a general assault, and by his presence so animated his People that he carried it by main strength.

That done he went to clear all the Country of *Poitou* and *Angoumois* of those Robbers that infested them, and to effect this he turned all the pilfering Captains out of their places and put honest Men in their steads.

Returning thence he came to keep his Court at *Limoges* during the Feast of *Pentecost*, where he received the Duke of *Orleans* and his Wife, and gave him 160000 *Franc's* towards the payment of his Ransom, and six thousand *Livers* Pension.

1442. From thence he went to *Gascogne*, saved *Tartas* which had capitulated to surrender to the *English*, if they were not relieved by a prefixed day. He presented himself before the place on the Eve of *St. John's* day with so considerable an Army that the Enemy durst not appear. *St. Sever* was forced, *Dacqs* compounded, so did *Marmande* and *la Reole*. But so soon as the King had but turned his back, the *English* by correspondence regained *Dacqs* and *St. Sever*. The King spent the Winter at *Montauban*, which was so sharp that all the Rivers in that Country were frozen up, and kept the Soldiers in their quarters not able to stir abroad.

1442. Whilst he was there, he secured himself of the succession to the Earldom of *Comings*. *Matthew de Foix* had for his fourth Wife married *Jean* who was the Countess of

of it. As she was very aged and had no Children by him, he kept her Prisoner in a Castle, to compel her to make a donation of all she had to him. The King having received the good old Woman's complaint, fails not to take this advantage for himself, and at the same price delivers her and brings her into his Court.

Dying shortly after in *Poitiers*; the Earl of *Armagnac* who had at his second Marriage wedded a Daughter of hers by another Husband, seized upon her Lands. He did not hold them long; the Dauphin *Lewis* going into that Country, chastised him with fair words, and clapt him in Prison, as also his Wife, and his Children. The Earl of *Foix* by his intercession got him out again, but not without much trouble and a surrender of all the Lands, he had usurped.

The Eight and twentieth of the Month of *August*, *John V.* Duke of *Bretagne*, ended his days at the Castle de *la Touche* near *Nantes*. He left his Duchy very much enriched and improved by a long Peace, and mightily Peopled by that War which made its Neighbouring Countries desolate, particularly *Normandy*. From that single Province there went above thirty thousand Families to inhabit in *Bretagne*, and a great part of them at *Rennes*, which mightily enlarged it, and gave occasion to inclose with Walls that quarter of the Town which is named the *Basse-ville*. He had three Sons, *Francis*, *Peter*, and *Giles*, whereof the two eldest were Dukes of that Country successively.

The foregoing year the *English* laid Siege to *Diepe*. The Dauphin being returned out of *Guyenne*, went thither in quality of Lieutenant-General for the King, and chased them shamefully thence. But the Earl of *Sommerfet* landing at *Cherbourg* with six thousand fighting Men, pierced as far as *Anjou* and *Bretagne*, defeated the Marshal de *Lobeaec* and the Lord de *Rueil*, then returned laden with spoil back to *Rouen*.

"In the year 1440, or 1442. is placed the Invention, or at least the first use of Printing, which would be as excellent as it is wonderful, were it not that, like Fame whose clearest Trumpet it is, it vends as many ill things, as it does good ones. The City of *Leyden* in *Holland* attributes the honour to it self in behalf of *Laurent Johnson* one of her Burghers; *Mentz* for a Gentleman named *Gutemberg*; Some allow it to one *John Mentel* of the same City. Those deceive themselves that say it came from *China*, for although it be true that they printed there a long time before, yet was it not with Letters separate and movable as are ours, theirs were graved on plates.

The two Kings loved their pleasures enough to make them have but little love for War. The King of *England* was the first that made mention of an accommodation, the Deputies met at *Tours*, where not being able to agree a final Peace, they made a Truce of eighteen Months, the Twentieth day of *May*, and the Marriage of *Marguerit* Daughter of *Rene* of *Anjou* with the King of *England*; to whom she was conducted by the Duke of *Suffolk*.

By consent of both Kings, it was thought good to throw the *French* and *English* Forces, upon the Countries of the Empire, which were fat and but poorly defended. The apparent pretences were to assist the House of *Austria* against the *Swiss*; to revenge some incursions the Count de *Montbelliard* had made upon the Territories of *France*, to assuage the Council of *Basil*, that they might put an end to the Schism, and to take part with *Rene* of *Anjou* Duke of *Lorraine* in his contest with the City of *Metz*; for their having assisted *Anthony* Earl of *Vaudemont* his Enemy: but the real design or cause, was to discharge the Kingdom of those troublesome Sons of *Mars* the Soldiers.

The Dauphin leading these Men (there were near 20000 Horse) parted from *Troyes* in the Month of *July*, took *Montbelliard*, and from thence went into *Alsacia* between *Basil* and *Strasbourg*, *Basil* fortified it self and called the *Swiss* in to their aid. He fought four thousand near that place, who rather tired then overcome, died all upon the place, but sold their lives at double the number. There were but sixteen escaped, others say but only one single man, who being returned home to his Canton lost his Head as a deserter. The Dauphin judging by this that he should gain nought from them but by losing too much himself, and withall being gorged with spoil, and observing the heavy *German* Body began to move, he retired for fear of being over-matched, and went to joyn with his Fathers Army that lay before *Metz*.

He besieged that Town in favour of *Rene* Duke of *Lorraine*. The Citizens seeing the Country wasted and ruined for seven or eight Months together, bought their redemption at the rate of three hundred thousand *Florins*, of which the King had two hundred thousand, and the other hundred thousand they give *Rene* acquittance for, who owed it to them.

The Army paid with this Money, were all disbanded, excepting fifteen hundred Men at Arms, as many Coustilliers (these were Foot that accompanied the Horse) and three thousand Archers. This was the establishment of what they called Companies d'Ordonnance.

1444, and
45.

He caused them to be quarter'd and cloathed and fed in the Towns: but the Vulgar who look no further then the present, and will never consider what may happen hereafter, minded nothing but how to ease themselves of this burthen, and granted a Tax in Money for the subsistence of these Gents-darmes, not considering that when once this Tax was settled, it would not be in their power to say either how long it should last, or how much or little it should be increased or diminished.

1444.

"The Tenth of November was fought the bloody Battle of *Varnes* between the *Turks*, and young *Ladislaus* King of *Hungary*. He had solemnly sworn a Peace with them: having unhappily broken it, by the Popes instigation, who dispenced him of his Oath, he most unfortunately lost his Life and all his Army; a wound that bleeds yet to this very day.

The Counties of *Valentinois* and *Diois* were united this year to *Dauphine*. *Lewis de Poitiers* who possessed them, had in *Anno 1419*. given them by his Will to *Charles V.* who was then Dauphin, upon a condition to furnish fifty thousand Crowns to pay off his Debts and Legacies; and in case he failed so to do, he then gave the succession to *Ame Duke of Savoy*. The Dauphin not having done it, *Ame* was got into possession and had settled a Governor there. But this year upon a Treaty at *Bayonne* agreed the third of *April*, *Lewis* the Son of *Ame* gave up all the right he had in favour of the Dauphin *Lewis*, who in retaliation quitted to him the absolute Siegneury and Homage of *Foucigny*.

1445, and
the follow-
ing.

* Vulgarly
called *Sorel*.

During the quiet and soft minutes of the Truce, the King enjoy'd the sweet pleasures of his Gardens, and languished amidst his Amours and Mistresses. Ease and prosperity had plunged him into dalliance and effeminate softness. His greatest inclination was *Agnes Soreau* a Gentlewoman of *Touaine*, a very agreeable and generous Lady, but who setting her self up as equal with the greatest Princesses, became the envy of the Court, and a scandal to all France.

1445.

"The King of *England* lived much more reserved: He was a devout Prince, fearing God, and of a gentle disposition: but having no great Spirit or parts, and loving nothing but his Wife, he suffer'd her to possess him wholly. This Princess bold and undertaking beyond the nature of her Sex, would needs take the Helm and make her self absolute. To this end she gives some sinister impressions to her Husband concerning his Uncle *Humphry* Earl of *Gloucester* who then had the Government, and prevailed with him at last to put him to death without any form of Process. Which excited the hatred of all the great ones against her, and made them think of ruining her, that they might preserve themselves.

1444, or
45.

King *Charles* was then not much above the age of forty three, and the Dauphin who was already two and twenty trod upon his Heels, and would have plaid the Master, in so much as one day at *Chinon* he gave a box on the Ear to the fair *Agnes*.

There hapned another incident worse yet then this. He had bargained with *Anthonny de Chabanes* Earl of *Dammartin*, to assassinate some body that had displeased him, *James* Brother of that Earl, who was *Grand Maître* of the Kings Household, dissuaded him from it. The King coming to the knowledge of this, gave the Dauphin a sharp reprimand; The young Prince to excuse himself charged the Earl as having suggested this base design first to him; the Earl boldly denied it in the Kings presence, and offer'd to justify himself by Combat against any of the Dauphins Gentlemen that would undertake it. The King then found the malignity of his Son, abhorred it, and commanded him not to see him in four Months time, but to go into *Dauphine*. He retir'd with menaces; and being once gone thought no more of returning: but to Cantonise and Reign alone, without any dependance but on his malicious fancies.

Emp. *Constance*
in XV. and
Frederic III.

1445.

"The City of *Genoa*, in a few years had changed their Lords and Governors four or five times. The *Fregoses* and the *Adornes* who were of their principal Citizens, disputed for the Siegnory amongst themselves. *Barnaby Adorne* had usurped it with the Title of Doge: *Janus Fregese* pretending he would put it into the Kings hands,

"hands, having treated with him for that purpose, made use of the Forces and Money of France to make himself Master, then kept it in his own hands, and scoffed at the French.

1446.

The King had for a while adhered to Pope *Felix*, or at least stood Neuter: but when informed that *Nicholas* was elected in the room of *Eugenius*, he would let all Christendom understand he approved his Election. He sent a famous Embassy to tender his obedience, which perhaps brought in the custom of those stately and expensive Embassies of Obedience which Kings now send to every new Pope.

1446.

"The Government of the Viscounts at *Milan*, after its having lasted One hundred and seventy years, ended this year by the death of Duke *Philip*; And that Estate was claimed by divers Pretenders, as either having a right, or thinking it would be of great convenience and necessary for them; The Emperor *Frederic*, the Duke of *Savoy*, the *Venetians*, *Alphonso* King of *Naples*, and *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*. Now as it truly appertained to this last, according to the Conditions of the Contract of *Valentine* his Mother, he went thither with some Forces: but the *Milanese* intending their own liberty, he could get no more then only his Earldom of *Ast*. Afterwards those People having for many years undergone much trouble and affliction by the contending Parties that strugled for the Mastery, fell, as we use to say, out of the Frying-pan into the Fire, by accepting for their Duke, *Francis Sforza*, who had Married a Bastard of Duke *Philip*.

1447.

There were but little Infantry in France; The King that he might have some that were good and well maintain'd, ordained that every Village throughout the Kingdom should furnish him with, and pay one Foot-Archer who should be exempt from all Taxes and Subsidies. For which they called them the *Franc-Archers*. These made a Body of two or three and twenty thousand Men.

1448.

The Truce prolonged three or four several times, was not to end till about a Twelvemonth after this time: a Captain of the English Party, this was *Francis de Surienne*, extremely greedy after Prey, surprized the City of *Fougères* belonging to the Duke of *Bretagne*, where he met with a Booty of above Sixteen hundred thousand Crowns; and at the same time the English made irruption in *Scotland*, which was also comprehended in the Truce as well as *Bretagne*, but they were soundly beaten there. *England* began likewise to be imbroil'd within its self by reason of some new Tax which King *Henry* would raise in *London*; which hath most commonly been the occasion, or at least the pretence for a Civil War.

1448.

The Duke of *Bretagne* and the *Scots* likewise, make their complaints to King *Charles* for this breach of the Truce. The English are summon'd to repair the damage, they disown'd *Surienne* indeed, but for the rest gave no satisfaction but put off's and delays. All this was suffer'd six Months; they imagine the French are afraid. At length the Duke of *Bretagne* flies out, and with the Kings consent surprizes at the same time the *Pont de Larche* above *Rouen*, *Conches* near *Evreux*; *Gerbroy* not far from *Beauvais*, and *Cognac* upon the River *Charente*.

1448.

"By force of many Intreaties, Negotiations and Menaces, the King overpersuaded *Felix* to set his hand to the re-union of the Church; He renounced the Papacy more gloriously then he had accepted of it. His Conventions with *Nicholas V.* were such that he seemed to quit it as a thing belonging to him, which he conferr'd as a favour upon his Rival. For he made his demission in the Council which he had purposely transferr'd from *Basil* to *Lausanna*, and after he had deposited his Pontifical Ornaments, the Fathers elected *Nicholas*, who left him perpetual Legat in all the Countries of *Savoy*, *Montferrat*, *Lyonnois*, *Switzerland* and *Alsatia*, and received all those Cardinals he had created, into the Sacred Colledge.

1449.

The disturbances of *England* continuing, King *Charles* found the opportunity so favourable, that he resolved to chase the English out of his Kingdom. He had made the Earl de *Foix* Lieutenant of his Armies from the *Garonne* to the *Pyrenees*, and the Earl de *Dunois* in all the Kingdom, in such sort nevertheless as he rendered respect and honour to the Constable, when they both met in the same place.

1449.

The first had Order to take all places the English held at the foot of the *Pereneans*, thereby to block up the passage against *John* of *Arragon* King of *Navarre*, who had made a League with them, and obliged himself for a certain Sum of Money,

10

to keep and guard *Mauleon de Soule* for them, a place very strong in those times, and situate upon a high Rock. For this purpose he had taken it into his protection, and had placed his Constable in it. The Count de *Foix* was Son in Law to that Prince, however he had more regard to the Kings Orders, then his Father in Law, and scruples not to besiege it. The *Navarrois* knowing it wanted Provisions, Arm'd himself to relieve it, and came within two Leagues, but finding he was too weak, and that his prayers availed not with his Son in Law, he retreated, and his Constable was forced to capitulate.

* Call'd by
the Vulgar
Guerbe.

1449.

The Castle of * *Griffant*, which is within four Leagues of *Bayonne*, surrendered likewise, after three thousand *English* whom the Constable of *Navarre* and the Mayor of *Bayonne* sent by Water to their relief had been beaten by the Besiegers.

At the same time *Veneuil* in *Perche* was taken by the contrivance of a Miller, in revenge for that the *English* had beaten him: the great Tower held it out yet a while. In the interim the Count de *Dunois* by the small resistance he met with from *Pont-Audemur*, *Lisieux*, *Mantes*, and the Forts that were round those Cities, perceiving the *English* were at a low ebb, sent the King word that *Normandy* was sorely shaken.

He was besides informed that the Duke of *Bretagne* with the Constable, had taken *Contances*, and that the Inhabitants of *Alençon* had restored their Duke to his City, and besieged the Castle which immediately capitulated. Upon this good news he departs from *Vendôme* where he got his Forces together, came to *Verneuil*, thence to *Louviers* and *Pont de Larche*, to summon the City of *Rouen*, whose Inhabitants were disposed to shake off their yoke.

1449.

The Earl of *Sommerfet* who was in it with three thousand *English*, did not permit his Heralds to come near. Which could not prevent a party of the Inhabitants from placing many *Frenchmen* upon their Walls; but the rest not joyning with them that design miscarried. These would first make their Conditions with the King, as they did the next day. Their Archbishop *Rodolph Roussel* who was chief of the Deputation, obtained security and liberty for the Persons, and for the Goods of all those that were within the City, as well *English* as *French*, whether choosing to remain there still, or to remove elsewhere if they desired it.

When he had given an account of the Treaty in the Town-Hall, the *English* endeavoured to frustrate the execution by seizing on the Gates and Walls: but the Inhabitants soon dispossest them, and forced them to retire to the Bridge, the Castle, and the Palace.

The Fort St. *Catharine* held but little. *Sommerfet* having few Provisions in the old Palace, capitulated within fifteen days, That himself and all his should go out with their Lives and Goods, and all their furniture for War, excepting their great Guns, That they should pay fifty thousand Gold Crowns, and all such Debts as they owed to the Bourgois and the Merchants belonging to that Country, That they should be obliged to procure the surrender of *Candebeac*, *Moutiervilliers*, *Lisbonne*, *Tancarville* and *Honnefleur*, and for Hostages should leave the Sire *Talbot*, and five or six more of their principal Commanders. The Tenth day of *November* the King entered the City in Pomp, and celebrated the Feast of St *Martin* the ancient Patron of *Gall*.

1449, and
50.

Notwithstanding the inconveniences of the Winter Season, he laid Siege to *Havfleur*, which was the first place that was conquered by the late *Henry* King of *England*. It surrendered upon the Twelfth day of *January*. As did *Honnefleur* afterwards, which held out but a few days.

1449.

At the same time the Duke of *Bretagne* and the Constable reduced *Valongne* with six or seven other little places, and after a long Siege regained likewise his City of *Fougeres*.

1449.

These prosperities were not without some mixture or alloy of sorrow to the King. In the year 1449. while he was at *Jumieges*, they poisoned his dear *Agnes de Sorcans*, without whom he could not live one moment. To comfort him, *Antoinetta de Maiguelais Dame de Villequier*, Cousin to the deceased, took her place: but she was not sole Mistress, the impotence of age, stirring up this Kings desires, he entertained a great number of beautiful Damsels, at least to satisfy the pleasure of his Eye.

Some would needs have it, that some of the Dauphins friends made away *Agnes*, and that he who did most contribute to it, was the famous *James Cœur*, Keeper of the Kings Plate, Master of the Moneys, or Mint-Master of *Bourges* his Native City, a Merchants Son, and one that managed all the Treasury. There are such wonders related

related of his Riches, his Credit, and his Buildings, that Chymists would fain persuade us, he had the Philosophers Stone.

In *Anno* 1452. an Accusation was framed against him in the Kings Council, and all his Goods were seized, as well for the Crime abovementioned, as for those of Concussion, Exaction, Transportation of Money out of the Kingdom, falsifying of Coyn, counterfeiting Seals, selling Arms and Powder to the *Sarrasins*, &c. He appeared voluntarily to justify himself, he was Arrested and removed to several Prisons; Finally the King being satisfied that he was guilty, (says the Decree of the Nineteenth of *May* 1453.) of all these Crimes, and yet remitting the pains of death, for the services he had rendered him, and upon the intercession of the Holy Father, condemned him to make *Amende Honorable**, to pay a hundred thousand Crowns, and confiscated all his Goods. Some time after, the Parliament restored him in his Reputation and Estate, after he had paid his Fine.

Towards the beginning of this year 1450. there landed three thousand *English* at *Cherbourg*, commanded by *Thomas Kyrle*, who drawing a Party out of the Garrisons, made up a gross of six thousand Men, with which he adventur'd to take the Field. The Constable having heard of their march goes forth to seek them, although he had not half their number of Men. He met and fought them nigh the Village of *Fourmigny* between *Carentan* and *Bayeux*, along a small River which ran behind them. These new Levies joyned with such as had never hunted together, could not stand before the old experienced Soldiers, who had so many brave Leaders and Warlike Nobility to encourage them; few of them escaped, since they counted three thousand seven hundred seventy four that were slain, and fourteen hundred Prisoners.

This blow brought them to their last gasp, they appeared now no more but upon the Walls of some places yet remaining in their hands. The King being gone into the *Lower Normandy*, found no great difficulty in besieging them, nor much more in taking them. *Vire*, *Bayeux*, *St. Sauveur le Vicomte*, *Falaize*, *Caen*, defended themselves but weakly: *Caen* made its composition upon St. *John's* Eve. They provided the Earl of *Sommerfet* and four thousand *English* he had about him, with Vessels to transport them into *England*, but not to any other place. The City was given up to the King the Second day of *July*, *Falaize* the Twentieth of the same Month. The King made his entrance into *Caen* the Sixth. Nothing remained but *Cherbourg*, the Constable had besieged it after the surrender of *Caen*; *Thomas Gouel* who was Governor, with a thousand Natural *English*, gave it up the Eleventh day of *August*.

Thus was all *Normandy* regained by the *French*, or to speak more properly, helped to recover it self in one year and six days. The King desiring the remembrance should be preserved, and that eternal thanks should be rendered to God, ordained general Processions should be made in the Month of *September* of the same year, and annually hereafter upon same day that *Cherbourg* surrendered.

After the King had given Order for all the Affairs of this great Province, leaving only six hundred Lances and their Archers, he returned towards *Guyenne*; and this same year open'd the passage over the *Dordogne* by the taking of *Bergerac*, which was besieged and mastered by *John* Earl of *Pontieure* and Vicount of *Limoges*. He was one of the four Sons of *Marguerite de Clisson*, who was restored to the Estate belonging to his Family by Duke *Francis*, pursuant to the Treaty made at *Nantes* in *Anno* 1448.

As the loss of the Battle at *Fourmigny* made the *English* lose all *Normandy*, the defeat of the *Bourdalois* made them lose all the rest of *Guyenne*. *Amanieu d'Albret* Lord d'*Orval*, going to scowre about the Neighbourhood of *Bordeaux* with seven hundred Horse only, there came forth ten or twelve thousand Horse and Foot, *English* and *Bourdalois*, who ran confusedly upon him as to a certain Victory. *D'Orval* knowing whom he had to deal with, charges them briskly, puts them to the rout, strewed the ways and Fields with a thousand of those giddy-brain'd Fellows, and carried away a great many more to *Basin*.

The following Summer, the King who was still at *Tours*, having drawn together a great many Men, resolved to compleat the Conquest of *Guyenne*, much crest-faln at that shock. The Count de *Dunois* his Lieutenant General, the Count de *Pontieure*, *Foix* and *Armagnac* attack'd it at the four corners; the *English* were beaten and gave ground every where, so that having no more then *Fronsac*, *Bordeaux* and *Bayonne*, the Count de *Dunois* having besieged *Fronsac*, they capitulated to surrender those three places, if upon St. *John Baptists*-day, there appeared not in the Field and near *Fronsac*, an Army able to give them Battle. Which not having been able to do, they executed the Agreement, excepting only as to *Bayonne*, whom they abused with the flattering

* An ignominious punishment. To go bare-head and bare-foot with a lighted Torch in his Hand to some Court of Justice, or Church, and there acknowledge his Crime.

1450.

1450.

1452.

flattering hopes, that the King of England was preparing to come and relieve it personally. The French Generals made their triumphant entry into Bourdeaux the Nineteenth day of June.

1451. In vain did the English struggle obstinately to keep Bayonne; after some assaults, the apprehension of being taken by Storm, obliged them also to capitulate on Friday the Twentieth of August. The Governor John de Beaumont with all the Garrison were made Prisoners of War; and it cost the Inhabitants forty thousand Crowns of Gold to be spared.

The favour of Heaven was so benign towards the French, or the Peoples fancies so strong, that upon that same Friday, they beheld a white Cross in the Air over Bayonne, which seemed to instruct them that God would have them to forsake the red Cross of England, and take up that of France. This place being reduced, the English had nothing left them in all France but only Calais, and the County of Guisnes.

If we search into the causes of this so sudden and wonderful a revolution, we shall find it was the neglect of the English in not well providing and strengthening their places, their want of good Commanders, the hatred the People had for their scornful and imperious way of Government. On the other hand the union and hearty zeal of the Nobles and all the French Militia, the good order and discipline in their Armies, the huge stores and provision of Canons and all sorts of Warlike Engines, Pioneers and Ammunitions, and the new method of approaching and attacking of Towns by Works and Trenches: but above all, the Civil War that Richard Duke of York had kindled amongst the English.

1451, and 52. "That Duke knew how to make such use of the disgust that Nation had taken against the Government of Queen Marguerite who was a French-woman, as to raise himself amidst their discontents up to the Throne, which he pretended was due to him, rather than to Henry; For he descended (but only by the Female side) from Lionel of Clarence who was second Son of King Edward III. and Henry came but from the third Son, who was John Duke of Lancaster his Paternal Great Grandfather.

1452. These Divisions were calmed for a while, upon the intreaties of the Lord de L'Esperre, deputed from the City of Bourdeaux and the Lords of the Country of Bourdelois, who taking distaste at some new Impost that was laid upon them, offer'd to restore that Country to the English. Talbot the bravest of that Nation and the most zealous for its honour, being therefore landed in Medoc with four thousand Men, was brought into Bourdeaux by the Citizens the Twensy fourth day of October; and about the latter end of the year having received a like reinforcement from England, he made himself Master of Castillon, Cadillac, Libourne, Fronsac, and some other small places besides.

The Bourdelois had taken their opportunity when the King was just going to engage in a great War against the Duke of Savoy, who apparently must have been upheld by the Dauphin, and by consequence had correspondence in the very heart of the Kingdom.

1452. The Kings quarrel to that Duke was because he had agreed the Marriage of his Daughter Charlotte and the Dauphin without his consent: This was the true motive of the War: but that he might have some apparent cause, he had taken into his protection certain Lords belonging to the Estates of Savoy, who having joyned in a League against their Princes chief Minister, named John de Compein, were for ever banished, by a Sentence given at Pont de Beauvoisis. The King advanced even to Fores to restore them: but being informed the English were landed at Bourdeaux, the Duke being come to wait upon him at Feurs, he suffer'd himself to be overcome by his most humble submissions, and agreed to a Peace.

1453. The following year he marched to Lussignan in Poitou, thence to St. Jean d'Angely, for the recovery of Bourdelois. His Army besieged Castillon: Talbot coming to its relief with six thousand Men, was beaten and slain together with his Son. His defeat caused the surrender of the City, the utter ruine of the English Party, and after that the regaining of Bourdeaux; For they perceiving Fronsac, Libourne, Langon, Cadillac, and all the other Towns about them were reduced, the King quartered at Lermont, all Relief and even all Provisions failing them, surrendered upon composition, which the King would never have granted them, if a great mortality had not swept away his Men.

However

However the better to curb and keep this City which the interest of Traffick and reciprocal Marriages inclined to be for the English, he banished forty Lords and Citizens who were most to be suspected, and bridled them with two strong Castles which he order'd to be built there.

"The University being one of the greatest Bodies and one of the most necessary to all Christendom, the Cardinal d'Estouteville the Popes Legat, making use of his faculty, but by the Kings express Order, employ'd himself in purging it of some abuses that had much disfigur'd them, and made many good Reglements, which are yet kept in their Archives.

1452:

Never since the Siege of Calais had the Duke of Burgundy much concern'd himself in the War against the English: but yet he was not free from crosses in his own Countries. Those of Bruges being up in Arms Anno 1437. let him into their City as if they had intended to give him satisfaction, then fell upon his Men, killing above an hundred of them, amongst the rest the Lord de L'Isle-Adam. Himself ran a great hazard, and escaped with much difficulty by breaking open one of the City Gates with Hammers. After this fury they betook themselves to rove all about the Country. Their rage began to cool when they found the rest of the Towns did not approve of their rash actions, and that the Duke was coming to besiege them with a vast Army. They craved his pardon, which they obtained not but upon rude Conditions. It cost them two hundred thousand Gold Crowns, the loss of many of their Privileges, and the Lives of a dozen or fifteen of the most Factionous.

1452, 53;
54, 55, 56,
and 57.

The Ghentois gave him much more trouble, by their frequent disturbances. The most dangerous was that in Anno 1452. a Gabel, or Impost was the cause of it. He would needs settle it in Flanders and make it certain and fixt, imposing 24 Gros, Money of that Country, upon every Sack of Salt. They resolved to run all the hazards and extremities imaginable, rather then suffer an Impost upon Water and the Sun, which are free and universal Gifts bestow'd by Nature. They relied upon the protection of the King; and indeed he wrote earnestly and in high terms in their behalf to the Duke of Burgundy; but having received an answer in terms that were yet higher, he thought it not prudence to embarque himself in a Civil War, being as yet not come to an end of the War against the English his Foreign Enemy.

The losses which the Ghentois met with in five or six great Fights, did but heat their savage hearts the more: but the Battle of Ripelmond; and afterwards that of Gavre, where they lost twenty thousand Men, brought them so low, they were forced to come to composition. Two thousand Men bare Head and bare Foot, with all their Counsellors, Sheriffs and Officers only, in their Shirts, went out a League to meet the Duke and his Son, to implore their Mercy. The Gate through which they marched out to fight him at Ripelmond, was stop't up for ever. They were condemned to pay four hundred thousand Ridders of Gold, to bring their Banners that he might dispose of them as he pleased, and to suffer a change of their Usages and Privileges.

"Upon a Tuesday the Nine and twentieth of May, Constantinople the Trunk of the Grecian Empire, from which the Turks had lopp'd off all the Branches, was taken perforce by Mahomet II. not more then three and twenty years of age. Constantine her last Emperor perished there, crowded to death by the multitude at one of the Gates of the City. Such was The End of the Eastern Empire, the which to reckon from the dedication of Constantinople upon the Nineteenth of May in the year Three hundred and thirty, had lasted Eleven hundred twenty three years. We shall henceforwards place the Turkish Sultans in the room of those Emperors.

1453.
Emperor Frederic III. and Mahomet II. Reigned 28 years at Constantinople.

The Count d'Armagnac was not grown the wiser by his first chastisement, he would play Rex, hindring him that had provisionally the Archbishoprick of Auch from taking possession: and obstinately persever'd to keep his own Sister for his Wife, maugre the Censures of the Church. The King being therefore moved at the importunity of the Pope to wipe off this scandal from the Kingdom, sent some Forces thither with five or six of his chief Commanders, some whereof seized on the Country of Rouergne, others on the Valley d'Aure; and another Party on the County of Armagnac. The City of Leytoure environed with a triple Wall, and its Castle situate upon a steep Rock, did not hold out long: so that the Count fled out of the Country, and retired safely to some Lands he had upon the Frontiers of Arragon.

1454, and 55.

1455. It concerned the honour both of the Kingdom and the King of France, to justify the memory of the Pucelle. The King therefore ordered her Parents to Petition, the Holy See to appoint some Judges that might review the Process. Upon their request Calixtus III. ordered Commissioners, who were the Archbishop of Reims, and the Bishops of Paris and Coutances, who being met at Rouen, looked into and examined the Proceedings, heard divers Witnesses; and thereupon fully justified that Heroick Virgin, caused the former Process to be torn and burnt, by which they had condemned her. Their Sentence was proclaimed in Rouen, at St. Ouis Churchyard, and the old Market, and likewise in many other Cities of the Kingdom. There was no need of taking any course against her false Judges, the greater part of them being perished either by suddain or such a shameful death, as seemed to shew the hand of God upon them.

1455. "During these years began those divisions which did not a little contribute to the losing of Navarre. Blanch the Heiress of that Kingdom had a Son named Charles, by John King of Arragon her Husband. This Prince's dying in Anno 1441. John took in second Wedlock Isabella of Portugal, and retained the enjoyment of Navarre, which in effect belonged to Charles, as then about One and thirty years of age. This dispute Armed the Son against the Father, the Kingdom was divided. The House of Gramont which was considerable, took part with the Father, that of Beaumont which was not inferior, joyned with the Son. The Mother in Law, who could have wished the Son out of the World, blew the coals, and exasperated the Fathers anger; From thence grew irreconcilable Enmity, and cruel Wars. Prince Charles having given Battle to his Father lost it, and was taken Prisoner. A while after he was set at liberty upon an Accomodation.

1456. The Dauphins ill Conduct, and those insupportable Exactions he laid upon Dauphine, particularly the Clergy, did so irritate the King his Father, that he commanded Anthony de Chabanes Earl of Dammartin to go and Arrest him. Dammartin having been cruelly offended, as we have related, would have executed this Order severely, had not the Dauphin been informed, and made his escape in post-haste into the Principality of Orange, and from thence into the Franche-Comte, from whence he was conducted into Brabant. The Duke of Burgundy received him as the Son of his Sovereign, and assigned him twelve thousand Crowns for his use, and the Castle of Gueppe within four Leagues of Brussels, for his ordinary Residence.

1457. Whatever noble Reception and Entertainment he met with in that Country, he had not been long there before he sowed division between the Father and the Son, having gained the Lords of the House de Crouy who governed the Father, and countenancing and abetting them against the Son who could not endure them. The first year of his sojourning there they brought Charlotte of Savoy to him to Consummate his Marriage, by whom a Son was born about three years afterwards, who died.

1456. The Kings wrath discharged it self upon John Duke of Alençon, the Dauphins God-father. This Prince returning from Dauphine, where he had been to brew some Intrigue with his God-son, and having contrived I know not what League with the English, to make some disturbance in favour of them, was seized and imprisoned in the Castle de Loches.

1457. In the year 1457. as it is usual after a long War, to squeeze the Finances of what they have sucked in during the publick Calamities: the King called those to account who had managed the Treasury. One John Xancoins * Receiver General, convicted of misdemeanour, and of having detained sixty thousand Crowns, was banished for ever, his Goods confiscated, and the fair Houses he had built, bestowed upon the Count de Dunois.

* Or, Sane
coins.

1458. Two years after the imprisonment of the Duke of Alençon, for it required all that time to find out proofs, the King convened his Parliament and his Pairs at Montargis to make his Process. They laboured three Months in it, he being at Baugency. The business not going on with that expedition as he desired, he removes the Assembly to Vendosme, where he intended to be present. At last by a Sentence of the Tenth of October, they condemned the Duke to lose his Head, and confiscated all his Estate. The King gave him a pardon for his life: but took the best of his Lands, and sent him back Prisoner to Loches.

1458. The Twenty sixth of December of the same year was the last of brave Arthur's days, Earl of Richmond Constable of France, who had likewise been Duke of Burgundy a year and an half by the death of Peter the Simple, second Son of his eldest Brother.

Brother. He had no child, and so the Dutty went to Francis his Nephew, Son of Richard Earl of Estampes his younger Brother. Charles of Anjou Earl of Mayne had the Office of Constable.

The same year the Twenty seventh of June, Alphonso King of Arragon and Sicilia, passed into the other World. At his death he left the Kingdom of Naples (then called Sicilia on this side the Fare) to Ferdinand his Natural Son. Rene of Anjou finding this a fair opportunity to pursue his right against him, before he could be well settled, sent John Duke of Calabria his Son into those Countries. This Prince guided by the destiny of his Predecessors, had very prosperous beginnings, and an unfortunate end.

Since the taking of Constantinople, the Duke of Burgundy had for two or three times made shew as if he would employ his Forces and Person against the Infidels. We may see in Oliver de la Marche the Vows which he and the Lords in the Assembly of Bruges, made on the Peacock at a stately Banquet; all this vanished into Air together with the Wine and Mirth of the Feast.

As little did Pope Pius II. (this was Aeneas Sylvius) succeed in his Project, which was to unite and engage all Christendom against the Turks. In order to which he had convened a General Assembly at Mantua, where appeared Ambassadors from all Sovereign Princes, and the War was resolved upon with great designs, but without any effect. The French Ambassadors returned but ill satisfied, the Pope not condescending to favour Rene in his pretence to the Kingdom of Naples, but threatening to Excommunicate the King upon the score of the Pragmatick, whereupon John Dauvet Attorney General of the Parliament, made Protections, and appealed to the future Council.

"The Duke of York had for the second time vanquished and taken King Henry Prisoner; afterwards, Queen Margaret with the aid of the Scots, slew that Duke in Battle and delivered her Husband, but Edward Son of that Duke having brought other Forces, tried fortune once more, and defeated the Queens Army under the Walls of York. Then Henry being fled into Scotland, and Queen Margaret into France, he was Crowned King in the year 1461. This was the first Act of the Tragedy between the Houses of York and Lancaster, that of York wore the White Rose, and Lancaster the Red.

It was now thirteen years that the Dauphin had been absent from the Court, his Father sent often for him which he cared not to obey, he often called upon the Duke of Burgundy to send him back, telling him he nursed and hugged a Serpent, which when well warmed in his Bosom, would one day make him feel his mortal Sting. He sometimes proceeded even to threaten the Duke, and stirred up divers of his own People against him; who finding himself so harassed, sent at last a smart Message desiring him to consider whether he would maintain the Peace of Arras or not.

For this time therefore, the King left him quiet: but two years after his Counsel or his own Resentment pressing him, he was about to go and fetch him with an Army; However he changed his mind again, and thought it were better punish him by advancing Charles his second Son to the birth-rights of elderhip, according to the power the Kings of the first and second Race had had. Which no doubt he would have put in execution, had not the Pope strongly dissuaded him, or perhaps if he could have had time enough to dispose the minds of the French Nation to admit of such a change.

While he was at Meun on the Yeuure * in Berry, he had notice that his Domesticks had plotted to take away his life. The poor Prince after that thought he saw nothing but poyniards and poison. His apprehensions were so great, that not knowing from what hands he might take his food without danger, he refrained from eating some days, after which it was not in his power, when he would have done it, to swallow any thing. So that he died of hunger the Two and twentieth of July about the midst of his Sixtieth year, and near the end of the Nine and thirtieth of his Reign.

Never Prince had greater Traverses or more potent Enemies, nor overcame them more gloriously. After he had driven those out of France that attempted at his Crown, he found a more dangerous Enemy in his House, that attempted on his Life. He might have been called Happy, had he had another Father and another Son. He was affable, debonnaire, liberal, just; He tenderly loved his People, and spared them as much as it was possible, rewarded those that served him very largely, took particular

1459.

1459.

1458, and
59.1460, and
61,1461.
* Or, Eure.

particular care of the Justice and Policy of his Kingdom, laboured greatly for the reformation of the Church, and was so religious he would not charge it with any Tenth. But being of somewhat too soft a temper, he was governed and led away by his Favourites and Mistresses too much; and in his latter days became apprehensive, jealous and suspicious to the extreamest degree.

He had three Bastards by his Mistresses, and eleven Legitimate Children by his Wife Mary Daughter of Lewis II. Duke of Anjou, four Sons, and seven Daughters. Of his Sons two only survived him, which were Lewis and Charles. As for Daughters, Radegonde died being betrothed to Sigismund eldest Son of Frederic V. Arch-Duke of Austria; Yoland was Wife of Ame VIII. Duke of Savoy, Catharine of Charles Duke of Burgundy, Jean, or Joan, of John II. Duke of Bourbon, and Magdelain of Gaston Prince of Viana, and Earl of Foix; another Jeane, and Mary Twin-Sisters, did not outlive the age of Infancy.

Lewis

LEWIS XI.

King LIV.

Aged xxxviii. Years.

POPES,

PIUS II. 3 years under this Reign.	SIXTUS IV. Elected the 9th of August 1471. S. 13 years, where- of 12 under this Reign.
PAUL II. Elected the 29th of August 1464. S. 7. years wanting one Month.	

THe conduct which the Prince had made appear in all his actions, particularly towards his Father, and towards his People of Dauphine, made it plainly enough known what his Friends and Subjects were to expect from him. He ever Governed without Counsel, most commonly without Justice, and without Reason. He thought it the finest Policy to go out of the great and beaten Road of his Predecessors, to change every thing, were it from better to worse, that he might be feared. His judgment which was very clear, but too subtil and refined, was the greatest enemy to his own and his Kingdoms quiet, having as it seems, taken pleasure in putting things into disorder, and throwing the most obedient into Rebellion. He rather loved to follow the bent of his own irregular fancies, then the wise Laws of the Land; and made his Grandeur consist in the oppression of his People, in the pulling down of the great ones, and the raising up of others from the very dust and nothing. This is what another calls putting their Kings, hors de page, i. e. out of their Minority; he should have said putting them out of their Sence, and their Reason.

The Creatures of the late King formed a Party in favour of Charles his second Son (they named him the young Lord) which perhaps tended to exclude the Eldest. He therefore stood in need of diligence and power to prevent it. The information given him by the Count du Mayne, not so much out of affection, as of hatred to the Count de Dammartin, who had been his Rival in the favour of Charles, caused him to mount on Horse-back the soonest he could; And the Duke of Burgundy and his Son accompany'd him with four thousand Horse, chosen out of ten Thousand.

He went directly to Reims where he was Crowned the 15th of August by John Juvenal of the Ursins. Before he received the Sacred Unction, he would be made a Knight by the Duke, then distributed that honour to 117. Lords. At the end of the Feast, the Duke kneeling down beseeched him to forget the injuries which had been done to him, upon occasion of the discontents that had been betwixt his Father and himself. He granted him that request: but he excepted against seven, and under pretence of that number pardoned not any one.

He made his entrance into Paris the last day of August, followed by thirteen or fourteen thousand Horse. The feastings being ended the Duke returned into Flanders, the Count went on Pilgrimage to St. Claude's in the Franche-Comte, and

Ppp

and the King to *Amboise* to see his Mother. She died in a short time after, to the great regret of the wisest, who could have wished that the respect he had for her might for a longer time have been as a Bridle to the violence of her Son.

He was much delighted at *Plessis les Tours*, the Count found him there at his return, to whom he gave the Government of *Normandy*, and 12000 Crowns by Establishment: But it was only a Paper-security, and seeming marks of Friendship, which were accepted for no other then they were given. These two Princes resembled each other too little, and knew one another too well to love on either side; and indeed from that time the Count treated secretly with *Romille* Vice-Chancellor of *Brittany*, and gave him his Commission Sealed.

1461.
and 62.

As soon as *Lewis* was entered into his Kingdom, he Governed himself as in a conquered Country. He destituted all the Officers of the Royal Family, of War, of Judicature, and of the Treasury, treated all the Creatures belonging to the King his Father very ill, took delight in destroying all he had set up; gave nothing but *Berry* to his Brother for his whole Apenage or Portion, set the Duke of *Alençon* at liberty, and put the Count de *Dammartin* into the Bastile, restored the Count of *Armagnac* to his Lands, loaded the people with Taxes, strip'd the great ones, and offended all the Clergy.

1461.

Never had any private person laboured more to reduce the power of the Pope within the terms of the Canons, then *Aeneas Sylvius*; and never Pope did struggle more to enlarge it beyond those bounds of right and reason then the same, when he was *Pius II.* The *Pragmaticque* was a Curb very troublesome to his undertakings; He made so many applications to the King that he allowed of a Declaration in *November 1641.* to abolish it. The Court of *Rome* transported with an insolent joy, did immediately cause that Constitution to be dragged along the Streets: But it was not yet time; for the oppositions of the University hindered the effect of the Declaration, and the King never troubled himself to have it put in Execution, because the Pope had failed of his word in many things. *John Gefrey* Bishop of *Arras* had the Cardinals Cap as a recompence for having negotiated this affair with the King.

1462.

In the mean time the Pope maintained the Bastard *Ferdinand* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, so that *John de Calabria* the Son of *Rene* of *Anjou*, after various revolutions, was utterly driven thence. The Kings intreaties could obtain nothing from the Holy Father in favour of those Princes of his own Blood: But *Pius* thinking to flatter him, confirmed the Title of *Most Christian* to him, which had been already derived to him with more honour from his Ancestors, and exhorted him to a Croisade against the *Turks*, presenting him with a Sword on the Blade whereof were some Latin Verses engraved, which invited him to that expedition.

1462.

There was a rude War between *Henry* King of *Castille*, and *John* King of *Arragon*. This last had by a Treaty of accommodation, given *Catalogna* to *Charles* Prince of *Viana*, Son of his first Bed, and therefore his principal Heir: His Mother in Law harra's'd him so much that he once more fell out with his Father and took up Arms. He was again defeated and taken Prisoner. The *Catalonians* making an insurrection in his favour, forced his Father to set him at Liberty: but the same day of his deliverance he Died of a Morfel which his Mother in Law had caused her own Physician to give him.

After his Death the *Catalonians* being revolted against *John*, and having degraded him, as the Murderer of his Son *Charles*; The King of *Castille* assisted them. It was not the zeal of justice that led him to it, but the desire of Siezing those places in *Navarre* which were for his purpose.

Mean while *John* that he might have Men and Money in this pressing necessity, had engaged the Counties of *Roussillon* and of *Cerdagne* to the King of *France* for 300000 Crowns, *Gaston de Foix* Brother in Law to the *Castilian*, and Son in Law to the *Arragonian* brought these two Princes to refer their differences to the judgment of the King, who then was at *Bordeaux* to treat of the Marriage of *Magdelin* his Sister, with *Gaston de Foix* Count of *Viana*.

When he had heard the reasons of either party from the mouths of their Ambassadors, he pronounced his Sentence of Arbitration: but it satisfied neither the one, nor the other any more, then his interview with *Henry* King of *Castille*, satisfied either the *French*, or *Spaniards*. These scoffed at the Niggardlyness, and mean and simple countenance of King *Lewis*, who was clothed only in coarse Cloth *, had a short and straight Garment on, and wore a Madona of Lead in his

* Short Habits were ridiculous to persons of Quality.

his Cap; The others had an indignation at the *Castilian* Arrogance, and the Pride of the Count de *Lodeme* Favourite of *Henry*. But it is true that their King condescending, as he ought, to the Majesty of *France*, passed over, not only the River *Bidasso*, which separates the two Kingdoms, to come to the King, but likewise advanced two Leagues within his Dominions, and came even to the Castle of *Uterbia*, where they conferred together.

At his return from this Voyage, *Lewis* found that the Lords de *Croüy* Father and Son, had so well managed the mind of *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, with whom they could do any thing, that he consented to render up to him the Cities of the *Somme* for the 400000 Crowns. The business was of importance, and indeed for fear the Duke should find out some excuses to retract his word, he caused the money to be immediately sent to *Hesdin*, and went thither himself.

The surrender being executed, he would shew himself in the Low-Countries, where his Sovereignty was but little acknowledged. He visited *Arras*, was received at *Tournay*, and went as far as *Pisle*, where the Duke came and saluted him. The City of *Tournay*, which had never owned any other Dominion but that of *France*, sent three Thousand Citizens forth to meet him, each of them having a Flower-de-Luce embroidered with Gold just upon his Heart.

Lewis Duke of *Savoy* waited for him at *St. Cloud* to make complaints of the disobedience of *Philip* his young Son, who more sprightly then *Amedea* his elder Brother, had gained the affections of the Nobility, and was making his way to invade the Crown. The King commanded *Philip* to come to him; he immediately did so upon the Faith of a safe conduct, which hindered not his being Arrested, and then his sending him Prisoner to *Loches*. He was detained two years, to give his Father time to settle his affairs, and authority, and establish his eldest Son in the Succession.

The hatred betwixt the King and the *Charolois* was augmented more and more. There are five or six principal causes taken notice of. The surrender of the places in the *Somme*, the kind reception the King made the Lords of *Croüy*, whom the *Charolois* had driven from his Fathers Court and Country for that reason; moreover the Kings endeavours to lay a Tax or Gabelle upon *Burgundy*, contrary to the Articles of the Treaty of *Arras*, and the favour he manifested to the Count d' *Estampes*, who was accused to have intended to poison the Duke and his Son.

At the same time the Chancellor de *Morvilliers* a Man vehement and bold, went on the Kings behalf to forbid the Duke of *Bretagne* to style himself any more Duke by the Grace of God, to Coyn any money, or to raise any Taxes in his Dutchy. The Duke taken unprovided acted coolly, and promised all; but demanded time to Assemble the Estates of his Country; and in the mean while he diligently negotiated with the *Burgundian* by *Romille*, and with all the Grandees of the Kingdom whom he knew to be highly discontented. The Habits of Fryers Mendicants, especially of the *Cordeliers*, served to make the Messengers of these intrigues pass securely up and down.

1463.

The *Charolois* had chosen *Gorcum* in *Holland* for his ordinary residence, the Bastard de *Rubempre* slunk privately into that Port with a small Vessel, being disguised like a Merchant, to sieze and carry away alive or dead this *Romille* the Engine of all these designs, or perhaps the Count de *Charolois* himself. However it were, the Count having discover'd it, caused him to be imprisoned, and gave notice thereof to the Duke his Father who was going to *Hesdin* to confer with the King.

Upon this intelligence the Duke retires in haste, his People gave out that there had been a design to sieze upon the Father and the Son both at the same time, the Preachers entertained their Auditors with it, and *Oliver de la Marche* made mention of it in Terms which hugely offend the Kings Honour. To justify himself against these reproaches, the King sent *Morvilliers* his Chancellor and some Lords to make great complaints to the Duke, and demand reparation. The Chancellor did it in such high words, and Sovereign expressions, that he seemed to design rather to exasperate then to compose differences; And indeed the Count de *Charolois* said to one of the Ambassadors at their departure, that before one year were past, he would make the King repent it.

The King thought he had time to subdue the *Breton* before *Philip*, whom Age render'd unwieldy, could Dream of stirring. He therefore called the Grandees of the State together at *Tours* to make them know what reasons he had to undertake it; *Charles* Duke of *Orleance*, first Prince of the Blood, would needs speak there

there of the disorders of the Kingdom, as his Age, his Reputation, and his Rank, obliged him to do; but his Remonstrances grated the Ears of the King, and were received with anger and contempt; In so much as he died for grief within two days after. This was the 4th of January.

1465.

In hatred towards that good Prince, and in prejudice of the pretensions he had to Milan, the King had a little while before acknowledged Francis Sforza for Duke of Milan, and with that had not only given up to him all the right the French had to the Seignury of Genoa: But had also remitted and given him Savona which he yet held, declaring to all the Princes of Italy, that whosoever should assist the Genoese against Sforza, should be his enemy. So that Sforza by the support of his great name, made himself master of Genoa and of all that Signeury.

1465.

The Author of the Antiquities of Orleans says that the River of Loire was Frozen this year in the Month of June. If this prodigie were true, we must needs conclude it proceeded from a natural cause, since Chronology demonstrates to us that the thing upon which he would have it to be a Miracle, could not happen in that time as he hath put it.

The Breton having dispatched his Ambassadors to Tours, to demand the Term of three Months, carried his practises on so cunningly, that his League was ready for their purpose, before the King had discovered any steps of it. The Dukes of Bourbon and Alençon, all the other Princes of the Blood, except the Counts d'Estampes, de Vandosme and d'Eu, almost all the Grandees, and all the late Kings old Captains were in it, amongst others the Duke of Nemours and the Counts of Armagnac, of St. Pol, of Dunois, of Dammartin who made his escape from the Bastille through a hole, the Mareschal de Labeach, the Lords D'Albret, de Bueil, de Gaucour, and de Chaumont d'Amboise. They called it a League For the Publick Good, because the Princes gave it that fair pretence.

While the King was at Poitiers, the Bastard d'Armagnac, seized his only Brother Charles, and carried him into Bretagne. All the zealous Servants of the Deceased Charles his Father flocked in to him, and got him to write a Manifesto to all the Princes of France, inviting them to unite with their Party for the easing of the People, and the reformation of the Kingdom.

After the King had attempted in vain to reclaim them by fair promises, and flattering words, he went to strike the first blow at them, who had the first declared themselves. These were the Dukes of Bourbon and Dammartin who had begun the War in Berry, Bourbonnois and Auvergne.

All Berry submitted, except Bourges which was guarded by the Bastard of Bourbon, Rion in Auvergne waited a Siege, and sustained it. John Duke of Nemours, the Count d'Armagnac, and Charles Sire d'Albret brought a considerable reinforcement to the Duke: nevertheless he gave Ear to a Treaty with the King, promising to summon his Confederates to a Peace, and to abandon them, if they would not accept of reasonable conditions. Nemours gave his positive word to the King to side with his Party, but he kept it not; and the King kept the Oath he made to himself to be revenged in time and place convenient.

1465.

In this Country the King had notice that the Count of Charolois had taken the Field with the Duke his Fathers leave, who had assured him, when they parted that if he fell into any danger, he should not want an Hundred Thousand Men to bring him out again. He knew likewise that this Count had fifteen Hundred men of Arms, eight Thousand Archers, and a great equipage of Artillery and Waggon, that he had made his Rendezvous before Paris, and that the Duke of Bretagne and Monsieur were to joyn him.

1465.

The Charolois sent the fairest pretence in the World before him, the Abolition of Imposts and the publick good. He burned the Seats of those Officers at all the places of Receipts, and tore their Registers, paid the expences of his Soldiers, and kept them in good Discipline. If this good order could have held all had been his own, or if the Breton had come at the time appointed, they had been Masters of Paris, there being few Soldiers in it, and many male-contented, and lovers of Novelties.

The fear of losing Paris made the King leave his other game, to get to Paris, before the Charolois: As soon as he had repassed the Loire, the Duke of Bourbon, Dammartin, Nemours, and Albret broke their words with him, and having gotten together ten Thousand men, marched to joyn with the other Confederates.

The

The Lords of the League were all to be at St. Denis towards the end of the month of June, the Charolois waited for them ten or twelve days, and in the interim attempted the Suburbs of Paris by several Skirmishes. When he found none stirred in his favour, and that he had no certain news of them, nor of the Bretons march, he was in great perplexity and thought to retire back again. Nevertheless the Vice-Chancellor Romille, a Normand and very subtil, shewing him from time to time Letters from his Master, which he wrote upon blanks Signed before, wrought so far that he engaged him to pass the River Seine over the Bridge at St. Cloud, to go and joyn the Breton towards Estampes where he thought to have met him. He quartered that day at the Village of Longjumeau, his advanced Guard, at Montleher. The King returning from Berry kept the same Road, and came to Quarter at Chafres a League on this side of Montleher.

Both Armies were mightily surprised to find themselves so near each other. The Kings design was to slip aside, and reach to Paris without hazarding a Battel; but Peter de Breze Grand Seneschal of Normandy, concerned that he should ask him whether he had not given his Hand and Seal to the Princes, engaged them to fight, where he was killed one of the very first. Thus hapned it to be a rencounter rather then a Battel. It was on Tuesday 16th of July near Montleher, from whence it took name.

1465.

Both Armies, to speak properly, had the worst, and neither of them any advantage. The Kings left Wing, and the Burgundians right were broken; and in the rout the fright was so great that there were run-aways both of the one and other Party that posted it, for fifty Leagues together without baiting, or looking behind them, each of them declaring they had lost the Battel on their side. The two Chiefs fought Valiantly in person, the Burgundian was twice near being taken Prisoner or slain.

In the Evening, the King tyred with being on Horse-back all the day, was conducted by the Scotch-men of his Guards to the Castle of Montleher. His men seeing him no more believed him to be dead; And the Count du Mayne, and the Lord de Montauban withdrew themselves with Eight Hundred Lances.

The Burgundian Army being half broken, all in a Consternation, fearing a new Engagement the next day which they could not have sustained, the Principal Officers were in deliberation to dislodge that night, and go towards Burgundy. Fear is an evil Counsellor, all were of that opinion, the Lord of Contay only hindred that retreat, which would have turned to a rout. The next day they had certain intelligence that the King was decamped, and gone to Corbeil, and a few hours after they were assured the Breton was arrived at Estampes. Thus the Field was left to the Charolois, which filled his head with so much pride that it may well be said that day was the cause of all his misfortunes.

The next day the King fearing to be hemm'd in, descended directly to Paris along the Seine. The same night he supped in the company of the principal Ladies of that City, to gain their hearts by the power of that insinuating Sex, and to have a Party amongst the Beauties to oppose the intrigues of those that were for the interests of the Princes. He also highly commended the Fidelity of the Citizens, and to allure the People he caused to be proclaimed in all the Suburbs an abatement upon Wines, from a fourth part to an eighth part, and a general revocation of all Imposts, the five great Farmes only excepted.

These favours being against his will did not last long, no more then the establishment he made of a Council of eighteen persons, six of the Parliament, six of the Body of the University, and six of the chiefest Citizens, by whose Counsel and advice he promised to be governed, according to the remonstrances of the Clergy, the Parliament and the University. The danger past he kept nothing of all this but a mortal hatred against those that had made the proposition, and particularly against the Bishop who first mentioned it in the name of the rest. This was William Brother of Allen Chartier, a man of great vertue, and hugely zealous of the publick good.

Being in want of money, he made great borrowings amongst his Officers. Which was the first occasion of making employments vendible, for he set aside those that had refused to lend him what he demanded. About fifteen days after having well provided for the security of the City, he went into Normandy to raise men and Money.

In the mean time the Count de Charolois marching to meet the Breton took the House d'Estampes to refresh his Soldiers and dress the wounded which were to the

the number of almost two Thousand. At the end of three days the Breton arrived, having with him the Counts of *Dunois* and *Dammartin*, the Marechal de *Lobeack*, the Lords de *Bevil*, de *Gancour*, and d' *Anboise*. 800 Men at Armes, and six Thousand Light-horse.

It hapned one day that Monsieur, a young Prince who had but a faint heart; seeing the wounded men who were carried thorough the Streets of *Estampes*, and the sick that crawled up and down, let fall some expressions which signified his repentance for that enterprize. The Count de *Charolois* heard it: and perhaps he heard likewise that the Bretons, upon the rumour that had been spread how the King was slain in the Battel of *Montlebery*, had consulted of a means to rid themselves of him, that they might govern the new King alone: upon which he imagined that he might be left betwixt the Hammer, and the Anvil; and in this apprehension he sent to *Edward* King of *England* to treat of an Alliance with him, and desire to have his Sister *Margret*. His design was but to entertain him with hopes, that he might make no League with the King; for he mortally hated the House of *York*, and was for the interest of *Lancaster*; nevertheless by over-acting the dissembler, he engaged himself so far as to compleat the marriage, and took the Order of the Garter.

1465.

When the Princes had staid two Weeks at *Estampes*, they resolved to return before *Paris*, to try a second time whether they could move them to declare themselves for the publick good. Having therefore foraged the Country of *Gastinois*, they passed the *Seine* over a Bridge of Boats between *Melun* and *Montereau*. At this passage *John* of *Anjou*, Duke of *Calabria* and *Lorrain*, the Son of good King *Rene* and a great Captain, joyned them with the Forces of both *Burgundy's*. He had but eight hundred Horse, but of the very best, and amongst his Foot, which were but few, five Hundred *Swisse*, the first that were seen in *France*.

* The Trenches are yet to be seen.

When all the other Lords were come with their Forces, there were near a Hundred Thousand Horse in that Army. The *Burgundian* had his Quarters at *Charenton*, and was lodged in his Castle of *Conflans**, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Calabria* at *St. Maur*, and the rest at *St. Denis*, and the places thereabouts.

In this multitude of principal Officers, there was no Head considerable enough to command this vast Body; they staid three days before *Paris* without doing any thing. Perhaps they might have forced it by assaults, had they undertaken it, for there were but five hundred Lances, and some Bands of Archers, however they rather furnished themselves, then starved the City to a Compliance.

It is true, they narrowly missed the gaining of it by Treaties and Intreagues. For some out of a desire to see the Blockade at an end, and the rest for fear of some sad event gave Ear to certain Letters brought them by the Heralds from the Brother of their King.

They sent Deputies to him from the Chiefest of the Clergy, the Parliament, the University, and the Citizens; The Bishop was Speaker. At their return, notwithstanding the contrary orders of the Count d' *Eu* who was Governor, it was concluded at their Town-Hall, that they should desire the King to Assemble the Estates, that the Princes might come into *Paris* in small companies, and that they should be furnished with Provisions for their money. The King being informed thereof returned to *Paris* the 28th of *August* and broke off this project.

Had he staid two days longer, he might perhaps have found the Princes in *Paris* and the Gates shut against him. Had that hapned he had resolved to have retired to *Lewis Sforza* Duke of *Milan* his good Friend, who had sent him a relief of seven or eight Thousand Men that mightily harraided the Duke of *Bourbons* Country.

1465.

After his Arrival, no day passed without Skermishings, unless upon some Truces which were renewed divers times for four and twenty hours only. There had been a Conference agreed upon by Deputies the third of *September*, which was held at *Mercers Grange*. From that hour there was nothing but bargaining to debauch people, the Confederates grew jealous of each other, that Party disunited, and the Kings grew strong and better fortified, and Confirmed.

It was resolved the Council of *Sforza* Duke of *Milan* should be followed, which was to dissolve the League at what price soever, and for that purpose to grant to every one in particular almost whatever he demanded. The King had very near made an agreement which each of them, excepting only about the Appenage for his Brother; they being obstinately bent to have *Normandy* allowed

ed him for that purpose. He could not consent to the dismembring that fair Province: but in the mean time having information that the Duke of *Bourbon* who made War in that Country, having been by some intelligence introduced into the Castle of *Rouen*, had made himself Master of that City, and that all the Province inclined to the same resolution, allured with the desire of having a Duke as *Bretagne* had, who found themselves very well under him: he was induced to grant them what they held already.

The Treaty was concluded the 29th of *October*. The Count de *Charolois* had the Cities of the *Somme*, redeemable only after his Decease for two hundred thousand Crowns, and moreover the Counties of *Guines*, of *Boulogne* and of *Pontieu*. The Count de *St. Pol* who Governed him, had the Constables Sword; To the Count of *Armagnac*, and to all the rest they restored their Lands, and those Offices they were dispossessed of, and withal they gave them Pensions and employments: but in such a manner as sowed the Seeds of discord amongst them. The Duke of *Bretagne* made them pay the charges of his Army and his Journey. The Publick, which served for a Stalking-Horse to this War, and who had born all the expences, gained no advantage, save only that it was promised, That there should be named Six and Thirty Notables, or prime Men, twelve of the Nobility, twelve of the Clergy, and twelve of the long Robe, to consult of Methods to ease the People, and redress the disorders of the State.

1465.

The next day the King and the Confederate Princes met at the Castle de *Vincennes*, which he had put into the hands of the Count; and there Monsieur rendred Hommage for his Dukedom of *Normandy*. Two days after the Count took his journey towards *Flanders*, the King conducting him as far as *Villers le Bel*, and at the same time the Duke of *Bretagne* went with Monsieur into *Normandy* to see him take the possession of it.

1465.

The good success of *Francis Sforza's* Counsel did soon appear; the King gained the most valiant of their Commanders to be for him, put some of them into jealousies and divisions, sought occasions to strip others, and in time lighted on fit opportunities, which entangled them in great troubles and perplexities. The Count de *Charolois* was gotten into one that was bad enough, to wit, a War with those of *Liege*: he needed but to encourage them, by blowing up the Flame, and assisting those inveterate people in their furious hatred.

Their Bishop was Brother to the Duke of *Bourbon*, Nephew by his Mother to Duke *Philip* of *Burgundy*, they had expelled him the Country, because he did not live like a Prelate, and the *Burgundian* had undertaken to restore him. Those of *Leige* and those of *Dinant* sent to declare a War against the *Charolois* when he was on his March towards *Paris*.

1465.

For that time the Duke his Father with the assistance of the Dukes of *Cleves* and *Guelders*, compelled them in a few days to buy a Peace. But a while after upon the flying report that the Count was kill'd at *Montlebery*, they reassumed their Arms with more fury, relying upon the promise the King had made to give them assistance, and that he would make no Peace without them. Those of *Dinant*, a City Famous and enriched by their works in Copper, burst out into a Thousand outrages against the *Charolois*, even to the calling him Bastard, and hanging him in Effigie.

Their chastisement followed their outrageous Insolence very close: The Duke laid Siege to the Town, his Son commanded the Army. The place was taken by Storm and burnt, eight Hundred of the Inhabitants drowned in the *Meuse*, and the rest abandoned to extream misery. The *Liegeois* who came to their relief, terrified with the smoak of this Fire, desired a Truce for a year, till the month of *January* the year following, and gave up three hundred Hostages.

1466.

The Duke of *Bretagne* would monopolize Monsieur to himself alone, and enjoy all the favours he could confer in *Normandy*. *John* Duke of *Calabria* and the old Servants of *Charles* the VII. had their pretences too; divisions grew amongst them, one may guess whether Engines were then wanting to blow up the Sparks. They made *John* Duke of *Calabria* believe that the Breton had plotted to convey away Monsieur into *Bretagne*. Duke *John* gives notice hereof to the *Normands*, the noise is spread all over the City, the Foolish people take it for a truth, run to the Mount *St. Catharine*, where Monsieur was waiting till they had made all ready for his reception, sets him upon a Horse, and forces him to make his entrance Tumultuously & without Ceremony. The Breton durst not appear and was constrained for his own safety

1465.

safety, and to avoid that fury, to retire into the lower *Normandy*, whose Cities were in his hands.

1465. Soon as the King knew this, he took opportunity by the foretop. He marched directly to him, frighted him, brought him to a Conference at *Caen*, where the Duke consented that those places which he held, should be put as in Sequestration into the hands of *Oder Daydic-lefenn*, since Count of *Cominges*.

Whilst the King was in this Country, the same Duke of *Bourbon* who had put *Normandy* into the power of Monsieur, laboured to get him out again, and put it into the Kings possession. In all his life the Duke of *Burgundy* felt not a more sensible displeasure, then to find that Prince whom he had loved above all the Men in the World, turn his back upon him so soon, and ruine his own designs.

1466. *Louviers* and the *Pont de Larche* being surrendered to the King, those of *Rouen* demanded composition the 10th of *January*, and their miserable Duke denuded of Friends, Money, Heart and Counsel, escaped in a pittiful equipage, and thought himself happy in finding a shelter at the *Bretons*. Thus *Normandy* kept her Duke but two Months. The King could not pardon the passion they had shewn to have one. It cost the lives of a great number of the most considerable in that Country.

The War with the *Liegeois* detained Count de *Charolois* so, that he could not prevent this revolution, and old Age hindered Duke *Philip* his Father from stirring in it so early as he would have desired. He held only a Correspondence with the *Breton*, and strove to Animate King *Edward*, whose Daughter he had demanded in marriage to make a descent in *France*.

During the noise which was spread every where, of this irruption, and the murmurings of infinite numbers of discontented persons, the King amused the people with the hopes of easing them, having Summoned an Assembly des *Notables* at *Paris*, out of which were chosen 21 Commissaries who began to set themselves about it in the Palace the 16th of *July*. The Count de *Dunois* presided; It was he alone who amongst so many Princes had followed it; out of that Laudible zeal he hath transmitted to all his posterity, to procure the publick good.

There were more Propositions made, no doubt, then they intended to practise, and fine studied speeches; This is what they call in *France*, de *Belles actions*, brave actions.

1466. The excessive heats of the Summer bred many contagious Maladies, which in the City of *Paris* alone, swept away above forty Thousand People, and frighted away a much greater number; In so much as the King desiring to re-people it, by an Edict called in all sorts of Nations and People, even such as were banished, or Criminals, to whom, besides the Abolition, he gave Priviledges and Franchises.

1467. The *Pragmatique* subsisted yet, Pope *Paul II.* sent as Legat to the King, *John Joffredi* Cardinal Bishop of *Alby* to get the revocation verified; who employed *John Balue* Cardinal Bishop of *Angiers*, to carry the Letters from the King to the Chastellet and the Parliament. They passed at the Chastellet without opposition: but in the Parliament he found *John de Saint Romain* Attorney General who opposed him to his face; and the University went to the Legat to signify their Appeal to the next Council, and after entred it into the Register at the Chasteler.

Paris being as it were the Kings Bulwark against the Grandees that loved him not, he ordained that all the Inhabitants, even the *Ecclesiasticks* should enroll themselves under the Banners of their Principals, and Sub-Principals, that is to say, of Colonels and Captains, and should provide themselves with good Arms. At one Muster which was made the 4th of *September*, there were found to be between 70 and 80000 men, between the ages of 16 and 60 years. In another which was made the following year they counted 84000.

1467. The 15th of *July* in the year 1467. *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy* called le Bon (i. e. the Good,) ended his days at *Brussels* in the 72th year of his Age, and the 45th of his Domination. He yielded not in power or riches to any King but the *French*; but had not his like in Goodness and Magnificence. And indeed he was adored by his people, respected by all the Princes of Christendom, and dreaded even by the Infidels. The Count de *Charolois* Succeeded in his great Dominions, not at all in his Goodness and Wisdom. He was Rash, Presumptuous, Quarrelsome and Bloody: But withal Valiant, Undaunted and Indefatigable in War, and who within himself observed exact justice and right towards his own Subjects.

1467. At his first coming to this Estate he was engaged against the *Liegeois*, whom the King

King had wrought to break the Truce, and he assisted them yet, notwithstanding he offered to forsake them, if the Duke would forsake the *Breton*, whom the King held already, as it were by the Throat, being entred into his Country with thirty Thousand Men. The Duke would do nothing of this; but hastned to make an end of the War with *Liege*. Now the *Liegeois* having lost a Battel when they came to relieve the City of *St. Tron*, did submit themselves to any conditions he would require, excepting firing and plundering. He caused the Heads of 20 or 30 of the most guilty to fly, together with the Towers and Walls of the City of *Liege*, changed the Magistrates and the Laws, and drained them of great Sums of Money for his expences. This was in the Month of *November*.

The people of *Flanders*, especially the *Gantois* who had mutined after the Death of his Father, humbled themselves likewise before their victorious Prince, and sent him all their Banners to *Bruges*.

In the Month of *October*, the King received advice that the Duke of *Alençon*, who made one in every discontented Party, was joyned in that of Monsieur and the Duke of *Bretagne*, and had given them up all his places, by means of which and of those that yet remained in their possession, amongst others *Auranches*, *Bayeux* and *Caen*, they held almost all the lower *Normandy*. The King willing to tread him down first in his way to the others, did presently cause his Army to march into the Countreys of *Perche* and of *Mayn*, and arrived at *Mans* himself.

One of the causes which had most stirred up the Cities, especially *Paris*, against the King in the League for the publick good, had been the mutation of Officers. For this reason, before his march against the Leagued Princes, he made this celebrated Ordinance * This order of the 21th of *October*, * which bears, That considering that in his Officers of not being consists under his Authority, the direction whereby are Policed and managed the publick affairs of the Kingdom, and that thereof they are Essential Ministers, as it is to be seen members of that Body, whereof he is the Head, he would therefore free them from in the Capitall doubts they had of falling into the inconveniences of mutation and destitution, and laries of Charles provide for their security. And therefore he Ordained that thenceforward there should be no Office disposed of unless it were vacant by Death, or by voluntary resignation, the Bald, and in an Ordinance of Philip de Valois, quoted by du Monlin.

His Army lay all the rest of Autumn without doing much, for as subtil as he was, he suffer'd himself to be amused by the *Breton*, with the hopes of an accommodation. Nevertheless he did not wholly lose his time. Towards the end of the year, he Debauched *Rene* Count du *Perche* Son of *John* Duke of *Alençon*, who betraying his own Father, delivered the Castle of *Alençon* up to him, which in those days was reckoned for a very good place. The *Breton* forsook the Town. And finding Monsieur and the Duke of *Bretagne* astonished at so unexpected an accident, he employ'd the Popes Legat to let them know that he would refer all his Deputies to the judgment of the General Estates; And for that purpose summoned them together at *Tours* the first day of *April*.

All the Deputies proved to be so much at his Devotion, that they ordained nothing but what was conformable to his desires: That *Normandy* being united to the Crown, could not be dismembred to be given to his Brother: That that young Prince should be exhorted to be satisfied with twelvethousand Livers yearly Rent in Lands for his Appenage, and 60000 Livers Annual Pension, but this not to be a President for the future Sons of *France*. That the *Breton* should surrender the places in *Normandy*, and if he would not obey this Ordinance they should make War upon him with all their Forces, and to do this they proffered their Lives and Fortunes.

He caused this to be immediately made known to his Brother, and to the *Breton*; and at the same time his Army, led by his Admiral, entred *Bretagne*, took *Chantoce* and *Ancenis*, and penetrated a great way into the Country, whilst himself, after he had visited his good City of *Paris*, was gone towards the Frontiers of *Picardy* to make use of some Engines to endeavour to disjoyn the Duke of *Burgundy* from them.

At that time the said Duke having vanquished the *Liegeois*, had sent to entreat him to leave his Friends in Peace, otherwise he should be obliged to Succour them; And indeed he advanced by long Marches for that end: but mean while they being affrighted, though nothing appeared which could oblige them to precipitate themselves so soon, concluded their agreement, and complied with the resolution of the Estates.

The King failed not to give speedy notice of it to the *Burgundian*, but he would believe nothing; even the Herald from the *Breton* who carry'd him the News, ran the hazard of being hanged as a Party Suborn'd, because he had seen the King in his journey. At length he met with so many demonstrations that he must give Faith.

He encamped in great order along the *Somme* (He was the first that renewed the *Roman* Method, to enclose his Forces in a Camp entrenched.) Notwithstanding those precautions the Kings Army was so strong, and his Soldiers so Animated that he might easily have forced him had he undertaken it: but he would rather try a less hazardous way, and gave him six Score Thousand Crowns of Gold to procure a Truce. He never let any thing slip which could be purchased by money which cost him nothing, for that he drained out of his Subjects pockets, but the chance of a Battel concerned him most.

1468. The Catalonians notwithstanding the Kings Sentence, and the accommodation of the Castilian, had chosen the foregoing year John Duke of Calabria for their Sovereign, as well for his valour as the pretensions the House of Anjou had to the Kingdom of Arragon. He made a War in that Country with the Kings assistance three years together, having sometimes good success, and sometimes bad: but in the year 1470. When he had routed the Army of John King of Arragon who besieged the City of Peralta, he Died of a Burning Fever in Barcelona.

Lewis had a Genius that was marvellously Subtil, Insinuating and Intriguing: He knew it perfectly well, and had conceived that if he could but confer with the *Burgundian*, he could disunite him from the other two, or at least cast the Seeds of jealousies amongst them. He therefore negociated for an interview, and by the advice of Cardinal la Balae, went to find him at *Peronne* where he was, without taking any Guards: but only the Cardinal, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Count de *Saint Pol*, and two or three other Lords, thereby to shew an entire confidence.

The Duke had lodged him in the City. Soon after there arrives three Princes of the House of *Savoy*, Philip Lord of *Bresse*, the Count de *Romont*, and the Bishop of *Geneva*, then the Mareschal of *Burgundy*, the Lords du *Lau*, and d' *Urse*, and some others, all Enemies to the King. Du *Lau* had been otherwise his Favourite but afterwards had been clapt in Prison whence he made his escape. The sight of these People put him in such fear, that he desired the Duke to lodge him in the Castle; This was to go into the Trap, and give himself up a Prisoner.

Before his going to *Peronne*, he had sent Ambassadors to *Liege*, to stir those bustling People to take up Arms, and he had taken no care to countermand it. Now the Mine was sprung earlier then he would have had it; for at the first word those impetuous People went forth out of hand, took the City of *Tongres* immediately, where they Seized their Bishop, tore in pieces five or six of his Canons, and slew some *Burgundians*.

1468. At this news the Duke grows in a Rage, causes the Gates of the Castle of *Peronne* to be shut up, and hardly could retain his wrath, from a revenge upon the King himself. Three days together the King was in mortal Trances, he saw himself in the hands of his Enemies justly provoked and enraged, and who might have gained all by loosing him, amidst People that hated him to the very Death, and in a House at the foot of that Tower where *Hebert* Count de *Vermandois* had heretofore put *Charles* the Simple to Death. In effect he had been lost had he not found out the means to gain some of the Dukes Domestick Servants (amongst others Philip de *Comines*) who softened the Spirit of the Duke their Master. He would not withdraw himself from this Precipice but by making a new Treaty with the Duke, by which he agreed *Monsieur* should have the Counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*, and promised to follow the *Burgundian* to the destruction of the unhappy *Liegeois*, with what numbers of men he should desire. He carry'd only some Guards, and 300 Soldiers.

1468. Although the City of *Liege* were dismantled and without Guns, they nevertheless defended themselves desperately eight days together, made great Salley's, amongst others one in the Night wherein they had like to have killed the King and the Count in their Quarters. But on a Sunday the 30th of October which they believed to be a day of rest amongst Christians (as if there were any Religion in a War) they were Attack'd about Dinner time, and made but little defence. One great

great part of the People fled over the Bridge that crossed the *Meuse* into the Forest of *Ardennes*, where more then half of them perished by hunger and cold, the rest got into Churches, or hid themselves in their Houses.

Fear constrained the King to rejoyce at the unhappiness of his miserable Allies, to applaud the great actions of the Duke of *Burgundy*, before his own People and in his presence, and make Courtship to his own Vassal. Four days after he managed it so, by means of those whom he gained to be for him, that he was permitted to go, to cause the Treaty of *Peronne* to be verif'd in the Court of Parliament: for without that, as Philip de *Comines* says, the Treaties were at no value. The Duke having made him some ill-favour'd excuses, for having brought him thither, conducted him only half a League.

After the Kings departure he caused about a Thousand, or twelve Hundred of those miserable wretches to be drowned, that had been taken in their Houses at *Liege* and set fire to the whole City, excepting the Churches and three hundred Houses about them which were preserved to lodge the Clergy.

The *Parisians* could not refrain from Scoffing at the craft of the King, which brought him into this Trap at *Peronne*, he contrived to turn their discourse upon another Subject, by sending to their Houses to take away all their Deers, Goats, Cranes, Swans, Cormorants, and other Creatures which they kept for their pleasure, as likewise all such Birds as were taught to whistle and speak. Perhaps they had instructed some Parrot to say *Peronne*.

At his parting with the Duke, he had asked him what he understood he was to do in case his Brother would not be contented with *Champagne* for his Appenage: the Duke answered that if he would not take it, and that the King could otherwise satisfy or content him, he would leave it to them two. He failed not to take his advantage of these inconsiderate words. He would not have his Brother be so near a Neighbour to the *Burgundian*, his Interest was to place him at the other end of the Kingdom to break off their Communication. That young Prince, Weak and Inconstant of mind was Governed by *Oder-Daydie* Lord of *Lescun* a *Gascon* and vain, who would needs be a Prophet in his own Country; by his means he was persuaded to renounce *Champagne*, and accept of *Guienne* with the City of *Rochel*.

This change was the loss of that young Prince; The Cardinal de la *Ballue*, in whose hands the Treaty of *Peronne* had been Sworn, with much regret suffered it to be altered, whether out of love to *Monsieur*, or that he would have had the King still in some perplexity. This good Prelat and *William de Hæraucoux* holding Intelligence with the *Burgundian*, wrote to *Monsieur* to dissuade him, and represented many things to him for his advantage, but contrary to the Kings intentions. Their Letters having been intercepted and they Seized, they ingenuously confessed their practices. The King sent the information to his Brother; who suffering himself to be overcome by his Carasses, accepted of *Guienne*, and came to meet him at *Tours*.

The Bishop was shut up in an Iron Cage, a punishment he well deserved, since he was the first inventor of it. The Cardinal was convey'd to the *Bastille*, where he remained twelve years, the Pope demanding him as liable only to his Justice, and the King pressing the Pope to let him have Judges assigned him within the Kingdom to hear his cause.

The good correspondence between the two Brothers seemed to be perfected, and the King to gain, or wean, *Monsieurs* Heart from the Countries on this side, allured him with a great Match in *Spain*. Henry King of *Castille* had a Daughter named *Jeane*, but whom the *Castilians* held for a Bastard, because he was esteemed impotent; in so much as they had constrained him to declare the *Infanta Isabella*, who was his Sister, his Heiress. The King sent the Cardinal of *Arras* to demand this *Isabella* for *Monsieur*: But the Lords of the Country having stollen her away, and married her to *Ferdinand* Infant of *Arragon*, he seeks to have *Jane*, which Henry agreed to. A Matter for a long War if *Charles* had lived.

The first day of August the King being at his Castle of *Amboise*, instituted an Order of Knighthood in honour of St. *Michael*, and limited the number of Knights to 36, yet was it never filled up in all his Reign.

The French particularly Honoured St. *Michael* as the Tutelary Angel of that Monarchy; And a better could not be pitched upon to tread down the Pride of the English, who carry'd Dragons in their Ensigns, then that Prince of they Celestial Militia, who is painted with a Dragon under his feet. And indeed, it had been reported

reported that he was seen at the head of our Army's fighting against them for the French.

He imagined by means or virtue of this Collar, that he should have drawn all the Grandees of the Kingdom within his clutches when he held this Chapter. And therefore the Duke of *Bretagne* refused it, and the Duke of *Burgundy* doing yet worse, received the Order of the Garter, and wore it to his Death.

The *Breton* had in his service one *Peter Landais* his Treasurer, a man of Low Birth, but very knowing and able to countermine all the Artifices of *Lewis XI*. It was he that led him to all these evasions, and emboldened his Master to withstand all his devices, and his threats. Thus, what ever endeavours he could use, though he were on his Frontiers with an Army, he could never disunite him from the *Burgundian*, but only obliged him by a Treaty made at *Saumur*, to renounce all offensive Leagues against the Kingdom.

1470. In the year 1470. John the Natural Son of *Lewis Duke of Orleans*, left this world aged 70 years, having divers years before left the Court because of his almost continual pain of the Gout, which the hardships in the Wars had brought upon him. This Prince, valued in all things, says *Comines*, having made himself as able a Counsellor as he was a Captain, was one of the principal instruments God made use of to drive the English out of France. Therefore the Princes of his Family gave him the County of *Dunois*, King *Charles* that of *Longueville*, the Office of Great Chamberlain, and the Lieutenantancy General of his Army's and strong Forts; A power of so great extent that it hath been communicated to none but himself in the third Race.

1470. The renunciation which the King caused the *Breton* to make, had most respect to *Edward of York* King of England, and Brother in Law to the *Burgundian*, of whom it was hourly reported, that he was coming to Land at *Calais*. He was wholly prevented by the Earl of *Warwick*, who in revenge of some injuries received from him, set himself to carry on the interests of the House of *Lancaster*, and had even Debauched the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother.

1471. He had the foregoing year defeated his Army, and afterwards took him Prisoner. Then *Edward* having escaped, beat him in his turn: So that he was forced to save himself in France, about the end of the Month of May this year. From thence returning into England with the Succours the King lent him, he changed the Scene a second time. For all stocked to him, according to the Genius of that Country, which loves change, and *Edward* wholly forsaken, fled into *Flanders* to the Duke of *Burgundy* his Brother in Law. Then King *Henry* who was in the Tower of *London* was set at Liberty, and *Warwick* and *Clarence* took upon them the Government of the Kingdom.

Though the King still resented in his Heart the affront received at *Peronne*, nevertheless being of a fearful Spirit, and the length of any enterprize putting him out of patience if the success were not as swift as his desires: he would have lived in peace, if the Constable and those that were about him, had not excited his resentment to draw him to a rupture. They feared, and the Constable most of all, that a Peace making them appear useless, the King might think of retrenching their great allowances, and his stirring mind, if it were not employ'd abroad, might put him upon great alterations at home in his Court.

Besides these motives, there was also an Intrigue of the *Bretons* and the Constables in favour of *Monsieur*. As they desired to strengthen him against the King, they had inspired him with a desire of marrying the only Daughter of the *Burgundian*; And because they knew the Father would not easily consent to it, they believed they should sooner bring it about by force, then by friendship, and therefore they resolved to engage the King to make a War upon him.

The Bias they took for this was to assure him that they had Infallible Intelligence how to surprize the Dukes Towns, and make his Subjects revolt in the very Heart of *Flanders*. Upon the hopes of these great advantages, he sent an Usher of the Parliament to Summon him even in the very City of *Ghent*, to give satisfaction to the Count d' *Eu*, from whom he detained some Lands, belonging to the County of *Pontieu*. In stead of appearing upon the Summons, he levy'd Soldiers at half Pay, but having been at this charge three Months, seeing no Body moved, he thought it was only a huffe, and dismissed them.

The House of *Burgundy* spared their People so much, that they kept up no Militia, nor Garrisons in their Towns, they thought that by Treating their Subjects well they were Guard good enough. However when he had laid down all his Arms, he

he received divers informations that all was ready to overwhelm him. *John de Chaulons* Prince of *Orange*, and some of his Domestick Servants forsook him; *Baldwin* one of his Bastard Brothers (he had eight) Plotted to poison him; the *Breton* renounced his alliance, and the Constable Seized upon the City of *Saint Quentin*. Then he that had feared nothing, began to apprehend every thing. He got together with much ado three hundred Horse, with which he advanced, to cover his other Cities on the *Somme*: But upon sight of him those of *Amiens* turned their backs and received the Kings Forces. *Abbeville* would have done as much if *Desquerdes* had not hindered it.

He retired therefore to *Arras* with more haste then he went forth, and sent a private messenger to the Constable to pray him not to push things forward to extremity. He received for answer, that unless *Monsieur* would declare for him he could not be served in it: But that he was ready to embrace his defence, if he would give his Daughter in Marriage to him. A Note from *Monsieur* conveyed to him in a piece of Wax, assured him the same thing; and the *Breton* gave him intelligence that all his Towns, even *Bruges* and *Ghent* were upon the point of revolting, and that the King was resolved to besiege him, whithersoever he went.

But the more they will force him, the more he stands out against them. Not being followed so closely, as he might have been by the King, he resumes his Courage, gathers up Men, takes the Field, and having gained *Pequigny*, presents himself before *Amiens*, and Fired his Guns at the Town to invite the Constable to give him Battel. But finding the great numbers of men coming which the King got together at *Beauvais*, he retreated back, and wrote a very Submissive Letter to him, which in gross discovered the Artifices of those that Animated the King against him. The King who found he was as little secure as the Duke amongst such double dealing People, agreed to a Truce for a year the 12th Day of May. *St. Quentin* remained the Constables, and was at last the cause of his ruine. The Treaty Signed, the King went into *Towaine*. *Monsieur* to his Apennage of *Guyenne*, and the *Burgundian* to *Flanders*.

During this War, *Edward* of *York* with a Moderate assistance which the *Burgundian* and secretly furnished him withal (for he apprehended to offend the Earl of *Warwick*) had by the favour of the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother, whom he had regained by the intrigues of a Woman, re-enters England gained two Battels, one against *Warwick* who was killed on the spot, the other against young *Edward* Son of King *Henry* and the Queen his Mother, in which that Prince was slain. The Queen became a Prisoner to the Conqueror, whom afterwards King *Lewis* redeemed by a ransom of 6000 Crowns. Thus *Edward* re-established himself in his Throne, and maintained it till his Death.

Sigismund Duke of *Austria* having need of Money, which that House hath ever been in great scarcity of, till the time of the Emperor *Charles V*. engaged his County of *Ferreite* for a Notable Sum to the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Duke puts in a very courteous Governor, he was called *Hagenbach*, who laying great exactions, was the first cause of the Germans hatred towards his Master.

Pope *Sixtus* the IV. (this was *Francis de la Rovere*) Elected in the Room of *Paul II*. to follow the example of his Predecessors, Solicited the Christian Princes to unite themselves against the Turks. For this purpose he sent the Cardinal *Bessarion* a Greek by Birth and a person of great merit, to the King of *France* and the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Cardinal having seen the Duke first, the King was so much offended at it, that he made him wait a long time before he would admit him to his presence, and giving him Audience he rallied with him, and treated him as a Grecian* Beard.

The Truce displeased the Duke who had made it by compulsion; neither was it to the good liking of *Monsieur*, nor the *Breton*, nor the Constable; thus all four sought to re-unite themselves together. The marriage of *Monsieur*, was the only tie that could be secure, the *Burgundian* promised it, though he had no mind to it; and upon this foot they renewed their League.

The Constables soliciting the other Princes to enter into it, the Duke of *Bourbon* gave notice of his practices to the King, who wisely dissembled it, contriving to be quit with them by the same method. For he every day pared away somewhat of his Brothers Apennage, threw one rub one day and another the next, Debauched

* Barbara Greca genus retinent, quod habere solebant.

baunched his Friends from him, corrupted his Servants, and got them to reveal all their Masters secrets.

By the Treaty of *Conflans*, John Count of *Armagnac* had been restored to his Lands: the King had caused them to be again Seized on in the year 1468. And had given them to *Monsieur* with the Government of *Guyenne*; *Monsieur* being discontented had caused that Count to return, put him into possession of his Estate, and by his means, and with the assistance of the Counts de *Foix*, and the Lord de *Albret*, he raised Men, either that he might not be Surprized, or to undertake something.

1471. Whatever his designs were, they were blasted by a detestable and cruel remedy. He loved a Lady Daughter of the Lord *Monsereau* and Widdow of *Lewis d'Amboise*, and had for Confessor a certain *Benedictine* Monk Abbot of *St. John d'Angely*, named *John Favre Versois*. This wicked Monk poyson'd a very fair Peach and gave it to that Lady, who at a Collation put it to steep in Wine, presented one half of it to the Prince, and eat the other her self. She being tender died in a short time; the Prince more robust sustained for some while the assaults of the *Venome*, but how-ever could not Conquer it, and in the end yielded his Life to it.

1471. Such as adjust all the Phenomena's of the Heavens to the accidents here below, might have applied to this same a Comet of extraordinary Magnitude, which was visible four score days together from the Month of December. It's Head was in the Sign of the *Ballance*, and it had a long Tail turning a little towards the North.

In Spring the King drew near towards *Guyenne*; the Monk had perhaps reiterated his Dose. However it was, *Monsieur* died the 12th of May. In the mean time the *Burgundian* passionately desiring to recover *St. Quintin* and *Amiens*, was entred into a Treaty with the King, who promised to restore it, and to leave the Counts of *Nevers* and *St. Pol* to his Mercy: and the Duke reciprocally did oblige himself to abandon *Monsieur* and the *Breton* to him.

Neither of these Dreamt of keeping their Word or Faith. The Duke Signed the first, the King deferr'd from day to day, expecting what would become of his Brother: when he had certain news of his Death, he scoffed at the Duke, and Seized *Guyenne* again into his own hands.

Although in many actions he had not too much of the Fear of God before his Eyes: nevertheless he had great Devotion towards the Saints, enriched their Churches, went several Pilgrimages every year, particularly to places Consecrated to our Lady. He Ordained on the first of May that at the sound of the great Bell at Noon, every one should kneel down and say the Ave Maria. The same day after the procession, William Chartier Bishop of Paris Died suddenly, not without Suspicion that some had contributed towards his Death.

1472. It was in this year that Philip de Comines quitted the Duke of Burgundy, whose Domestick and Subject he was, to go into the Service of the King his Sovereign Lord. If the Motive thereto had been Honest, no doubt but it would have been explained by him who hath reasoned so well on every thing else.

Who could express the rage the Duke of Burgundy was in when he Learn'd the Death of the Duke of *Guyenne*? He entred into *Picardy* with a Torch in one hand and his Sword in the other. Hitherto burnings had not been practised by either Party: nevertheless he made a Bon-fire of all the open Country, and Sacrificed all that fell under his power to his Friends Ghost. Nestle taken by assault endured all sorts of cruelties, because the Inhabitants had killed a Herald at Arms who went to Summon them, and two men besides during a Surcease which had been allowed them to Treat in. The reverence to the Altar could not save those innocent people who fled to the Church for refuge; and such as escaped the Sword were all hanged, or had their hands cut off.

His blind fury ran aground at the Siege of *Beauvais*. The want of attacking it roundly at first, made him lose six Weeks time and two Thousand Men. It is Memorable that upon a General Assault which was given the Thursday 9th of July, the Men within being ready to give ground, the Women conducted by one *Jane Hachete*, did wonders, repelling the Enemy with showers of Stones, Wild-fire, and Lead melted with scalding Rozen. The Effigies of that Woman is yet to be

be seen in their Town-Hall, grasping a Sword in her hand; and there is a procession the 10th of July, which is the Day on which the Siege was raised, where the Women march first, the Men following after.

Going thence the *Burgundian* Ravaged all the Country of *Caux*, took *Eu* and *St. Valery*: but was repulsed before *Diepe*, then before *Rouen*, and having threatened *Noyon*, he retired to *Abbeville*.

From *Guyenne* the King passed into *Bretagne* to force the Duke to renounce the League, and surrender the Monk to him who had Poyson'd *Monsieur*. For *Odet-Daydie* had Seized him and transfer'd him to *Nantes*. The Monk was found dead in Prison, the Devil, as was said, having broken his Neck the Night before that day wherein they were to pronounce his Sentence.

This was what the King desired, that so the Proof of the Crime might perish with the Poysoner; and it was more easie now for the *Breton* to avoid the heavy strokes of his power by the ordinary craft of his Landays. He granted him a Truce the 10th of September, and remained still in *Poitou*, till it was converted into a final peace. Which was brought about by the Mediation of *Odet-Daydie*, whom he allured to his Service by great rewards.

He knew better then any Prince in the World how to gain Men, discover his Enemies secrets, distract them with jealousies, divide the most united: but in his mirth he could not hide his secrets, every thing came to light, and he was likewise more subject to commit faults, then able to repair them; which he strove to do by Methods, more frequently bad then good.

In the beginning of Winter the *Burgundian* accepted a Truce. In the Month of February the Duke of *Alençon* who had a troubled and unquiet mind, for having contrived I know not what League with him, was made Prisoner and conveyed to the Castle of *Loches*, and from thence to the *Lowre*. The following year the Parliament by a Sentence of the 18th of July, Condemned him to loose his Head. The King his Godson gave him his Life, and Seventeen Months after took him out of Prison, and put him into a Citizens House at *Paris* under a good Guard, where he soon Died.

John V. Count of *Armagnac* who had been once more driven from his Country after the Death of *Monsieur*, had again Siezed upon his City of *Leytoure*, by certain correspondence, and had there surprised *Peter de Bourbon Beauneu*, Governor of *Guyenne*. He was straightly besieged in that place, by the Kings Army commanded by the Cardinal of *Arras*. 'Tis said, that having capitulated with him, that good Prelate broke his Faith; so that the City was invaded during the Suspension, and the Count miserably Murth'ed in his House. His Brother *Charles* was brought Prisoner to *Paris*.

During the Truce the *Burgundian* went to conquer the *Dutchy* of *Guelthers*. Duke *Arnold* had either sold or given it to him, dismembering his wicked Son *Adolph*, who had a long time held his Father Prisoner, and was himself so now by the *Burgundian* at *Ghent*.

This new Acquisition gave him the Appetite to encrease on the German side: He flatter'd the Emperor *Frederick* with the marriage of his Daughter to his Son *Maximilian*, and was even willing she should give him her promise and a Diamond. With this Lure he brings *Frederick* to *Mets*, thinking by his Authority to make himself Lord of that Town (which did not Succeed) and got his promise, that he would raise his Dukedom to a Kingdom. With these hopes he went awhile after to him at *Treves*, carrying along the Regal Ornaments, and made him a Feast with more then Royal Profusion: But the Emperor meant the Marriage should be first accomplished, and the Duke would sign the Contract in Quality of King. They could not agree thereon; And the Emperor left him there without taking his leave.

The King let him run after his fancies, and endeavoured then to recover *Perpignan*, whercof *John King of Arragon* was repossessed by Intelligence, it was only the Town, for the Castle held out still for the French: Their Army went thither after the taking of *Leytoure*. King *John* besieged in the City though Aged above Seventy years, defended himself bravely for two Months together, till his Son *Ferdinand* came to his assistance and relieved him.

The Twelfth day of August *Nicolas d'Anjou* Son of *John of Calabria* who had Succeeded

1472.

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1473.

ceded to the Dutchy of Lorrain after the Death of his Father, Died of the Plague at Nancy. Thus his Cousin Rene of Lorrain, Son of his Aunt Yoland d' Anjou, and de Ferry, who was Son of Antony Count of Vaudemont, restored the Dukedom to their House whence it came.

For about four or five years past, the Constable play'd double betwixt the King and the Burgundian, and incited them the one against the other. He thought their broils was his only safety: but both offended with his duplicity, agreed his ruin at the price of his head and his plunder, if they could but catch him. He had some hint of it, and broke the project by the many reasons he gave the King in writing. But after he had obtained his pardon, he again offended him more grievously then ever: For he Seized on the City of *St. Quentin*, and which was worse had the impudence to confer with him well Armed upon a Bridge, with a Barrier betwixt them as he had been his equal.

1474: The Burgundians ambition was insatiable. He had invited Edward of the House of York to make a descent in France, where the Burgundian promised to do as much by his correspondence as they with their Forces: and nevertheless instead of waiting for them, he went and ruined his Army before the Town of *Nuz*, building great designs upon the taking of this place which lies on the Rhine. The apparent reason why he laid that Siege, was to re-settle Robert de Baniere in the Arch-Bishoprick of *Cologne*, whose Channons had refused to admit him, and for their Chief had taken one of their Colleagues, to wit Herman Brother of the Landgrave of Hesse.

1474. As King Rene was good, liberal and devout, so was he inconstant and variable, of Courage tame and weak. His Sons and Grand-sons being all dead, there remained only his Daughter Yoland mother of Rene Duke of Lorrain: but that House was at distance from him, and such as were near, made him believe that having received so many troubles from her, he ought not to love her, and inclined him according to their interests, to give his Succession one while to the King of France, another while to Charles Count du Maine his Nephew, Son of his Brother of the same name, another time to the Duke of Burgundy. And this is the reason of so many several Wills and divers Donations made by him on that Subject.

It is believed that he caused one to be written in Letters of Gold and Adorned with Miniature, whereby he made the King his Heir to the County of Provence. It is certain that this year 1474. he instituted Charles du Maine in all his Lands, reserving only the Dutchy of Barr, which he left to his Daughters Son Duke Rene. Now the following year when he saw the King had Seized his City of Angers and the Castle of Barr, for the Portion, said he, of Mary d' Anjou his Mother, he changed his mind, or pretended so, and to make him afraid, said he would bestow it upon the Duke of Burgundy: but the King being purposely advanced as far as Lyons, hindred him, and thereupon hapned the defeat of that Duke, as you shall see.

Whilst he was battering his Head against that potent Body of Germany which is all of Iron, the King accumulated Enemies on that part against him, especially the Swisse, whose alliance he had gained with the Cities of Basle, and Strasburgh, and others on the Rhine; Sigismund Duke of Austria, Rene Duke of Lorrain, and even the Emperor Frederic. Sigismund with the aid of the Swisse, re-enters the County of Ferrete, and caused Hagenbac's head to be cut off for the Concussions he had used. Rene Duke of Lorrain sent to declare War against him even before Nuz, by a Moorish Servant who belonged to the Lord de Craon; and Frederick Armed all the power of the Empire to force him to raise the Siege. Nevertheless durst he not attack him, though he were four times more in number. The Bishop of Munster alone had brought thither 1200 Horse and 60000 Foot, all clothed in Green, with 1200 Waggons.

1475. The Truce betwixt the King and the Duke being expired, the King goes into the Field, and snatched from him Roye, Montdidier and Corbie: but neither this multitude of Enemies, nor the Winter long and sharp, nor the loss of his Towns, could not make his stubbornness Flexible, which held him still to that Siege for ten Months from its beginning.

In the Month of June Edward King of England caused his Army to Land at Calais which took up three Weeks time. Whilst he was putting them ashore, he sent two or three dispatches to him, prayed him, and pressed him to come and joyn with him, the Duke making now one delay, and then another. The Mediation of the Apostolick

Apostolick Legat, and of the King of Denmark, who was in a City near at hand, was a plausible pretence for him to withdraw from that dangerous enterprize with Honour, but he obstinately refused it. In the end when he saw it was too long a business, though he was within ten days of taking the City by Famine, he consented it should be put into the hands of the Legat.

That done he comes post to find the English at Calais, leaving his Forces in Barrois, so shatter'd that he durst not let them be seen. He conducted the King all along the way to Peronne, and from thence went to see the Constable at St. Quentin, who gave him his word he would deliver that City and all his other places up to the English; the Duke assured them of it: But when they would have approached, he caused them to Fire upon them. It is hard to express, whether was then greatest, their amazement or their rage; the Duke having spent a great many words to Interpret this in the best Sence, returned to Barrois to recruit his Forces.

Edward was a Voluptuous Prince, very Fat and naturally slow, who fought only to cram his Purse, and who having undertaken this War, rather to screw money from his Subjects, then to acquire Dominion or Honour, had brought over with him some of the Fattest London Citizens such as loved their ease mightily, that so their weariness and toyl might make them sooner willing to desire a Peace. It hapned therefore, that during the Burgundians absence, the King by force of intrigues, of flattery, and withal some Presents, whereof the English are very greedy, persuaded that Prince, and his Council, to hearken to an accommodation.

The procedure of the Burgundian, who had made them expect too long, and which was worse the double perfidious dealing of the Constable, and the approaching Winter, they having no one place to shelter themselves in, gave them a plausible pretence to do so.

In few days the Deputies for the two Kings agreed upon conditions; It was a Merchandized Truce for nine years, the Burgundian, and the Breton to be comprized, if they would; 73000 Crowns of Gold ready Money for the English, and the Marriage of his Daughter with the Dauphin; for whose maintenance King Lewis would allot the Revenue of Guyenne for nine years, or 50000 Crowns a year, which should be carried to the Tower of London to the King of England.

When the Duke had notice of what was treating, he came in great haste, he being the Sixteenth of his Company, to find Edward. He spake loud, he thundered, and braved him: But neither his fury, nor his reproaches having done good, he turned short home again. The Truce agreed, whilst the Kings were to sign the Treaty, the King of England came with his Army to lodge within half a League of Amiens. The King sent him 300 Waggons laden with the best Wines, and gave order they should permit as many English as desired to come into Amiens, and that nothing should be spared to make them welcome; Which lasted three or four days.

It was afterwards resolved the two Kings should have an interview on a Bridge which was erected at Pequigny upon the Somme, with a Barriere grated betwixt them. And there they ratified the Peace the 29th of August. That done, the King of England with all the Lords of his Retinue repass'd the Sea, very well satisfied with the good Wines, and the fine French Gold, there having been 16000 Crowns distributed in Pensions amongst such as had most Credit with their King.

The Burgundian shewed himself a little refractory till in the Month of October he accepted of a Truce. In the mean time his Choler discharged it self upon the young Rene Duke of Lorrain whom he stripp'd of his Dukedom, all but Nancy, which defended it self above two Months.

Then the Constable who thought to have plaid upon all the three Princes, promising to each of them his Town of St. Quentin, found himself exposed as the Butt for all three to shoot at; and unhappily for him, his Wife, who was Sister to the Queen hapned to Die. This Lord so powerful, who wanted neither for Servants, nor Money, nor strong Holds, wanted both Courage and Brain all of a sudden; and fearing all the World, durst not Trust any one. In fine, he retired into the Burgundians Country, whom he guessed the most exorable, and who in effect gave him security to go thither.

He was no sooner gone out of St. Quentin but the King Seized it, and gave notice of it to the Burgundian, Summoning him to deliver up that Infidel in Exchange of that place, conformably to an Article of the Truce between them. The

R r r

Burgundian

The English
People give
Money willingly
to make
War on France.

1475.

Burgundian was then before *Nancy*, which was necessary for him to keep *Lorraine* in awe, and to joyn the Low-Country to the Dutchy and County of *Burgundy*. For fear therefore, lest the King should disturb him in that Conquest, he caused the Constable to be Seized at *Mons*, whence he was transferr'd to *Peronne*, and ordered his People to deliver him, but not till a certain day remote enough, in which time he believed he should take *Nancy*, and then promised himself by that space he might revoke his order. But the place defended it self so well that he could not master it within the said time, and nevertheless his people delivered up, the Constable with his Letters, sealed Writings, and other pieces to convict him.

1475. They gave him not leasure to bethink himself, he was led to the *Bastille*, the 2d of *December*, examined by some Commissary's, condemned to Death by the Parliament, and Executed in the *Greve* the 19th of the same Month. A Lesson Written in Letters of Blood for such as would make themselves a Terror to their Princes.

1475. After the City of *Perpignan* had endured a year and a halfs Siege, and a Famine to the very Eating of Leather, it Surrendered to the *French* about the end of this year; and thus the Country of *Roussillon* remained once more in the *French* hands.

1476. The eighth of *January* following was Published an Edict of the Kings, which enjoyned all the Bishops to go to their Diocesses, on pain of a Seizure of their Temporals, to prepare themselves for a Council, which he said was necessary. He likewise Ordained that all such as came from *Rome* should be obliged to shew the Papers they brought: All this to frighten the Legat the Popes Nephew, (it was *John de la Rovere*) who would undertake too much.

Lorraine being Conquer'd the *Burgundian* cast his thoughts upon many other Provinces; King *Rene* made him hope for *Provence*, he disposed of the Estates of *Savoy* almost as much as of his own, the Dutches adhering to him, fearing lest he should bring the Uncles of her Pupil to invade that Dutchy: From thence he went into *Italy* where he had an Alliance with the Duke of *Milan*, and a great ascendancy by Fame, over all the petty Princes of that Country.

But before this he would needs compel the *Swissers* to stoop to his Laws, where he went so much resolv'd, hating them besides already, that he refused their most humble Submissions, and the offers they made to enter into his alliance, and to renounce all others, even that with the King. An Invasion they had made upon the Lands of *James* of *Savoy* Count de *Romont* served him for a pretence to Attack them; the quarrel between them and that Count proceeded from a very small occasion, which was for a Cart Load of Sheep Skins he had taken from them. Against this Rock it was then that his querellous Ambition went to make Shipwrack, and dash it self in pieces. They were as yet but Peasants and very little known: but who had all the Strength and Force of a Natural Valour, never yet softened by the Luxury of their Neighbours.

1477. To tell it in few words, the 5th of *April* he lost his Infantry, and his rich Equipage at *Granson*, the 20th of *June* all his Forces even to the number of 18000 Men before *Morat*; and in fine, the 5th of *January* being the Eve of Twelfth-day, his own life, and the Grandeur of his House before *Nancy*.

1476. After the Battel of *Morat*, Duke *Rene* who was come thither with the *Swisse* and the *Germans*; and by his Valour had contributed much to the Victory, went and retook his City of *Nancy*. The *Burgundian* after that unfortunate day, finding all his Allies abandon'd him, and his Subjects began to despise him, was fallen sick with Spite and rage; from which not being recover'd to his full Sences, he obstinately continued against all reason to undertake afresh the Siege of that place, though he had but 3000 Men only, and it was in mid-Winter.

His great Confident was the Count *Nichole de Campobasse* a *Neapolitan*, who was come into his Service after the Death of Prince *Nicholas* Grandson to King *Rene*. He it was that had the whole superintendence of the Siege. This Traytor hindered him from advancing, causing all things necessary to be wanting. He had Sworn the destruction of his Master, and even bargained openly enough for his Life with all his Enemies. In the meantime the Duke of *Lorraine* arrives with 20000 *Swisse* and *Germans*; and the Kings Army was in *Barrois*: thus this unhappy Prince was environed with Enemies on every hand. He had no more then Twelve Hundred men in a condition to fight; he was resolv'd to it nevertheless to

to his utter misfortune. In the beginning of the Battel, *Campobasse* retires with 400 Horse which he commanded, and left ten or twelve Men to Assassinate him upon his being Routed, which he took for certain; in effect, the *Burgundians* held out but a moment, and the Duke was killed with three wounds. He was in his 46th year, and had ruled Eight only. 1477. In *January*.

They guessed they knew his Body by several marks, and the Duke of *Lorraine* went in a Mourning Habit; and with a Golden Beard, after the manner of the *Heroes*, to besprinkle him with Holy water, and then caused him to be Interr'd at *Nancy*. Nevertheless being much beloved by his own Subjects, the People imagined he had saved himself, and for very shame had gone and hid himself in a Hermitage, whence they said he would return again after seven years Pennance. In so much that many lent money upon condition to be repaid when he appeared again. His Atrabilary humour, and a certain person that had been seen in *Snabia* who resembled him much in Shape, Hair, Voice and Countenance, gave colour to this report.

He had no Children but one Daughter named *Mary*, aged almost Twenty years. All the Forces of this Puissant Family had been cut off in these three great Battels, his Captains and Noblemen almost all taken; There were no Garrisons in their Towns, no Money in their Coffers, but a Tumultuous and amazed Council, People astonished and disobedient, and a Potent Enemy well Armed, subtil, and who spared nothing. 1477.

Thus every thing had soon passed under the Dominion of the King, if he would have taken the method propounded for the Marrying that young Princess with his Son, or to some other Prince of the Blood. And truly if he had bestowed this wealthy Heiress upon *Charles* Duke of *Orleanse*, Count of *Angoulesme*, whom she ardently desired, all the Low-Country's would have been to this day united to *France*; For that Prince had a Son that attained to the Crown, which was *Francis* the 1. But he so perfectly hated that House of *Burgundy*, that he would annihilate it, making account to take away all such Lands as appertained to the Crown, and to make the rest fall into the hands of some *German* Princes his Allies.

As to the first, he brought it to pass almost entirely, and without much difficulty there being no Governors left that were Proof against his Bribes, or the fears of losing their Estates. The Burghers of *Abbeville* surrender'd first to his Men whom he had sent before him. When he appeared in *Picardy*, *William Bische*, a man of low condition, raised by the Deceased Duke *Charles*, gave him up *Peronne*: Others delivered to him *Han* and *Bouchain*, *St. Quentin*, *Roye* and *Montdidier* were taken by themselves.

While he was at *Peronne*, there came Ambassadors from the Princess *Mary* to desire Peace of him, and offer all obedience to him, and the Marriage of their Sovereign with the Dauphin. He neither accepted nor refused the conditions: but obliged them to facilitate the Peace, to acquit *Philip de Crevecoeur Desquerdes*, of the Oath he had made to the House of *Burgundy*, and to order him to deliver the City of *Arras* to him. This *Desquerdes* having already Treated secretly with him, entred into his service, and caused *Hesdin*, *Boulogne* and *Cambray*, likewise, to be also surrendered up to him. *Hesdin* staid till it was a little battered only for form sake, and then conditioned. The City of *Boulogne* resisted but little more. It belonged to *Bertrand de la Tour d' Auvergne*, from whom the *Burgundian* detain'd it. The King would keep it himself, and in exchange gave him the County de *Lauraguez*. 1477.

The City of *Arras* had likewise taken an Oath: But soon after they repented, and would have called in some Forces that were at *Doway*, remainders of the defeat at *Nancy*. Those of *Doway*, whose Pride had not yet been humbled, having adventured to March by open day-light, were cut off in the plain Field, and the Lord de *Vergy* who conducted them was made Prisoner.

The King afterwards went to besiege *Arras*: His wrath went no less then to raze it to the very Foundations: Nevertheless the Supplications of *Desquerdes* obtained composition: but it was not observed towards the rich Citizens: To get their Fleeces they took away their Lives.

On the other hand the Prince of *Orange* having for the second time reconciled himself to the King, persuaded the Estates of the Dukedom, and the County of *Burgundy*, partly by reason, partly by force, to submit themselves to his Obedience:

ence. Which he did the more easily for that *Verrey* the most powerful and the most zealous Lord of those Countries, was yet a Prisoner.

They had given that Prince hopes of his having the Government of both the *Burgundy's*, and to restore some certain Lands to him which Duke *Charles* had made him lose by a Sentence given in favour of his Uncles the Lords of *Montguyon*; and besides he had this for a Cover of his perfidiousness, and made use of it as a Lure to the Estates; That the King did not Seize upon these Country's to detain them, but only to preserve them for the Princess against the *Swiss* and *Germans*. They soon found how it was when he had gotten possession; For he declared the Title he had, to wit that of Reversion for want of Heirs Males to the Dutchy, and that of Donation to the County, which he pretended had been given to the Crown of *France* by Count *Otho V.* of that name, when he married his Daughter with *Philip le Long*.

The greatest disorder in the affairs of the Princess of *Burgundy*, was caused by the *Gauntos*. As soon as they were assured of the Death of Duke *Charles*, they renewed their Commotions, slew their Magistrates, made themselves Masters of the Person of their Princess, and as they were inducd with great Pride and little understanding, they would needs do every thing, and did nothing but mischief.

* Margret Sister to King Edward.

She had in her Council the *Dutchess *Dower*, *Philip* of *Cleves* Lord of *Ravenstein*, the Chancellor *Hugonet*, and the Lord *d' Imbercourt*. They likewise called in the Bishop of *Liege*, the Duke of *Cleves*, and the Son of the Count *de St. Pol*. They were all divided about the marriage of the Princess; *Ravastein* desired to have her married to his Nephew, the Son of the Duke of *Cleve*: The Chancellor *Hugonet*, and the Lord *d' Imbercourt* to the Dauphin, and the *Gauntos* to some German Prince.

The Deputies from these were gone to the King of *France* in behalf of the States of *Flanders*, and said they had full power to negotiate a Peace. The King shewed them maliciously some Letters from the Princesses Council, which mentioned the quite contrary. Their brutish Pride believed the Council plaid upon them, and prompted them immediately to revenge. As soon as they were return'd to *Gaunt* they laid hold on *Hugonet* and *Imbercourt*, made Process against them under pretence of some concussions, and cut off their heads, not being moved with the humble Prayers and Intreaties, or the abundant Tears of their Princess, who with dishevel'd Hair came to the place of Execution to Implore the Lives of her two faithful Servants. With the same fury they took away *Ravastein* and the Dutchess *Dower* from her: gave her a Council of their own chusing, and drew *Adolph* of *Guelder* out of Prison to command their Forces.

Ever since the War for the Publick Good, the King had always had a Mortal desire for revenge against *James de Armagnac* Duke of *Nemours*. This Lord after the Death of the Count *d' Armagnac*, had retired himself into the strong Castle of *Carlat* in *Auvergne*; in the year 1476. *Peter de Bourbon-Beaieu* had order to take him. He could not have compell'd it by force, he makes use of fraud, giving his Faith he should have no hurt; yet nevertheless he brings him to the *Bastille*.

About seven or eight Months after, the Parliament had orders to proceed against him. Those men of honesty could not find any thing charged upon him sufficient to make him Guilty, the King sends them to *Noyon* the 20th of *June*, to teach them their Lesson, and put out of their places such Counsellors as refused to conclude he deserv'd Death. The rest returning to *Paris*, Chancellor *Peter Doriote* presiding, they condemned him the 4th of *August* to lose his Head, and the same day the Sentence was put in Execution. The King would have his two Sons, who were yet but Children, stand under the Scaffold, that their Fathers Blood might run down upon their Heads.

1477.

The *Flemmings* and the Duke of *Bretagne* earnestly Solicited the King of *England* not to suffer the Heiress of *Burgundy* to perish without assisting her; but the King amuzed him still with the Marriage of the Dauphin to his Daughter, and spared neither Presents nor Pensions to all that were about the King, who besides was over-burthned with Fat, too much addicted to his pleasures, and who feared dangers greatly, because he had greatly suffer'd.

His Brother George Duke of *Clarence*, having medled too much in his affairs, or for

for some other cause which was never known, fared but very ill; he caused him to be drowned in a But of *Malmesey*.

In these times, *Oliver le Daim* the Kings Barber who made himself a man of great importance, had taken a Commission to reduce the City of *Gaunt*, thinking he had much Credit amongst them, because he was a Country mans Son of those parts. The *Gauntos* baffled him as he deserved. Retreating thence he by surprize got the Kings Forces into *Tournay*, that from thence he might molest the *Flemmings*. The *Gauntos* having taken Arms went Head-long to attack this place: But they were ill handled, and *Adolph de Guelderes* killed in their retreat. This was about the beginning of *July*.

It had been their design that he should Marry the Princess, who very glad to be so deliver'd from him, resolv'd in fine, to determine which to take of the many that aimed to get her. She therefore chose *Maximilian* Son to the Emperor *Frederic* to whom she had plighted her Faith in her Fathers Life time. The Marriage was Consummated at *Gaunt* about the end of *July*. He was so poor that his Wife was forced to be at the charges for the wedding, for his Equipage, and the maintenance of his Servants.

1477.

At first she got no advantage by a Husband who had no assistance from his Father very covetous, nor his Uncle *Sigismond* rich enough in money, but of a very poor Spirit. Nevertheless upon the consideration of his Father, who was Emperor, the King being entred into some Conferences with him, found it fit to grant him Truce for a year, and to restore to him *Quesnoy*, *Bouchain*, and *Cambray*, which were in the Territories belonging to the Empire. Others say they drove out the *French* Garrisons, and rendred themselves to *Maximilian*.

The Lord *de Craon*, this was *George de la Trimoville*, who commanded the Kings Army in *Burgundy*, treated the Prince of *Orange* ill, and did not restore him to his Lands, as the King had promised, notwithstanding he had express orders. This was the cause that the Prince joyned himself again with *Claude de Vandre* and some other Noble-men of the Country, and led away almost all the Province from him. It is true that the Battel he afterwards lost nigh *Montguyon* brought back the Dutchy: but the War did not end there as to the County. Amongst other events the Lord *de Craon* shamefully raised the Siege before *Dole*: The King was so angry, that for this, and his plundrings, he set him aside, and put *Charles d' Amboise* *Chaumont* in his place.

This man laid the foundation of the first League which the Kings of *France* have had with the *Swisse*. He stipulated that the King should give a Pension of 20000 *Livers* yearly to the *Cantons*, and as much to some particular people, for which they should furnish him with six Thousand men to be paid by him, and should give him the first Rank amongst all their Allies, at which they made some difficulty, because the Duke of *Savoy* had ever held it.

The Truce being expired, *Maximilian* caused some Forces to enter *Burgundy*, who more by the Factions of the People that regretted their ancient Princes, then by their own proper strength, took *Beaune*, *Chastillon*, *Bar*, *Semur*, and divers other places, with so great facility, that if the Emperor *Frederick* had assisted his Son never so little, he had at that time re-conquered all the Dutchy. The Lord *d' Amboise* who had money and men in abundance, chased them almost as easily out again, as they gotten in; and thereupon the Truces were renewed for some Months.

The Kings of *France* had for a long time had a good number of Gentlemen Pensioners, to attend and to Guard them: King *Lewis* encreased the number, and gave them a Captain.

His impatience to know speedily all that passed in every part of his Kingdom, was the occasion of setting the Posts, and Couriers, who for a long time were only for the Kings Service.

✠

Italy had divided it self in two Factions, one for the Pope and *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, the other for the Duke of *Milan* with the *Venetian* and the *Florentines*. At *Florence* there were two Potent Families, that of the *Pazzi* most ancient, and that of *Medecis* richest; The latter as then Governed, and the two Brothers *Julian* and *Laurence* were the Heads.

The *Pazzi*, under the secret protection of the Pope, conspired to assassinate them at Church upon Sunday 26th of *April*. *Julian* was Murthered, *Laurence* saved himself

1478.

in the Sacrary; The Populace being raised, ran upon the Passi, and exterminated all of them. The Conspirators who had gotten themselves into the Palace to Seize it, were shut in there, and Hanged up at the Windows; amongst others, the Arch-Bishop of Pisa; and they imprisoned a young Cardinal Nephew to the Pope, who was found to be Innocent. Now the Pope, upon pretence of revenging the Honour of the Ecclesiasticks, commenced a rude War on the Florentines, both with the Fulminations of the Church, and with material Arms and Forces.

The King endeavoured an Accommodation, but being unable to effect it, he took part with the *Florentines*, and sent *Philip de Comines* to them, who only brought some Succours from *Savoy*, and *Milan*. He had no mind to employ his Forces in so Forraign an Expedition; but to frighten the Pope, he spoke of calling a Council, and continuing the Pragmatick. For this purpose he convened all the Prelats, and the Deputies of the Universities of the Kingdom at *Orleans*, and dispatched a Noble Embally to the Pope (*Guy d'Arpajon* Vicount de *Lautrec* was the principal) to demand of him, that he should off the Excommunication he had thundered against the *Florentines*, and that they should severely punish all the Complices of that Conspiracy.

* Composed by
John de Troyes
* Hermaphro-
ditic.

*The * Scandalous Chronicle has noted, That in this year in a Monastery of Benedictines in Avergne (it was that of M^{re}) there was found a Monk both * Male and Female, who made use of either Sex, particularly of the Feminine; as appeared by proving great with Child.*

1479. The second Truce expired, *Chaumont* got first into the Field, and scowred all the *Franche-Comte*, even to the City of *Dole*; Which having been taken by the Teachery of the German Forces, who entering therein to relieve it, introduced the French, was sacked and destroyed, and remained some years Buried under its own Rubbish.

At the same time *Maximilian* with his Army besieged *Terouenne*. The Kings, which was commanded by *Desquerdes*, going to its Relief, the Besiegers raised their Siege to encounter them. The Shock was given near the Village of *Guinegaste*. *Desquerdes* at first made the *Flemmings* give ground: but pushing it too far, the Counts of *Nassau* and *de Romont*, rallied some Companies, and put the French to a Rout: The Field remained to *Maximilian*, though much more cover'd with the dead Bodies of his own Men than of Enemies; and this day regained him some Reputation in his Affairs.

1479. At Sea the *Normand* Captains took 80 Vessels laden with Wheat, which the *Flemmings* were bringing from *Prussia*, and all their Fleet of Herrings; an inestimable damage to that Country.

In these times arose the power of the great Czar of Russia, or Muscovy. Russia had heretofore many Princes: But they were as Slaves to the Cham of those Tartars, who Inhabit the other side of the Volga. Duke John shook off that Yoke of Slavery, and besides Conquered divers Cities in Russia Alba, who obeyed the Duke of Lithuania, and reduced to his Command the Great and Famous City Novogorod Capital of Russia; then that of Mosco, which takes its Name from the River on which it is situate, and gives it to all this State.

1479. When the good King *Rene* was Dead, which hap'ned the 10th of July in the year 1479. The King not openly permitted *Charles II.* Count de *Mayne* to put himself into possession of *Provence*, according to the * Testament we have before mentioned, but likewise interposed his Authority with the *Provençals* to Enthronize him in that County, being perhaps well assured of what hap'ned two years after.

* See above
in the year
1474.

1480. As all things went according to his wishes, it hap'ned, that being at a Village near *Chinon* during the Month of *March*, he was on a Sudden deprived of his Speech and all manner of Knowledge. At two days end, he recover'd both the one and the other: But his Body remained so Weak and Languishing, that he could never regain his perfect Strength.

The Legat Nephew to the Pope, took his time upon occasion of this Malady, to intecede for the Cardinal de *la Ballue*, who on his part did so cunningly feign a Retention of Urine, that the King believing he would not live long, and making conscience

conscience to let him die in Prison, set him at Liberty towards the end of November, upon condition he should leave the Kingdom, which he did, and retired to Rome.

Revenge, jealousy, and distrust, which are the Signs of a weak and ill temper'd Soul, encreased upon his Spirits, whilst he decreased in Strength. He was afraid that if they thought him incapable to act, they would usurp the Government; the Duke of *Bourbon* being the only Prince almost, that had the Qualities requisite for such a Pretension; he fell into so much hatred against him that he caused his Lands to be Seized, and sought out some colourable occasion to ruin him.

At the same time, whether he could not confide in his natural Subjects, or for some other reason, he disbanded the *Franc's* Archers, and in their stead raised Companies of Strangers, especially *Swissers*.

In this condition he was glad to make Truce with *Maximilian* for Seven Months, to Commence in August. The following year it was prolonged a Twelve-month more.

1480.

1481.

The Sultan or Grand Seigneur Mahomet II. caused the Island of Rhodes to be Besieged by the Visier Mellite one of his Captains, and sent almost at the same time the Bassa Gedue Acmet, to make a Descent on the Coast of Calabria. The first after he had lost ten Thousand Men, and spent three Months time, shamefully raised the Siege: but the other took Otranto by Assault the 27th Day of August, and struck a Terror through all Italy.

1480.

Charles Duke of Burgundy, whose thoughts had only been for War, desiring to imitate the Roman Discipline, had begun to keep and to exercise his Men in Camps. The King after his example caused one to be made in a Plain near the *Pont de Larche*, retrenched and closed up with Waggon. He gave the command of it to *Desquerdes* and put in 10000 Foot, Pikemen and Halberdiers (for experience had taught him in the Warrs with the *Swiss* and *Liegeois*, that those were the best Weapons, or Arms, for the Infantry) 2500 Pioneers, and 1500 Lances. After these Soldiers had remained there a Month only he disbanded them, and took off, as I believe, the 1500 thousand Livers tax which he had ordered for their maintenance.

Being returned to *Tours* he fell into the like Fitts of fainting as before. His Servants having vowed him to *Saint Claude*, he went thither on Pilgrimage, and left the General Lieutenancy of the Kingdom to *Peter de Bourbon* Lord of *Beaujeu* his Brother. Never was such a Pilgrim seen, the Countries he passed felt his Devotions, he marched accompanied with six thousand Soldiers, and did always some terrible thing or other in his way.

In this he seized *Philibert* Duke of *Savoy* and brought him into France; that young Prince dying the next year in the City of *Lyons*, and his brother *Charles* succeeding him, he declared himself his Guardian. For since the decease of Duke *Amel X.* their Father, he had always had a great hand in the affairs of *Savoy*, upon pretence that these young Princes were his Sisters Children.

Happily for Italy, Mahomet being on the point to begin again the Siege of Rhodes, and to send a new Army to Otranto, died at Nicomedia the third of May. Now whilst his two Sons Bajazeth, and Zizim were contending for the Empire between themselves, yet Frederick the Pope and King Ferdinand took the courage to besiege Otranto, and the Turks III. whilst the division betwixt their Princes lasted expecting no succours, surrendered upon composition. A short while after, Zizim having been defeated twice, fled to Rhodes where expecting to find an Asylum, he fell into captivity. For the Knights for a Pension of 50000 Crowns which Bajazeth promised to pay them yearly, detained him Prisoner, and with the Kings permission sent him to the Castle of Bourgneuf in Auvergne, where he remained some years treated honourably enough.

148.

Emp.

yet Frederick

III.

And,

Bajazet II.

Sons of Maho-

met, R. 31.

Years. See be-

low in Au-

1489.

Every thing gave apprehensions to King *Lewis*; he still kept his wife at distance from him, and these last years he continued her in *Savoy*, he bred his Son like a Captive at *Amboise* amongst Servants, lest he should grow too high-spirited, and always took along with him the first Prince of the blood, *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, not suffering any to cultivate his mind by any Education. He married him this year to one of his daughters named *Jane*, a most wife Princess: but ugly and

1481.

and Lame, and one whom the Physicians assured incapable of bearing any Children. Perhaps themselves had taken a course for that purpose.

1481. A little while after his return from Saint *Claude* he fell again for the third time into his fits of swooning. He caused himself to be carry'd to *Clergy*, where he had built a Church to his good Our Lady; And there he received some relief, but which lasted not long.

1481. The 10th of December *Charles d' Anjou Count du Mayne* being sick at *Mar-seilles*, whereof he dyed the next day, by his Testament instituted King *Lewis* his universal Heir in all his lands, to enjoy the same; he and all the Kings of *France*, his Successors, recommending most earnestly to him to maintain *Provence* in it's liberty's, Perogatives & Customs.

Rene Duke of Lorraine Son of Toland d' Anjou, reclaimed against this institution, maintaining that it could not be made to his prejudice; the King on the contrary justified it to be good, because *Provence* is a Country ruled by written Law, according to which any person may dispose of his own in favour of whom he pleaseth; besides the Counts of *Provence* had always called the Males to their Succession to the prejudice of the daughters. *Palamedes de Fourbin Sieur de Souliers*, who managed the Mind of *Charles* made him find these reasons to be good; and for this he in recompence had the Government, or, to say better, the Sovereignty of *Provence* during his whole life.

1482. When the Affairs of *Mary of Burgundy* began to be settled, that Princess going a hunting fell from her horse and died of it at *Gaunt* the 25th. of *May*, with the fruit wherewith her womb was pregnant. In four years she had borne three children, *Philip*, *Margret*, and another that had but a short life. The death of *Mary* brought trouble and disorders afresh amongst the *Flemmings*; Her Husband had so little Authority because of his Covetous Poverty, amongst those people who were wont to have Princes extremely Liberal and Magnificent; that he was forced to suffer that the Children he had by her, should remain under the guard of the *Gauntos*.

After a great famine which had afflicted *France* during the year 1481. there followed an Epidemical Sickness altogether extraordinary, which seized upon the Great as well as the Little ones. It was a continual and violent Fever, which set the Head on fire, whereby the most part fell into Phrensies and died as it were Mad.

1482. William de la Mark called the wild Boar of *Ardenne*, incited and assisted by the King, Massacred most inhumanely *Lewis de Bourbon*, Bishop of *Liege*, either in an Ambuscade, or after he had defeated him in Battle; and soon after himself being taken by the Lord de *Horne* brother to the Bishop successor to *Lewis*, had his head cut off at *Mastricht*.

Desquerdes had even the last year made himself Master of the Town of *Air* at the price of 50000 Crowns bestowed on the Governour: From this advantageous Post which bridled the *Flemmings*, he made them incline as well by cunning too as force, to treat of the Marriage of *Margret* Daughter of their deceased Princess with the Dauphin *Charles*, though she were hardly two years old, and *Charles* almost twelve. The *Gauntos* Ambassadors having seen the King at *Clergy*, made report to their Council of the Kings intentions. He demanded for her dowry only the County of *Artois*; and they would needs add to it those of *Burgundy*, of *Masconnois*, *Auxerois* and *Charolois*, thereby to weaken their Prince so much, that he might never be able to bring them under his Yoke.

1482. The King was in so ill a condition that hardly could he suffer them to see him to present so advantageous a Treaty. The Daughter was to be put into his Hands about the end of this Year: but there remaining yet some difficulties to be determined, they brought her not into *France* till the April following, and the Wedding was celebrated at *Amboise* at the end of July.

1483. Then *Edward King of England*, who upon the faith of the Treaty of *Pequigny* had ever flattered himself that the Dauphin should Marry his Daughter, and held himself so well assured that he made her be called the Dauphiness: seeing himself bailed by the *French*, and scoffed by his own Subjects as one foully imposed upon, was so moved with shame and grief, that he died the 4th. of April, delivering *France* from the apprehension of many mischiefs he might have done them during the Minority of *Charles VIII*.

He had two Sons, *Edward* and *Richard*, and five daughters. Marry'd to Noblemen of that

that Country. He had also had two Brothers, *George Duke of Clarence*, and *Richard Duke of Gloucester*. You have seen how he put the first to death upon some ill grounded suspicion; Now thus the other revenged it upon his Children. *Edward* before his Marriage to her by whom he had them, had clandestinely espoused a woman who was yet living. The Bishop of *Bathe* who Marry'd them, reveals it to *Richard*, who being easily persuaded that *Edward's* Children were not Legitimate, Seized upon his two Sons, the Eldest of them being but Eleven years of age, and named *Edward V.* put to Death five or six of the greatest Lords, who plainly foresaw his ill intents, and then having dispatched these Two young Princes out of the World, and made their Sisters to be declared Bastards, he set the Crown upon his own Head, all Christian Princes, even *Lewis XI.* himself having this deed in horror.

It is pleasant to read in History what the fear of Death and of losing his Authority, made King *Lewis* do during the last years of his Reign; The dancing of young Lassies about his House, and the Bands of Musicians that play'd on Flageolets which were brought from all parts to divert him; the Processions ordained over all the Kingdom for his Health, the publick prayers to God to hinder the blowing of certain Winds which incommoded him; a great heap of Reliques which were sent for by him from all Corners, even the St. *Amouille*, or Holy Oyle, with which he seemed as if he would Arm himself against Death; the great way his Physician *James Coëtier* had over him, who grumbled at him as he had been his Servant, and squeezed from him 55000 Crowns and many other Boons in five Months space; the Baths of Childrens Blood, which he made use of to sweeten his sharp and pricking Humours; in fine, his voluntary Imprisoning himself in the Castle du *Plessis le Tours*, where none could enter but through a Wicket, the Walls thereof being Armed with Iron Spikes, and lined Day and Night with Cross-Bow-men.

Every hour he was upon the Brink of his Grave, and nevertheless he strove to persuade them that he was well, sending Embassys to all Princes, Buying up all manner of Curiosities of Foreign Country's, and making it appear he was alive by the Bloody effects of his Vengeance, which could not die but with him.

His greatest hope was in a Holy Hermit called *Francis Martotile* a Native of *Calabria*, Founder of the Order of *Minimes*, whom he caused expressly to come into *France*, upon the Fame of those wonders God had wrought by his Ministry. He Flattered him, Implored him, fell on his Knees to him; He Built too Covents for his Order, the first within the Park du *Plessis les Tours*, the second at the Foot of the Castle de *Amboise*, that he might prolong his days: But this good Man in answer talked to him of God, and Exhorted him to think more of the other Life than this.

Feeling himself grow weaker every day, he sent for his Son from *Amboise*, gave him excellent Counsel, exhorting him to be Governed by the Advice of the Princes of the Blood, the Lords and other Notable Persons; not to change his Officers after his Death; to ease his Subjects, and reduce the Leveys of Moneys to the Ancient orders of the Kingdom, which was to raise none but by consent of the People. He had encreased the Taxes to 47000000 Livers, a Sum so excessive in those days, that the People were miserably over-burthened.

He died in fine the 29th Day of August, and accordingly as he had ordained was Interred at *Notre-Dame de Clergy* for which he had a particular Devotion. The Course of Life had lasted Sixty one years compleat, his Reign 22 years and one Month.

Comines describes him to us as very wise in adversity, very able to penetrate into the Interests and thoughts of men, and to allure them and turn them to his ends; infinitely suspicious and jealous of his power, most absolute in his will, who pardoned not, mightily oppressed his Subjects, and yet withal this, the best of Princes in his time.

He had caused above 4000 people to be put to Death by divers cruel Torments, and sometimes pleased himself in being a Spectator. The most part were Execured without Form of Process or Trial, many Dröwn'd with a Stone about their Necks, others precipitated passing over a turning Plank, whence they fell upon Wheels armed with Spikes and sharp Hooks, others stifled in Dungeons; *Tristan* his Creature and the Provost of his House being alone both Judge, Witness, and Executioner.

Besides his Devotion, at least in appearance, his persuasive and attracting Eloquence, his Marvellous craft in setting his Enemies at variance with one another, and unravelling their quarrels again, his Liberality in recompensing the Services done for him when they hit his fancy: we must not deny two things worthy of praise in him at the Latter end of his days; one that he would not suffer an Ambassador which Sultan *Bajazet* sent to him, to come nearer then *Marseilles*, not believing one could be a Christian and have Communication with the Enemies of Jesus Christ; the other that he had undertaken to reduce all the Weights and Measures to one Standard, and to set up a General Custom in all the Provinces of the Kingdom.

I will add a Third, that he resolved and intended that exact Justice should be dealt to all particular People. He Instituted two Parliaments, that of *Bordeaux*, which had been promised by *Charles VII.* and that of *Burgundy*. The Letters Patents for the first are Dated the 7th of June 1462. that of the second the 18th of March 1476.

If he suffered not his Son to be brought up to good Learning, it was because he apprehended to make him too knowing, or hurt his delicate and tender Complexion by the Labour of Study. It was not that he despised it, or was altogether ignorant of it, as some have believed, since *Comines* says; *That he was well enough Read, that he had had another sort of breeding, then the Lords of that Kingdom, and that according to Gaguin, he understood Books, and had more Erudition then Kings were wont to have.* Add, that he much encreased the Royal Library which *Charles V.* had begun at *Fountainbleau*, and which was transferr'd to the *Lowre* by *Charles VI.* That he kindly received and favoured those Learned Men who had made their escape from *Greece* after the taking of *Constantinople*; That he took delight in alluring some out of Foreign Country's with great Presents, amongst others the Famous *Galeotus Martinus*; And that he gave himself the Trouble to compleat the reformation of the University of *Paris* by the care of *John Boccard* Bishop of *Auranches*, and a Cordelier named *Wesel* Gransfort a Native of *Groningue*. Besides it is certain that the Kings of *France*, and particularly those of the third Race, have all been instructed in good Learning and loved it, excepting *Philip de Valois*.

He married two Wives, to wit, *Margret* Daughter of *James I.* King of *Scotland* Anno 1436. being Aged but 14 years, and then Anno 1451. *Charlotte* Daughter of *Lewis Duke of Savoy*. The first he loved not much by reason of some secret imperfection, neither had he any Children by her. She died in the year 1445. He would have visited the Second as little, had it not been for the desire of having an Heir; he had three Sons by her; of which *Charles* only Survived him who Reigned, (divers even suspecting that this had been suppos'd) and three Daughters, *Lowise*, *Anne* and *Jane*; *Lowise* died young, *Anne* was wife to *Peter de Bourbon* Lord of *Beaujeu*, and as for *Jane*, the Father constrained *Lewis Duke of Orleans* to Espouse her, and to Consummate the Marriage, whereof he made his secret Protections.

Charles

CHARLES VIII.

Called

The AFFABLE,

AND THE

COURTEOUS,

King LV.

Aged XIII. Years, II. Months.

POPES,

SIXTUS IV. one year under this Reign.

INOCENT VIII. Elected the 29th of August 1484. S. Eleven years wanting one Month.

ALEXANDER VI. Elected the 25th of August 1493. S. II. years and some days, whereof five years under this Reign.

THE Deceased King had by his last Will left the Government to the Dame de *Beaujeu* his Daughter, without mentioning the Regency, (because his Son was entering into his fourteenth year) Two Princes of the Blood, *Lewis Duke of Orleans*, and *John II. Duke of Bourbon*, disputed it with her, and maintained that King *Charles* ought to be counted a Minor, seeing the weakness of his Complexion, and his not being well Educated, his Father haing always kept him shut up in the Castle of *Amboise*, bred amongst inferior Servants. *Lewis* pretended to it as first Prince of the Blood, but himself was not yet come to Majority; and the Duke of *Bourbon*, as having married the Kings Aunt, and esteeming himself more worthy and proper for it then a Woman, who in *France* were not thought capable to Govern, since they were not held fit to Reign. The three Competitors not able to agree whose right it was, referred the contest to the General Estates, and the Kings Coronation to the following year.

In the interim a Council of fifteen was chosen; whereof one were put in by one

1483.

1483.

one Prince, some by another: but they were all such as belonged to the former Court, and bred up to ill Maxims, who having learned nought but what was indeed Evil, could produce nothing that was really good.

1484. In the Month of *January* the Estates Assembled at *Tours*. The King attended by the Princes of his Blood, and all that were Eminent in the Kingdom went thither, *William de Rochefort* his Chancellor open'd it the fourteenth of the Month in the great Hall belonging to the Arch-Bishop. It was there ordained that the King, since he had attained the Age of fourteen, should be reputed Major; That he should preside in the Council, the Duke of *Orleans* in his absence, and in case he failed the Duke of *Bourbon*. That the Dame de *Beaujeu* should have the Government of the young King, for whom a Council of Twelve persons should be chosen, consisting of Princes of the Blood, and others of the most considerable in the Nation. In the mean time the Constables Sword was given to the Duke of *Bourbon*; Governments and Pensions bestowed upon the Duke of *Orleans* and the rest of the Princes.

Never had they so fair an opportunity to rectify abuses, and raise up strong Bulwarks against all oppression. But the President of the Estates, many Ecclesiasticks, the Deputies of the City of *Paris*, and some others suffered themselves to be deluded, Sailed and Steered by the Court-gale and Compass, and betray'd the publick cause. They could not however hinder them from annulling most of the Acts made by *Lewis XI.* from exclaiming against his excessive gifts, from setting a Brand-mark upon the memory of those that had been the Executors of his injustice, nor from discharging the People of a great part of their Taxes and Soldiers Quarter'd upon them.

1482. This meeting of the Estates being over, the Attorney General of the Parliament, upon certain Accusations, made process against two of the most Rascally Insolent Ministers of the late Kings. These were *Oliver * le Diable*, Barber to *Lewis XI.* and *John Doyac*. This *Oliver* had changed his Surname very suitable to his behaviour, into that of *Daim*, and bare the Title of Earl of *Meulanc*. *Doyac* was a Fellow of the same stamp, and yet his Master had made him Governor of *Auvergne*. The first was trussed up on the Gallows, the second lost his Ears, and was Whip'd first at *Paris*, then at *Montferrand* in *Auvergne*, the place of his Nativity. There were perhaps others more Guilty, but there were none more odious; and besides they had spoken ill of the Princes. *Doyac* having secur'd his money, regained his Credit upon the Expedition into *Italy*, having been very serviceable in contriving to convey the great Guns over the Hills.

1484. *Francis II.* Duke of *Bretagne* had one about him of the very same Mettal, as impudent, and much more wicked yet then these; but withal more crafty and able, *Peter Landais* a Taylors Son of the Suburbs of *Vitre*. He governed his Prince above fifteen years, and had raised up People of his own Quality, and some of his Kindred to places of Trust, amongst others the *Guibez* Sons of his Sister, for which cause the Lords did much envy him. But this was only whisper'd from one to another all the time the Duke was in Health and Vigour, but when his Senses began to grow weak and fail him, it proceeded to Intrigues, and then to Factions to ruin him; Especially when he went about to support himself by Crimes, and had cruelly suffered the Chancellor *John Chauvelin*, and *James de Lespenay* Bishop of *Renes* to be starved in Prison.

It happened therefore that in the time they were holding the Estates at *Tours*, the Lords of the Country assumed the confidence to try to force him away from the Duke: but having missed their enterprize, he let loose all the Authority of his Prince against them, and reduced them to the troublesome necessity of defending themselves. The Duke of *Orleans* who was then at *Tours*, having a design in his Head of acquiring *Bretagne* by marrying the Dukes Eldest Daughter, goes down into that Country to proffer this Fellow his assistance, persuading himself that by obliging him in this manner, he might help him to that great Match. The Lords would willingly have taken shelter under the Protection of this young Prince, in whom appeared many signs of Probity and Honour: But *Landais* having fore-stalled them, they made their Addresses to the Dame de *Beaujeu* his Enemy, who presently espoused their cause. This fire lying hid for some years under its ashes, did at last break forth to the ruin of *Bretagne*.

1484. The 5th day of *June* King *Charles* was Crowned at *Reims* with the accustomed Ceremonies and Magnificence.

Being returned to *Paris*, the Duke of *Bretagne* sent a complaint to him for having

ving supported the Rebellion of his Subjects. The Dame, according to her Father's wonted Method, in stead of returning him an answer, Debauched his Ambassadors from his Service; These were the Lord *D'Urfe* whom she made Grand *Escuyer*, and *Poncet de la Riviere* on whom she bestowed the Mayoralty of *Bordeaux*.

The Cardinal de *Balue* after his being set at Liberty, went to Rome, and as that Court is a Region of perpetual Intrigues, he Succeeded so happily therein that in short time he got great Credit and some good Benefices. He moreover prevailed with the Pope so far, that after the Death of *Lewis XI.* he sent him into France as Legat à Latere. He made his entrance with so much arrogance that he made use of his faculties before ever he had the Kings consent, or had presented them in Parliament to be examined whether they contained nothing contrary to the Rights of the Crown, and the Liberties of the Gallican Church.

The Parliament offended at this bold undertaking forbid him to take upon him the Characters of his Legation; or to exercise the power: Notwithstanding the Kings Council, after he had shewed his reasons, and made his necessary Submissions, gave order he should be received in that Quality with the usual Respect and Honour, and that he should exercise his Functions. Which he did for some days, when hearing news of the Death of *Sixtus*, he returned on his way to Rome, with a Present only of a Thousand Crowns in Gold, which the King gave him towards defraying the Expences of his Journey.

The Council Establish'd by the Estates had neither Power nor Vertue, the Dame de *Beaujeu* usurped all the Authority. She turned out all those from the Kings Service as were not at her Devotion, and brought in *d'Urfe*, *Riviere* and *Graville* prime Chamberlain, who watched, and as it were beleaguere'd the young King. These Folk wanting some brave daring Heroe to oppose the Duke of *Orleans*, did likewise keep *Rene* the Duke of *Lorraine* at Court, to whom they restored the Dutchy of *Bar*, till such time as the King should be of Age, to do him right for the County of *Provence*, assigned him a Pension of 36 Thousand Livres per Annum, and a company of an Hundred Lances.

During these disorders in France, the Scene was wholly changed in England. *Henry Earl of Richmond*, after the Battel in the year 1471 where *Henry VI.* lost his Crown and Liberty, endeavouring to make his escape into France, was by Tempest thrown upon the Coasts of *Bretagne*, where the Duke Seized on him and detained him Prisoner in favour of *Edward*, or rather to engage that King to protect him always against *Lewis XI.* And indeed *Edward* never forsook him; whatever advantage *Lewis* could propound to him, and which was more, paid him fifty Thousand Crowns yearly for his Pension.

When *Edward* Died he gave him his full Liberty, and withal assisted him with Money and six Thousand Men, wherewith he put to Sea, having a Strong Faction in England, whereof the Earl of *Buckingham* was Head. Now it happened that a Storm having scattered his Ships, the Confederacy was discover'd and *Buckingham* Betrayed with most of the great men who were concerned in it; So that he returned and Landed in *Normandy*, and from thence got back into *Bretagne*, waiting for a better opportunity.

King *Richard* desiring to have him at what price soever, proffer'd *Landais* so much Money, and such considerable assistance in time of need, against the Breton Lords, that this Perfidious and Mercenary Soul, promised to deliver him up to his People. The Earls Friends in England got a hint of this bargain, and gave him Notice, at the very nick of time when it was to be put in execution. He immediately departs from *Vannes* under pretence of going to wait upon the Duke who was at *Renes*, then striking into another Road, made his escape with four more to *Angers*. He was so closely pursued by *Landais* Men, that he slept thorough the passage but one hour before they came to the place.

The King was then at *Langeais* who received him very kindly. And a great number of English Landing every Day in the Ports of France to joyn with him, he gave him some broken Companies that were in *Normandy*, with which he adventured over into England.

In fine having gained the Victory over *Richard* who was slain in the Field, he ascended the Throne, which he pretended did belong of Right to him, as being the Eldest of the House of *Lancaster*. He was indeed of that Family, but at a remote distance, as being but

but the Son of a Daughter of the Duke of Somerset's and of Edmond who was Son of Owen Tudor a Gentleman of Wales and Catherine of France, who after the Death of King Henry V. her Husband, was clandestinely Married to him.

1485.

The Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Bourbon likewise to whom the Constables Sword without any power, was more an injury or burthen then an Honour, made a new party against the Government. The Duke of Bretagne, Charles Earl of Angouleme, the Duke of Alençon and John de Chaalon Prince of Orange who was Son of a Sister of the Duke of Bretagne entred into it: Charles Earl of Dunois was the *primum mobile*.

* A2 belonged to the Duke of Orleans.

The Duke of Orleans was the first that spoke, and being retired to Beaugency demanded an Assembly of the Estates. They immediately carried the King thither. He besieged him in the place, and forced him to an accommodation, wherein it was agreed that the Earl of Dunois should retire to * A2 in Piedmont. After that they got the King to March against the Duke of Bourbon, who finding him on a sudden in the midst of his Country, accepted of such conditions as they would impose.

1485.

The Soldiers they had Levied for these ends, fell most of them into Bretagne. The Duke of Orleans having sent all his thither for the Dukes Service, the Dame sent the Kings thither also in behalf of the Lords. Landays prompted as we may believe by his wicked Genius, pursued the utter Destruction of the Lords with all his might, and would not recede in the least from the Sentence he had obtained that they should lose both their Castles and their Heads.

He had raised a great Army for this purpose, who had Order to Besiege Ancenis a place belonging to the Marechal de Riux; The Lords had taken the Field to prevent it. The Armies being in sight of each other, some good minded People, made the Chief Commanders of the Dukes Army so Sensible, how heinous it would be in them to spill the Heart Blood of their own Friends and Kindred, for the sake of the most profligate wretch in the whole World, that they embraced each other mutually, and agreed to joyn their Supplications to the Duke, that he would be pleased to Establish a Council made up of the Princes of his own House, together with the Lords of the Country for the Administration of his Affairs.

Landays having intelligence of this, was possessed with such fury, that he caused a Patent to be drawn in the Dukes name, which declared all the Commanders of his Army, which had entred into that capitulation with the Rebels, Criminals de Lese Majestatis, and their Estates confiscate. The Chancellor (his name was Francis Christian) refused to Seal it, notwithstanding the Dukes reiterated order; But on the contrary being Summoned by the Lords to bring Landays to Justice he took several informations, upon which a Decree was made to take the Body of Landays.

1485.

The Lords of the Dukes Council held private correspondence to ruin this Fellow. One day therefore, the People of Nantes excited by some Emisarys and their own hatred towards him, got in throngs into the Castle, crying out for Justice upon Landays, and at the same time the Chancellor was compell'd by the Lords to wait upon the Duke, and beseech him to give leave that he might be arrested, and brought to his Trial. The Duke to avoid greater danger, took the miserable wretch by the Hand, who had secur'd himself in his Chamber, and delivered him up to the Chancellor, expressly commanding him they should not touch his Life, for he granted him pardon for whatever Crime they might convict him of: But as that Prince was weak, they had no regard to his injunction. They made quick dispatch with Landays, the Gibbet was the last step his Ambitious Pride raised him to. Being found guilty of Concussions, Depredations, Murthers and other Crimes, he was Hanged at Nantes the 18th Day of July.

1486.

The following year Maximilian was Elected King of the Romans, at Francfort the one and Twentieth of February, and Crowned at Aix la Chapelle with Charles V. Crown the 12th of April. He had surprized the City of Terouenne, for which cause the Marechal D'Esquerdes made a rude War upon him. He pressed him so hard that he was forced to write to all those Cities in the Kingdom as had obliged themselves for Guaranty of the Treaty he had made with the King, complaining of this injustice done him by that Lord and the Dame de Beaujeu in the name of the King. The Letter was brought by one of his Heralds, whom the King being then at Beauvais caused to be Guarded in his Journey; It was Read in

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the Town-Hall of Paris, but he received no other answer then what it pleased those about the King to dictate.

He was as little successful in the Cavalcade he made thinking to surprize Guise, which Garrison did infinitely molest the Country of Hainault. Having furnished Terouenne, with provisions, he came into Cambresis: But the Marechals Desquerdes and Guy still pursuing him, and Poverty pinching him yet more then his Enemies, he durst not undertake any thing. Every thing failing him his Germans Disbanded, and he retired to Melines where he caused his Son to be kept and Educated.

One cannot conceive a greater grief then what the Duke of Bretagne felt for the loss of his Landays: nevertheless he was forced to contain himself, and grant an Abolition or Indemnity to all the Lords for fear of intailing a Cruel and Bloody War upon his Country: but all that precaution would not serve turn. The time was come to put a Period to that Estate, and I know not what fatallity hurried them to it by unavoidable accidents. The Dame de Beaujeu being informed that the Duke of Orleans was forging some design against her, made him to be commanded to come to Court; he came upon the second Summons he received: but the next Day being the 5th of January, he went into the Country, upon pretence of Hawking, and took his flight into Bretagne.

1486.

The good reception he met with from the Duke, the power he gave him there, and the strict knot of Friendship he tied with Guise one of the Nephews of the Deceased Landays who commanded the greater part of the Dukes Gendarmerie, gave both suspicion and fear to the Breton Lords. The Kings Council knowing their apprehensions, offer'd them all assistance imaginable to help them drive out both the Duke of Orleans and the rest of the French from their Country of Bretagne.

The wisest amongst them were not for Engaging so great a power in their quarrel as would sooner or later swallow up all if called in: But the rest imagining they could easily Limit and Curb them by Articles of Agreement: This opinion carried it, they made a League with the King upon these conditions; That he should bring into the Country no more then four hundred Lances, and four thousand Foot; That he should recall them as soon as ever the Duke of Orleans and his partisans should quit the Country: That he should neither take nor Besiege any place without the consent of the Marechal de Riux, nor should lay any claim or pretence to the Dutchy.

1486.

Whatever was in the Treaty expressed, yet the Kings Council were persuaded that Bretagne appertained to him, by virtue of a Cession which the Heirs of Pontieu had made to Lewis XI. Nay, even some Bretons who loved to swim in deep and large Waters, and hoped to find fairer fortunes in the Court of France, confirmed them in this opinion; And it was for this design they led the King to the Borders of that Country.

Whilst he was at Amboise he had private notice that the Count de Dunois was returned from A2 notwithstanding his commands to the contrary, had got to Partenay in Poitou, which he Fortified; that being there he was making a League for the Duke of Orleans, and that he had drawn in the Earl of Angouleme, the Duke of Lorraine, the Lords de Ponts and de Albret. He cajoled these two last with the hopes that they should marry the Duke of Bretagne's eldest Daughter, and the Duke of Lorraine was tyred with the put off's they had so long used towards him, concerning the Succession of the House of Anjou.

1486.

Those friends the Duke of Orleans had left at Court, plotted together to carry away the King, who would have warranted them, and as they said, had intreated them to do it, being quite wearied and distastet with the imperious Government of his Sister: This would have ended the Quarrel to the Dukes advantage: but the contrivance having taken Air by a Valet, the Bishops of Perigues and Montauban (these were Gefroy de Pampadour, and George d'Amboise) Comines and some others who had the management of it were Arrested.

1487.
in January.

(Comines having been a Prisoner near three years (of which time he was shut up eight whole Months in an Iron Cage) was condemned by Sentence of the Court of Parliament, to lose the fourth part of his Estate, and to remain a Prisoner for ten years, in one of his Houses.) The Bishops were set at Liberty, at two years end by the intercession of the Legat.

At the same time the Earl of Angouleme, and the Lord de Ponts made Guyenne to rise, where Odet-Daydie Brother of Odet Earl of Cominges, held Saintes, Front-sac,

jac, la Reoule, Dags and Bayonne, and the Duke of Orleans Levied Forces in *Bretagne*. The Towns in *Guyenne* surrendered at the first sight, and naming of the King; the Lord d'Albret had got some Men together to assist them, but he durst not appear. The King having made his entrance into *Bordeaux* the Seventh of *March*, returned to *Poitiers*; *Partenay* capitulated as soon as they were Summon'd. That done he divided his Army into four, who fell upon *Bretagne* in as many several Quarters, and himself in the mean time remained at *Laval* to see what progress they could make.

1487. Upon the arrival of these Forces three times more numerous then was agreed to by the Treaty, the Duke withdrew into the Center of his Country. During this astonishment of the People and the division amongst the Nobility they took from him *Ploetmel, Vannes and Dinan*; and then it was that the Lords too late perceived the error they had committed in bringing them into their Country.

After this they laid Siege to *Nantes*. The Duke was in the place with all the Soldiers he had left him, and had dispatched the Count de *Dunois* to the King of *England* to crave assistance. This Count being twice or thrice forced back by tempestuous weather, Armed the common People of the Lower *Bretagne*, the number of them amounting to above Sixty Thousand Men, and was so fortunate that with this confused multitude he terrified the *French*, and put a Relief into the Town, which afterwards valued not the Siege; about six Weeks after they were wholly delivered from them.

The Lord d'Albret had likewise raised three or four Thousand men to aid the *Breton*, whose eldest Daughter they had promised him. But the Lords of the Royal Party block'd him up so closely in his Castle of *Nontron* upon the confines of *Limosin*, that he was fain to capitulate and Disband his Forces. The King conceiving he had absolutely gained him to his Service, gave him a Company of an hundred Lances.

1487. During these Transactions *Desquerdas* by correspondence surprized the Cities of *St. Omer and Terouenne*, and defeated the Forces of *Philip de Cleves Ravestein*, whom they had drawn thither by a pretended bargain for the City of *Bethune*; the Duke of *Cleves* and the Count de *Nassau* fighting on Foot were taken Prisoners. In the foregoing Month of *March*, the Lord de *Montigny* Brother of Count *Horn* the bravest of his Captains, thinking to take *Guise* by assault was wounded with a Pike in the Suburbs, of which he Died in a few days.

1487. The City of *Ghent* had declared themselves Capital Enemies to Maximilian, because he had taken his Son from them and removed him to *Malines*; By their example *Bruges*, and most of the Towns in *Flanders* rose up against him, because he burthened them too frequently with his exactions.

1487. In the Month of July of this year 1487. *Charlota Queen of Cyprus, Widdow of Lewis of Savoy* who was Son of *Lewis and Brother of Ame IX. Dukes of Savoy*, ended her miseries with her Life at *Rome*, where she had subsisted twelve years on the Bounty of the Popes. She was Daughter and Heiress of *John II. King of Cyprus*; after whose Death her Husband and her self enjoy'd that Kingdom three years: but his Bastard *James* drove them out thence with the help of *Melec-Ella Sultan of Egypt*, to whom this Crown was Tributary. All the endeavours they could use to regain it proved vain and unsuccessful. *Lewis* Died the first in the year 1482. *Charlota* retired to *Rome*. After her Death the right to that Crown fell to *Charles II. Duke of Savoy*, her Cousin, and so passed to all his descendants, not only because she Adopted him and made him a Donation of her Kingdom, but because he also was her next of Kindred and Heir, being the Son of *Anne of Cyprus* Daughter of *King Janus or John I.* But *Catharine Cornaro a Venetian, Widdow of the Bastard who Died in the year 1473.* had given and resigned that Kingdom, by what Title I do not know, to the *Seignery of Venice*; The Great Turk wrested it out of their possession in the year 1557.

1488. The disorders were so great in *Flanders* that on the second of *February* *Maximilian*, being at *Bruges* the Inhabitants ran to their Arms, made him Prisoner, and put divers of his Creatures to Death. The Pope Excommunicated the mutineers: but the Kings Attorney General stood up against it, maintaining that the *Flemmings* had no other Sovereign but the King who owned them in what they had done.

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Neither the threats, nor Forces of the Emperor *Fredric* did avail for the delivery of his Son: they had resolved to give him up to the King of *France*: when they were just upon the point to do it, this poor Princes Tears, and the Solemn Oaths himself made to them, and which were confirmed by several Lords, that he would forget all their injuries, did at last subdue the fury of the *Brugois*, so that they set him at Liberty. When he was out of their hands he retired into *Germany* to his Father, and left the Government of his Son *Philip* and his Lands to *Albert Duke of Saxony*.

The Emperor *Fredric* desiring to render him more fit to take in second marriage one of the Daughters of *Ferdinand and Isabella*, who had interceded for his Liberty at *Bruges*, dignified *Austria* with the Title of Arch-Dutchy, which till then was a Stranger and unknown in the Western parts.

Besides the Force of Arms, they proceeded by way of Justice against the Princes that were Leagued with the *Breton*. In the Month of *February* the King sitting in Parliament ordered a Summons for the Duke of *Bretagne* and the Duke of *Orleans*, to appear at the Table to *Marbre*. Which was sent by the Provost of *Paris*, accompany'd with a Counsellor of that Court, and the Prime Usher, and all advantages of defaults were taken against them.

The *Mareschal de Rieux* and some Barons of *Bretagne*, finding he went much farther then the terms of the Treaty did allow, Petitioned him not to go on, and profer'd to send the Duke of *Orleans* out of the Country together with all the *French* belonging to him, who in effect shewed themselves willing to lay down their Arms and retire to their own dwellings, provided they might be left in Peace. The Dame thinking she was now above all danger, imprudently replied that the King would have no Rival or Equal; that he would not stop there, but proceed to the end of his enterprize.

This discourse laying his intentions clearly open, they took another resolution and reconciled themselves with their Duke, who gave them an Instrument of Oblivion or Abolition the Twentieth of *June*. The *Mareschal de Rieux* declaring openly for him, received some of his men into *Ancenis*, and took upon him the command of the Army: as for *Rohan* and *Quintin* his Brother, they adhered to the Royalists. The Lord de *Laval* was not suffered to remain Neuter as he would fain have done: they forced him to deliver up *Vitre* to the King; *Dole* was taken and sacked.

The Duke of *Bretagne's* affairs had a good aspect for those two or three Months that the King was at *Paris*. *Rieux* regained *Vannes*, d'Albret brought him a Thousand Horse, and the King of *England* sent him some Foot. In retaliation the Kings Army commanded by *la Trimoville* taking the Field in the Month of *April*, took *Chasseau-Briand* and razed it, gained *Ancenis*, then Besieged *Fougeres*, a Rich place and of great importance, which surrendered, and after that *St Aubin du Cormier*.

The *French and Bretons* Forces Leagued together, joyned in one Body to go to the relief of *Fougeres* contrary to the wise Counsel of the *Mareschal de Rieux*. Being on their March they were informed the place had Capitulated, and *Saint Aubin du Cormier* likewise; The Kings Army commanded by *la Trimoville*, apprehending they would go and retake *St. Aubin*, marched up to them. The Battel was fought near the Burrough of *Orange*, between *Renes* and *St. Aubin*, the 28th of July. *La Trimoville* obtained the Victory, the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Orange*, who alighted and fought for the *Bretons*, were made Prisoners, six Thousand of their Men being slain.

The Dame de *Beaujen* did soon after set the Prince of *Orange* at Liberty, he having Married her Husbands Sister, and made him Lieutenant for the King in *Bretagne*: But she kept the Duke of *Orleans* with great care, in the Castle of *Lusignan*, and afterwards in the great Tower at *Bourges*.

Some days before this Battel, there had been another fought in the Air: Great Flocks of Jays, and multitudes of Pies grappled so furiously with their Beaks and Claws, against each other, that a Vast deal of ground was quite covered with their Dead Carcasses.

The fidelity of the *Breton* Lords was sorely shaken by this rude Shock. The *Vicount de Rohan* encouraged to declare the pretensions he had to the Dutchy,

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as being the Son of *Mary*, Sister, and as he alledged, partly Heirefs of Duke *Francis I.* caufed *Dinan* and *St. Malo's* to fall into the Kings hands; this laft place was plundered. But *Renes* very courageoufly told the Herald that came to Summon them, *That they would fooner chufe to be nothing, then to be unfafhful.*

The Duke thus ill handled by the blind Baggage Fortune, was advifed to endeavour an accommodation with the King. To effect this he fent the Count de *Dunois*, and wrote to him with that fubmiffion not ufual from the Dukes of *Bretagne*. The King had great pretention to that Dutchy, and demanded the Noble Guardianship of the Daughters; they agreed upon Arbitrators to judge the right of it: But in the mean while he confented to a Peace with the Duke upon condition he fhould not marry them without his leave; that he fhould renounce all Foreign Leagues and Alliances; and fhould let him keep thofe places he had Conquer'd in that Country. The Treaty was agreed in the Caftle of *Vergy* in *Anjou* where the King was at that time, and Signed at *Coiron* by the Duke.

Soon after the Duke grown very old, overwhelmed with Sorrow, and hurt with a fall from his Horfe, died at *Nantes* the 9th day of *September*, having Reigned two and Thirty years. By his Will he appointed the Marefchal de *Rieux* Guardian to his Daughters, with whom he joyned *Odet-Daydie* Earl of *Cominges* his Goffip and Intimate Friend, and allotted *Frances de Dinan* Dame of *Chateau-Briand* to be their Governefs. They were two, *Anne* and *Ifabeau*; the latter Died about two years after. At this time they retired to the City named *Guerrande*.

1488.

The Duke of *Lorraine* after the Death of the *Breton*, reconciled himfelf to the Court upon hopes of obtaining fome affiftance towards recovery of the Kingdom of *Naples*. Opportunity prefented it felf very fairly, moft of the Barons of that Country being revolted againft King *Ferdinand* by reafon of his Tyrannies, and invited *Rene* to come and take poffeffion of that Crown. His Holynefs Pope *Innocent VIII.* did favour him, whole Gallies with *Julian de la Rovere* Cardinal of *St. Peters*, waited for him a long time in the Port of *Genoa*, and the *French* Nobles fhewed a great deal of eagernes to follow him. But thofe that Governed the King thwarted this Prince as much as they poffibly could, as envying him the Glory of this Conqueft. So that making too long delay, the Pope makes an agreement with *Ferdinand*, and fuch as had fain off caft themfelves upon his Mercy, which did but ill Succeed with them; for he made them all Prifoners, and *Alphonfo* his Son coming to the Crown, commanded their Throats to be cut. The Prince of *Salerno* wifer then the reft, would not truft to it, but retired to *Venice*, refolving to feek out fome abler Protector. The *Lorrainer* withdrew into his own Country greatly confounded and afhamed, and much funk in his Reputation.

The *Bretons* being fomewhat at their eafe on the *French*-fide, were embroiled amongst themfelves about the Marriage of their Dutchefs *Anne*. The Marefchal was obftinately bent to have her married to the Lord d' *Albret* to whom the Father had promifed it in Writing: But *Montauban* her Chancellor and the Earl de *Cominges* thought it too inconfiderable a Match, and too weak to reftore the Affairs of that Dutchy, being ruined himfelf, the King having Seized on all his Towns in *Gafconny*; and befides the Princefs had no manner of inclination for him; So that as foon as ever ſhe had attained the Age of puberty, ſhe made her proteftations againft that promife, which were declared to him perfonally.

The Count de *Dunois* oppofed it as much as they; but for another end; He aimed to have her Married to the Duke of *Orleans*, whereas the reft designed her for the Arch-Duke *Maximilian*. Their Difputes grew fo high, it had like to have come to blows. The Dutchefs got out of the Marefchals hands being affifted by her Chancellor and the Count de *Dunois*. The Marefchal way-laid her, thinking to ſtop the journey: but his refpect made him deſiſt, and leave her, her preſence having difarmed him.

Fearing to be Beſieged in *Redon* by the *French*, ſhe would needs retire to *Nantes*: the Lord d' *Albret* and the Marefchal refuſed to admit her, but only with her Family-attendance: upon this refuſal ſhe goes to *Renes*, where the Inhabitants made her a Solemn reception. Thus there were two Parties Canonized, the one at *Renes* with the Dutcheſs, the other at *Nantes* with the Marefchal, who was her Guardian, and Authorized by the Orders of the deſunct Duke.

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During theſe Garboils, the King ſeizes upon the Ports of *Breſt* and *Conquet*; and it was put to the queſtion in the Kings Council, whether he ſhould compleat the Conqueſt of that Country by force of Arms. The Courtiers did all adviſe and deſire it, the Chancellor *Rocheſort* alone diſſwaded them, repreſenting that a Moſt *Chriſtian* King ought not to meaſure his Conqueſts by his Sword, but his Juſtice; That it were moſt shameful to diſpoil a Pupil, one that was innocent, of his Kindred, and his own Vaſſal in that Dutchy, which he might have by Marriage, a much more honeſt and more eaſy Method to obtain his deſired ends. This remonſtrance and perhaps the Arrival of ſix thouſand *Engliſh*, with whom ſhe gariſon'd her Towns, put a ſtop to their preſent acting, to the great regret of the Dame de *Beaujeu* who had already got a Grant of the County of *Nantes*.

Innocent VIII. Succellor to *Sixtus IV.* whether out of a deſign to make a Holy War againſt the *Turks*, or perhaps to draw a good Penſion from *Bajazeth*, obtained of the Kings Council, that Prince *Zizim* ſhould be put into his Hands, upon a condition he ſhould not ſend him out of *Rome*, but ſhould always have him guarded by ſome Knights of *Rhodes*. *Peter Vaubuffon* Grand Maſter of the Order, had a Cardinals Cap for managing this Affair. For ſome time after the King had delivered him up to the Popes Agents, came an Embaſſy from *Sultan Bajazeth* to demand him, offering in exchange all the Relicks that were at *Conſtantinople*, to recover the Holy Land at his own Expences, and to pay him a very great Penſion.

As for the Affairs of *Bretagne*, upon divers Ruptures there were divers Negotiations. There had been ſome *French* and *Breton* Arbitrators appointed: but they being thought too much intereſted or dependent, it was judged fitter to make choice of two that were not ſo; and to this purpoſe the King and the Dutcheſs agreed upon *Maximilian* of *Austria*, and the Duke of *Bourbon*, a Prince of great Integrity, and withal no great Friend to the Dame de *Beaujeu*. The Deputies of both Parties being met at *Francfort*, it was agreed by Proviſion, that the King ſhould reſtore all the Places to the Dutcheſs, excepting *Saint Aubin*, *Dinan*, *Fougères*, and *Saint Malo*, which were to be put under Sequeſtration into the Hands of the two Arbitrators, who ſhould ſurrender them up to thoſe, to whom the Dutchy ſhould be adjudged to belong of Right; That in the mean time they ſhould put out all the Soldiers both *French* and *Engliſh*: That the two Parties ſhould produce their Titles before certain Lawyers appointed to examine them in *Avignon*; and that the Deputies ſhould meet again at *Tournay* the five and twentieth of *March* following, to hear the definitive Sentence, which ſhould then be given by the Arbitrators.

In the miſt of all theſe Goings and Comings, there was another ſecret Treaty carrying on, of which the Kings Council had nor the leaſt ſuſpicion, which was the Marriage of *Maximilian* with the Dutcheſs, and this was ſo far advanced that in the Year 1489. this (Dutcheſs married him by his Proxy) who was the Earl of *Naffau*.

The thing was kept ſecret a long time; and yet nothing of what they agreed on at *Francfort* was put in Execution: So that the King, whether he had diſcovered the Marriage, or was tyred at the tedious delay of the Arbitration, took up Arms again, and cauſed his Forces to March to beſiege the Dutcheſs in *Rennes*: but they were countermanded for what Reaſons I know not.

In vain the Princeſs preſſes for Aſſiſtance from *England* and *Germany*, ſhe had but very weak returns. *Maximilian* a Poor and a Cold Lover, did not beſtir himſelf as he ſhould have done for ſo fair a Miſtriſs, he never furniſh'd her with above two thouſand Men. In the mean time *Bretagne* was invaded on all Hands by the *French*; and the Lord d' *Albret* enraged to ſee himſelf ſupplanted by a *German*, gave them up the City of *Nantes*, upon condition of ſome compenſation promiſed him for thoſe Pretentions he had to the Dutchy; This claim was derived from his Wife *Frances* of *Bretagne* Daughter of *William* Vicount of *Limoges*, youngſt Son of the Houſe of *Pontievre*.

During theſe Diſorders, nothing could be more facile then for the King to have taken away the Dutcheſs by force: However he was adviſed to try *Maximilian's* way, rather then force, and to Marry the Princeſs, and ſo gain her by compoſition: Of an Enemy therefore he became her Lover, and fought to win her by Courtſhip and Allurements: but ſhe was haughty in her Miſfortune, ſhe could not reſolve to break her Faith, nor beſtow her Heart upon a Prince that

had treated her so ill, and who had too much Power not to violate, in a short time, the Laws and Liberties of *Bretagne*.

The Duke of *Orleans* had acquired a great deal of Credit with her, the King desiring to make use of him to conquer her high Spirit, and besides being perswaded thereto by some of the Gentlemen of his Chamber, goes one Day and takes him out of the Tower at *Bourges* without consulting the Dame de *Beaujeu*, who had kept him Prisoner two Years and some Months. This Duke by the Mouth of the Count de *Dunois*, and with the help of the Prince of *Orange*, and the Mareschal de *Rieux*, who was reconciled to the Dutcheffs, omitted no Courtship, nor Reasons of State to perswade her in favour of the King. She resisted for a while, but in fine the great negligence of *Maximilian*, and the pressing necessities added such force to their Arguments and Reasons, that she yielded, and with a Sigh gave her self up a Sacrifice for the Safety of her Country.

1491. Wherefore after the deliberation of the Estates of *Bretagne*, the Contract of Marriage was perfected at *Langeais* in *Touraine* the sixteenth of *December*, and the Nuptials consummated the same Day. By the Contract either of the Parties, in case of Death, did reciprocally yeild up all the Rights each of them had to the Dutchy; and the King made a Separate Treaty with the Estates of that Country for the Preservation of their Laws and their Priviledges.

Some time before this Marriage was spoken of, the great Authority of the Dame de *Beaujeu* diminished a little, and gave way to the favour of some of the young King's Domestick Officers; which she did the more cheerfully undergoe, because her Husband was become Duke of *Bourbon* by the decease of *John* his eldest Brother which hapned in 1488.

1490. The young King now become Master of his own Will and Desires, did endeavour to form himself to Goodness by his own inclination, addicting his Mind to the Study and Reading useful Books, and delighting in the Conversation of knowing Men, as much as his former neglected Education and narrow Breeding could give him Light to do: but the flattering Courtiers to whose Humors a wife & serious Prince proves but a troublesome Master, diverted him from all these laudable Exercises and Employments before he had persevered in them one Year, and made him plunge anew in the delights of Fopperies and Women.

1492. The Marriage being made with the Dutcheffs of *Bretagne*, they were to consider of sending back *Marguerite* of *Austria*. *Maximilian* cruelly offended at this double Affront, cried out Treachery, and accused *Charles* of having forsaken his own Wife, to ravish the Wife of his Father in Law. *Henry* King of *England* jealous of the growth of the *French* Manarchy, and perceiving too late the Fault he had committed in suffering *Bretagne* to be lost, leagued himself with him, and both agreed to joyn their Forces that they might fall upon *Picardy*.

1492. The *English* failed not to land at *Calais* at the Time prefixt, and laid siege to *Boulogne*: but finding his endeavors signified little, that *Maximilian* came not to joyn his Forces as was promised, and withal heard the Rumors of a dangerous Faction in *England*, he found it safest to retire again, and took an hundred and fifty thousand Crowns for the Charges of his Army, and for some Monies he had lent to *Francis* II. Duke of *Bretagne*, Father of the new Queen.

Maximilian in the mean time not having sufficient Forces, made use of Craft, he Surprized the Cities of *Arras* and *Saint Omers* by intelligence, and by Night entred into *Amiens*, from whence he was vigorously repulst. His Anger being a little evaporated, he consented they should get a Truce of the King for a Twelve-month in the Name of his Son *Philip*; but he would neither be comprised nor named in it.

1492. The Kingdom of *Granada*, after a War of eight Years successively, was entirely conquer'd by the taking of her Capital City. Boabdila the last of their Kings, having sustained a Siege of eight Months, surrendered it to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* the second Day of January of this Year 1492. Thus ended the Dominion of the Moors in Spain, where it had lasted neer eight hundred Years: but not their Nation, nor their Mahometan impiety, which the Severities of their Inquisition, and their repeated Proscriptions could not wholly extirpate but with much difficulty.

Now as if every thing had contributed to Fill and Crown the House of Spain with Honor and Riches, that they might transfer it to the House of *Austria*, it hapned almost at the same time, when they finisht this War, that *Christopher Columbus* discover'd

cover'd the new World or that Hemisphere opposite to ours. That great Sea-Captain a Genoese by Nation, having found by a Relation in Manuscript of a certain Marriner, and by Arguments drawn from the disposition of the World, and roundness of the Globe, composed of the Sea and Land, that there were habitable Countreies in those Parts opposite to these which we inhabit; after he had in vain apply'd himself to divers Princes, obtained with much ado, three Vessels of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* to go and seek out that which he did imagine might be found.

He loosed from *Cadix* in the Month of August of the Year 1492. And sailed so far that he discovered the Islands of *Florida*, from whence he returned into Spain in the following March, bringing back with him convincing Marks and Tokens of his discovery, and the infinite Riches of those Countreies. The Spaniards were pleased to name them the West-Indies. An hundred Years before this, two Venetian Captains named *Zeni*, had found out the Northern Estoriland.

Two Months after his return into Spain, Pope *Alexander* VI. Who was by birth an Aragonian, gave to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, and to all their Successors Kings of *Castille*, all the Lands discover'd and to be discover'd beyond a Line that was to be drawn from the Arctick to be Antarctic Pole, distant from the *AZORES* about a hundred Leagues towards the West and by South, upon condition he should send some honest and learned Men thither to instruct those People in the Christian Religion. Saint Bennet's Order had the Honor of the first Mission; One named *Dom N. Bueil* a Catalan was sent thither with twelve Priests, and sowed the first Seeds of Faith there.

That nothing might be wanting to the Happiness of Spain, the young King *Charles* VIII. did of his own good Will, surrender the Counties of *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne* to *Ferdinand*, without requiring the three hundred thousand Crowns, for which Sum they were engaged: but only a Promise that he should be a friend to France. The World was amazed and scandalized at this suddain and unexpected Generosity. Common Fame laid the blame of it upon a Cordelier Frier by Name *Oliver Maillard* a famous Preacher in those days, and Confessor to the young King. It was reported that being suborned by *Ferdinand*, who sent him Barrels of Silver in stead of Wine, and having associated himself with *John Mauleon* another Monk of the same Order, to help carry on this Intrigue, this last being Confessor to the Dutcheffs of *Bourbon**, they publicly affirmed that King *Lewis* XI. being on his Death-Bed, had given Order for the restitution of these Counties, and that his Soul would have no rest till it were performed; That with this Theme and by these Suggestions the two honest Fathers (some add a third Man Saint *Francis de Paulo*) cast so much terrour into the Soul of that Lady, and of *Lewis d'Amboise* Bishop of *Alby*, who had been Tutor to the King, that they perswaded and engaged him to make this fine Restitution.

The German Princes and the Swisse becoming Mediators concerning the differences between France and the House of *Austria*, a Conference was agreed upon to be held at *Senlis*, where the Deputies from the Emperor *Frederic*, from *Maximilian* his Son, and the Arch Duke *Philip* his Grandson, concluded with the King's Deputies to put an end to all Disputes; That the King should send *Marguerite* back to the Arch Duke her Brother, that together with her, he should render up the Counties of *Artois* and *Burgundy*: but that he should retain the Castles belonging to the four Cities in *Artois* till four Years were expired, and that then *Philip* being in majority, should come and swear and ratify the Peace.

Ever since the Year 1492. there had been some discourse set on foot of the Rights and Title the King had to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and Arguments used to enflame that young Prince with the Love and Desire of so fair a Conquest. The Earl of *Salerno* and those Gentlemen that were banished from *Naples* having taken Sanctuary in France, made the first propositions. Afterwards *Ludovic Sforza* was the principal Agent, and brought the King to a determinate resolution for this Enterprize, which cost Italy it's liberty, and a vast deal of Money, Blood and Trouble to France.

The whole thrud of this design, which he spun with incredible Artifice, tendd to no more but to make him possessor of the Dutchy of *Milan*. To bring this to pass he had Married his Sister to *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, and had secretly taken the investiture of that Dutchy, as vacant by default of Hommage and other Duties not tendred: but this he must wrest from *John Galeas* Son of his

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* Heretofore
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1494.

his eldest Brother who held it by a just Title. This was a young Man of little Courage whom he already kept as his Captive, having chased away his Mother *Bonne de Savoy* Sister to the Kingsmother, who had forfeited her Reputation by her Gallantries in her Widdow-hood: but he had married a Wife as Courageous as Beautiful, who being Daughter of *Alphonso* Duke of *Calabria*, Son of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, was able with the assistance of her Brother to retard the Execution of his malicious designs.

This was the motive which obliged *Ludovic* to stir up the King to the Conquest of *Naples*, to ruin, or at least to Embarrass that House which was alone able to prevent him. He had the City of *Genoa* under his subjection, (which nevertheless held of the Crown of *France*, the Kings Favourites having obtained the investiture for him for eight Thousand Crowns,) in his Alliance *Hercules d'Est* Duke of *Ferrara* his Father in Law, *Bentivoglio* Lord of *Bologna* and some other Lords.

In those Days there were five great Governments or Powers in Italy, two Republicks, *Venice* and *Florence*; this holding more of a Democracy or Popular State, the other an Aristocracy or Government by Nobles, the Church or Pope, the King of *Naples*, and the Duke of *Milan*; *Venice* was Governed by their Senate, none of her Citizens daring to raise themselves above the rest. At *Florence* the *Medici* had usurped all the Authority, after they had extirpated the *Passi*; *Peter* the Head of the Family behaved himself with insufferable haughtiness.

Lewis Sforza, as we have told ye, Governed the *Milanais*, a Man that was perfidious, sanguinary, crafty, and very aptly Surnamed the *Moor*; not only because his Skin was tawny, but likewise because he exceeded the *Africans* in Treacheries and Disloyalty. In the Holy See was then sitting, or rather intruded, *Alexander VI.* who disposed of all things at his pleasure, and to say truth, he had paid for the tripple Crown.

It will suffice, to give you his just Character, to say in a word, that never any *Mahometan* Prince was more Impious, more Vicious or more Faithless than he; and if any one did ever surpass him in his abominations, it was *Cesar Borgia* his Bastard Son.

At *Naples* Reigned * *Ferdinand* Bastard of *Alphonso* King of *Arragon*. He had two Sons, *Alphonso* and *Frederic*; And *Alphonso* had a Son named *Ferdinand* as was his Grandfather, Aged twenty or two and twenty years. This last seemed to be of a good disposition, and gained the Love of the Nobility and People: but his Father and Grandfather were held in execration amongst all their Subjects for their Taxes, Monopolies, and bloody Cruelties; the son exceeding the Father as much in wickedness, as the Father exceeded all other Princes. Besides, all these Potentates had no Religion, but by their Actions and in their Discourse professed a most Villainous and Brutish Atheism; but withal pretended to great Wisdom and the finest Politicks.

There were two men that wholly Governed the Kings mind, *Stephen de Vers* his Chamberlain and Seneschal of *Beaucare*, and *William Bricomet* his Treasurer General, and Bishop of *St. Malo*. By their means this War was undertaken: but *Bricomet* having afterwards more thorowly considered and weighed it, became of a quite contrary opinion.

Two years was it absolutely resolved upon, then laid aside, then again under consideration and debate. There was not Wisdom enough in the Kings Council, no money in his Coffers, no assurance of his Allies; for in *Italy* he had none for him but the Traitor and perfidious *Ludovic*, in whom no prudent man would put any confidence; but under-hand there were against him the wise *Venetians*, and openly or barefac'd Pope *Alexander*, and *Peter de Medicis*.

Upon the rumour of this War, *Ferdinand* King of *Naples* sent to the King to offer him Hommage, and pay him an Annual Tribute of fifty Thousand Crowns. These proffers having been rejected, such grief and fear Seized upon him, that his last day was the five and twentieth of *January* in the year 1494. being aged Seventy two. His Son *Alphonso* more wicked then himself, and more unfortunate, took the Scepter.

After many delays, the King pressed by the continual Sollicitations of *Ludovic*, to which were likewise joyned those of the Cardinal of *Saint Peters*, &c. an irreconcilable Enemy to Pope *Alexander*, left *Paris* in the Month of *July*, having

ving given the Regency to *Peter* Duke of *Bourbon*, during the time he should be out of *France*. He remained a while at *Lyons* in great uncertainty what he should do, then again at *Vienne*: from thence he passed to the City of *Ast* where he sojourned near a Month, whilst they drew his Cannon over the Mountains with much difficulty. In that place he was like to die of the Small-Pox.

For two Years past had the Princes of *Italy*, those great Men in War and Politicks, so much vaunted by their Historians, taken notice how this Design was forming, which could not but prove fatal hereafter to the liberty of their Country, and for the present invade their Peace and Power; and yet they had not Skill or Prudence enough to divert a Prince, who was but young and guided by a Council without Brains, nor Courage enough to meet and fight his Forces which were but inconsiderable: So that there is reason to believe that God had sealed their Eyes, tied their Hands behind them, and raised up this young King to chastize them. Indeed *Hierosime Savonarola* a *Dominican* had a long time before filled all *Italy* with predictions of his coming, and affirmed that he had a Commission from Heaven to Dethrone the Tyrants.

For this great Enterprize he had belonging to himself but sixteen hundred Gents-Darmes, each with his two Archers on Horse-back, his two hundred Gentlemen, three or four hundred Horse lightly arm'd, twelve thousand Foot, half *Swisse* and half *French*: but withal a great number of young Lords and Nobility who went Volunteers, all very fit and useful for a Day of Battle, but not any wise proper in Affairs that required length of time, as not able to undergo Hardship, nor be under Command.

Alphonso was resolved to carry the War into *Ludovic's* Country, to this effect he had sent an Army into *Romagnia*, commanded by young *Frederic* his Son, and another by his Brother *Frederic* towards the Coasts of *Genoa*. *Frederic* goes on Shoar at *Rapalo*, thinking thereby to make the *Genoese* rise by the intelligence of those that were Banished: but the Duke of *Orleans* who commanded the *French* Fleet, beat the others in the Port which they had fortified, and *Danbigny* having with some Forces outmarched *Ferdinand* and slept in before him, prevented his getting into *Romagnia*.

These successful beginnings engaged *Charles* the more. He parted from *Ast* the sixth day of *October*.

At *Turin* he borrowed the Dutcheffs of *Savoyes* Rings, and at *Casal* the *Marchioness* of *Montferrat*, and pawned them for twenty four thousand Ducats. *Ludovic* with his Wife came to receive him at *Vigene*, and accompanied him as far as *Piacenza*.

He arrived at *Pavia* the thirteenth of *October*. There he found Duke *Galeazzo* very ill of some Morfel his good Uncle *Ludovic* had caused to be given him. Being at *Piacenza* he heard of his Death, and then *Ludovic* who had accompanied him thither, took his leave of him to go and reap the Fruit of his Crime, and make sure of the Dutchy, without any regard to *Galeazzo's* Son as yet but five years old.

The *French* trembled with rage that this wicked Wretch should bring the King to be witness of a Parricide upon the Person of his * Cousin-German. They thought it much more just and safe to revenge this Death upon that Tyrant, and to conquer the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the City of *Genoa*, then to run to the farther end of *Italy*, crossing above an hundred Leagues thorow the Enemies Country, in the midst of Winter, without Money and without Provisions, to seek out a Kingdom which would be impossible to keep, unless they could first be Masters of *Genoa* and the *Milanais*. Such was the sentiment of *Desquerdes* a great Soldier; and had he lived, had so much Credit with the King as would no doubt have perswaded him to take that Course, but he died at *Lyons*. *Ludovic's* Intrigues who had gained *Stephen de Vers*, overthrew all that good Counsel; and the King went forward, taking his march by *Tuscany*.

The taking a small Castle by storm on the Confines of the State of *Florence*, and afterwards the Fort of *Serezanella*, which capitulated, and then the defeat of some Succors which *Paul Ursinus* was bringing, did so astonish *Peter de Medecis*, that he consigned four Places into the King's Hands, which were even the very Keys of that Country, to hold them for some certain Time, and consented that he should borrow Two hundred thousand gold Crowns of that City

Ludovic

* otherwise
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Ferrand.

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Maximilian R.
25. years and
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* For the King
and this
young Duke
were Sons of
two Sisters
Daughters of
Savoy.

Ludovic had fancied to himself that the King would put those places into his hands, pretending that two of them belonged to the City of *Genoa*; And for this purpose lent him twenty Thousand Ducats: The Council having fairly denied him, he retired, but left some of his Emissaries about the King to watch their opportunities, and dispose things for his advantage. His fingers itched to get *Pisa*; One day while the King was in that City, his men had persuaded the *Pisans* to fall on their Knees as he went along to Mass, and cry out for Liberty. The young King was moved with Pity, and the Master of Requests who went along before, assured him that what they craved was just; Thus without considering that City was none of his, he granted them their desires.

The *Florentines* at all times French by inclination, taking their opportunity of the Kings approach, banished *Peter de Medecis* from their City by a Sentence of the Senate, and recovered their Liberty. He retired to *Bologna*, and from thence to *Venice*, with so little Credit that one of his own Factors refused to let him have a Piece of Cloth he sent for.

The 17th of November the King entered into *Florence*, his Army in Battalia, and himself Armed at all points, his Lance upon his Thigh. The *Florentines* partly by force, partly out of good will, treated upon and agreed a Confederation with him, which was proclaimed in all the Cities of *Italy*, with a Manifesto, declaring that the King was come thither only to chase away the Tyrants, and from thence to carry his Arms against the *Turks*, the capital Enemies to *Christendom*.

Picus Mirandolus, that marvellous Prodigy of all sorts of Sciences, Died in *Florence* the same Day the King made his entrance.

The very same hour he went forth, the City of *Pisa* threw off the yolk of the *Florentines*, the People pull'd down their Arms, and erected the Kings Statue in the room of them.

* The Italians drew theirs only with Oxen.

This prodigious success of the *French*, their great train of Artillery which was drawn by Horses*, and so well managed, that in a few hours they could shatter and beat down the strongest Walls, as likewise their Combats which was no Childrens play like the *Italian* fighting, bred a Terror over all. Young *Ferdinand* soon retreated from before *Aubigny* even to *Rome*, and his Uncle *Frederic* getting out of the Port at *Legorne*, retired to *Naples*. All cried out *Vive France*, the places about *Rome* strove which should first surrender, and the *Orsini* made their Peace with the King.

Then his Holyness, to his great regret, intreated *Frederic* to withdraw his Forces, and himself was constrained to let the King make his entrance into *Rome*, he being retired to the Castle *St. Angelo*.

1494.

The King entered there Armed as into an Enemies Town (upon the 28th of December) and disposed of his Soldiers and Artillery in all the publick places; So that *Alexander* fearing to be taken by force and deposed, as he well deserved, capitulated with him, and condescended to what ever he desired. Amongst other things he let him have five or six of his best places for a certain time, the investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Cesar Borgia* his Bastard Son, who was called the Cardinal of *Valentia*, for Hostage, and *Zemes* or *Zizim*, the Brother of *Bajazeth*, to make use of him against the *Turks*.

1495.

The Treaty being finished, the Pope came down from his Castle. He and the King saw each other often, with more appearance of Friendship than any real confidence; And the King shewed great respect to his Dignity, even to the kissing of his Feet, giving him water to wash at Mass, and taking his Seat in the Chappel below the Dean and Cardinals. Which did not so well please such as expected he would have made use of his power in reforming the *Roman* Church, and purging the Holy See of a Tyrant who defiled with all the abominations imaginable the House of God.

The eight and Twentieth of January the King went from *Rome*, continuing his march towards the Kingdom of *Naples*. Being at *Velitri* the Cardinal Bastard Son of the Pope who was an Hostage, flunk away from him and returned back to *Rome*.

At the same place *Antony de Fonseca* Ambassador from *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, seeking some pretence for a Rupture, made sharp complaints for that the *French* invaded the Empire of all *Italy*, and urged that when his Master treating with

with King *Charles* had promised not to oppose him in his Progress, meant it only in relation to the Kingdom of *Naples*; whereas the King had taken divers places from the *Florentines* and from the Holy See. The *French* replied smartly. And the dispute growing hot, the Ambassador tore the Treaty in pieces in the Kings presence, which so incensed them, that they could scarce forbear doing the like to his person.

The same Day he had news of *Alphonso's* flight. That King finding himself mortally hated by his Subjects, whom both he and old *Ferdinand* had treated most cruelly, resigned his Crown which he had not worn a year, to young *Ferdinand* his Son, and retired to *Messina* in *Sicilia*, where he shut himself up in a Monastery to do penance all the rest of his Days. They were not many, for before the end of that year he ended his life, Dying of the Gravel, which made him Languish with most grievous Torment.

1495.

Alphonso's fears and astonishment was so strange that although the *French* were yet above sixty Leagues distant, he fancied they were in the very Streets of *Naples*, and that the Trees and Stones cried out *France*. His wife begging him to stay but only three days, that she might say she had been one whole year in her new Kingdom, he would not allow her that little satisfaction, but said he would throw himself out of the Windows if they offer'd to detain him any longer. He made so much hast to fly thence that he took none of all the vast Riches with him, which he had heaped up in his strong Castles.

The misfortunes of this House, or rather the Judgments of the Almighty God followed the Son as they had done the Father and Grandfather. *Ferdinand* came and had posted himself at the passage de *Cancello* near the Abbey of *Saint Germans*, to defend the entrance into the Kingdom. As soon as ever the *Mareschal de Riex* drew near to attack him, he quitted it, and all his Forces Disbanded. *John James Trivulcio* a *Milanese* by Birth, but who having been Banished by *Ludovic* was Lifted in his Service, came over to the Kings Party, and gave him up *Capona*: which gave example to all the rest to do the like; the City of *Naples* shut her Gates against him; in a word, he retired to the Island of *Ischia*, leaving the defence of the Castles of *Naples* to his most confiding Officers.

The two and twentieth of February the King made his entrance into that City, the People triumphing at his Victory, and receiving him as if he had been their founder and deliverer. The Castles did not hold out long. Thus in four Months this young King marched thorough all *Italy*, was received every where as their Sovereign Lord, without using any Force, only sending his Harbingers to mark out his Lodgings, and Conquer'd the whole Kingdom of *Naples* in fifteen days, excepting only *Brindes*.

Greece was almost ready to follow the same Dance with *Italy*. *Bajazeth* Siezed with the extreamest Terror, had drawn away all his Garrisons to strengthen his City of *Constantinople*, the *Grecians* were ready to cut the Throats of all the *Turks*, and the *Turks* cast their eyes towards *Zemes* or *Zizim*, and wisht he were their Sovereign. The jealous *Venetians* and the Pope made this design miscarry amidst all those fair hopes, they poisoned that Prince before he was resigned into the hands of the *French*; And withal gave the *Turks* notice of all the correspondence the King held in those Countries. Which cost the Lives or Ruin of above fifty Thousand *Christians*, whom the King was to have furnished with Arms to have siezed divers maritime Towns, at the time he was to pass into *Greece*.

1495.

This Bright Sun-shine of Fortune did so dazle the young King and all his Council, who had but little Sense or Judgment, that they scarce minded or took care of any thing. Several Cities that had set up the Standard of *France*, returned to the *Arrogians*, for want of sending some body to receive and take possession for the King; the Favourites on whom he bestowed the Governments, squandered away the Ammunitions, his Soldiers lived at discretion, and his Lords became insolent. The People were not eased, no justice was done to those Gentlemen of the *Angevin* Faction, who had been thrown out of all their Estates; So that the Love they had at first for the *French* was soon converted into hatred, and made them forget the sorrows under the foregoing Tyrannies.

Whilst the King and his Court full of young Fopps wasted their time in dancing, Feasting, Gaming and pleasant Walks, the *Venetians* laboured to form a League against him, comprizing the Pope, the Emperor, the Arch-Duke his Son, *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, and *Ludovic Sforza*; so many Heads could not readily be brought to agree together, it required near a whole years time to adjust them;

1495.

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And the League they thought to contrive to obstruct his going into *Italy*, could now only serve them to turn him out again. At first *Ludovic* would by no means side with them, on the contrary he endeavoured his utmost to hinder them: but having attained his own ends he was the most zealous to promote and hasten it. It was concluded about the end of Lent, and published upon *Palm-Sunday* in presence of the *Turkish* Ambassador. The *Venetians* and the Pope his good Friends, would needs gratify him with that joyful news before he took his leave.

The information the King had thereof put him upon thoughts of his return: but yet ere he went he would needs make his Triumphant entrance into *Naples* the Thirteenth Day of *May*. He was on Horse-back in an Imperial Habit, a Crown upon his Head, the Globe in his right Hand, and a Scepter in his Left, under a Canopy born by the greatest Lords of that Country, and the People shouting aloud and crying *Long live the August Emperor!* With this Ceremony he was conducted to the great Church, where he received anew their Oaths of Fidelity.

He left in all four Thousand men to defend that Kingdom, and the Country furnished him with twice as many. *Gilbert de Bourbon* Duke of *Montpensier* had the Title and power of Vice-Roy, a good man, but of little judgment, and one that loved his ease so much, he seldom rose from his Bed till Noon; *Daubigny* the Office of Constable and the Government of *Calabria*, *George de Sully* that of the Dutchy of *Tarente*, *Gratian Guerre* a *Gascon*, that of *Abruzzo*, *Stephen de Vers* the Dutchy of *Nola*.

He parted from *Naples* the Twentieth of *May*. The Pope had offended him too much to stay his coming, he went from *Rome* and retired to *Orvieto*. But the King did not fail to restore all those places he held belonging to the Church. As soon as he was gone some distance, the *Colonnas* lately so zealous for his Interests, turned their backs upon him; the *Florentines* alone out of a desire to regain their own, offer'd to maintain his quarrel, and to furnish him with a good force to convoy him: but he refused both the one and the other, and again confirmed the Liberty of the *Pisans*.

He lost twelve or fifteen days time at *Pisa* and at *Sienna*, during which the Confederates Army had leisure enough to Assemble. Perhaps he waited for news from the Duke of *Orleans*, who remained yet in his City of *Ast*, with orders to bring him a re-inforcement of eight or nine Thousand men. But *Lewis* who had some pretensions to the Dutchy of *Milan*, having found a fair opportunity to surprize the City of *Novarre* had amuzed himself there, leaving the King exposed to great danger; And indeed it Succeeded but ill with him, for *Ludovic* besieged him in it before he could have time to furnish it with Victuals.

Though the Kings Army were very weak, yet being on it's March he sent a re-inforcement of some Companies which came to him from *France*, commanded by *Philip de Savoy* Earl of *Bresse*, and another besides who were in eight Gallies, to execute an enterprize upon the *Genoese*. The *Fregoses*, Enemies to *Ludovic* and the *Adornes*, made him believe it very easie; but it fell out very ill, the *Genoese* taking his Gallies in the Port of *Rapalo*, and the Earl of *Bresse* who was advanced into the very Suburbs, retreating with a great deal of shame.

The Confederates had in their Army neer forty thousand fighting Men; *Francois* Marquis of *Mantoua* commanded them in Chief: the King had not above nine thousand at most: yet they durst not attack him in the Mountains, but waited for him at his descent, neer the Village of *Fornoua* in a Valley of about a Mile and a half wide, where he was necessarily to pass.

Fornoua is a Village about nine Miles on the other side of *Piacenza*; (The King being come to Lodge there, (the little River of *Tar* was between the two Armies) sent to the Confederates to demand Passage, and receiving no Answer, he resolved to make Way with the Sword. They came to Blows on the Sixth of *July*, the Confederates in less then a quarter of an Hour, were beaten back to their very Camp with the loss of three thousand of their Men; The Field was the Kings, and this important Victory, which did not cost him above fourscore Men, and a small part of his Baggage, secured him the Way to *Ast*. He arrived there the Fifteenth of the Month, very much harassed and tyred, not so much by the Enemy, who followed him at a great distance, as the Difficulties of the Ways, and the Scarcity of Provisions.

Whilst he refreshed himself, and walked from *Ast* to *Quiers* and to *Turin*, the *Florence* Ambassadors solicited him for the Restitution of their Towns. He commanded

commanded those Captains that held them to surrender them: but he was so easy and so little absolute, that very far from obeying him, they presumed to sell them, some to the *Pisans*, and the rest to the *Venetians*.

The Confederates after the Battle of *Fornoua*, had sent part of their Forces to the Siege of *Novarre*. The Duke of *Orleans* had not turned out the useless Mouths soon enough, and had suffer'd himself to be coop'd up in hopes the King would soon come and deliver him. But as he had not oblig'd him over-much, and besides had more Passion for a new Amour he had begun at *Quiers*, then for the War, he made no great haste, but left him to suffer the extremest Famine.

At length however he resolved to disengage him, and came to *Vercel* with that Design. His Army encreasing every day, the Enemies were afraid and hearkned to a Treaty. Whilst that was concluding they permitted the Duke of *Orleans*, and three Days afterwards his whole Garrison more then half Hunger-Starved, to crawl out of the City, which was left to the Charge of the Inhabitants, upon condition, that if they did not agree upon the Treaty, the Duke should return and put himself into the Castle, which some Men of his had still in their keeping.

Some few Days after, the Treaty being almost perfected, there arrived a Party of sixteen thousand *Swisse* who came to the *French* Army. The Duke of *Orleans* insisted highly to give Battle to the Enemy, the gaining of it would at least have been so of all the *Milnois*. He had been satisfied in his Desires, had there not been more apprehension of the boldness of the *Swisse*, then the Enemies Army; for being double their own Number, they might have seized the King's Person if they would. This consideration made them think it more Prudence to conclude with *Sforza*; They restored *Novarre* to him, and the Port of *la Spezia*; and he promised to furnish a certain number of Ships and Men for the Conquest of *Naples*, to give Passage through his Countries, to pay the King fourscore thousand Crowns, and fifty thousand to the Duke of *Orleans*, to make Restitution of the eight Gallies taken by the *Genoese* at *Rapalo*, and to admit the *French* to Equip their Fleets in that Port.

The King's impatience was so great, he had not leisure to stay till the Execution of this Treaty; as soon as it was Signed, he went away with all speed to *Lyons* to Dance, Masquerade, and make Love. *Sforza* observing him so wholly taken up with his Pleasures, not in a likely-hood of returning thither suddenly, did not perform one Article of the Treaty.

Ferdinand King of *Naples*, did for his part, take the Advantages he ought of his Absence, and his Carelessness. All the Princes that were in the *Italian* League contributed to restore him to his Kingdom: The Pope and Cardinal *Sforza*, practised to gain the Cities for him by their Intrigues, especially that of *Naples*. The King of *Arragon* his Relation sent him two Armies; One for the Land-service, commanded by *Ferdinand Gonzales*, the Vulgar called him *Gonsulvo*, who assumed the Name of the Great Captain; the other for Sea-service, by *Villamurmo*. The *Venetians* did likewise set two Armies on Foot. *Grimani*, was Chief of that at Sea, and *Francis de Gonzague* of the other; but this arrived not till the end of the Year.

These crafty Politicians imagined that this conjunction would in time give them the whole Empire of *Italy*, for *Ferdinand* engaged *Brindes* and *Otranto* to them, and soon after *Grimani* seized upon *Monopoli*, *Mola*, *Siponte* and *Trani*. The *French* could hardly save *Tarenta*; the City of *Cajeta* revolted, and penn'd them up in the Castle.

On the other side *Frederic* and *Gonsulvo* made themselves Masters of *Regio*, of Saint *Agatha* and *Seminaro*. *Aubigny* shut them up in *Seminaro*, they sallied forth to remove him and lost the Battle. This might have proved the Total ruine of *Frederic*, had *Aubigny* pursued his Point home: but he fell Sick by the intemperance of the Climat, or his own Intemperance, and the *French* Affairs languished with him.

Ferdinand was more Fortunate at Sea. So soon as he appear'd upon the Coast with some Ships of his own, and some belonging to the Spaniard, *Salerna* and *Malfus** set up his Standard: the Citizens of *Naples* who had not dared to stir for three Days together, upon the fourth besought him to send some Men on Shoar. *Montpensier* was so imprudent as to March out of the Town to attack them; No sooner was he out, but they shut the Gates at his Heels, and scarcely could he, by going a long way about, get entrance into the Castle del Ovo* a gain.

gain. From thence he descended again into the City with his Sword and Flambeau in Hand, and strugled mightily to recover it: but the Revolters opposed him with Retrenchments and Barricado's, which they wrought upon with so much diligence both Night and Day, that they coop'd him in the Castle. This hapned at the same time as the Battle of Fornova.

After three Months Siege and continual Skirmishes, Montpensier wanted Provisions, and was informed at the same time, that the relief which was coming from France by Sea, meeting with great Storms, was driven to Legorne and there dispersed. In this extremity he capitulated with the Enemy to deliver up the Castles in a Months time if he were not relieved.

In the mean time he bethinks himself, but very late, to send to Aubigny, to dravv all his Forces together and come to disengage him; Aubigny could not go in Person being yet sick, he sent Percy who cut four thousand of the Count de Adaltonas Men in pieces near Eboli. Ferdinand was so much dismay'd, that he had thoughts of Flying: but the Neapolitans, and the Colonnas, whom fear of Punishment had made desperate, labour'd so much, as to make him change his Fear into a Re-assurance. Percy coming thither, found their Intrenchments so well guarded, that he could not approach the Castle whereupon he returned to Nola.

Mean while Stephen de Vers, whom the King had made Duke of Nola, being gone into France, did earnestly sollicite they would provide for the maintaining of that Kingdom: the Ambassadors from the Florentines, the Cardinal of Saint Peters, &c. and Signor Trivultio joyned their Intreaties; and the French, even those that had advised against the first Attempts for this Conquest, declared all with one Voice, that it now concerned the Honor of the Nation to preserve it, and not suffer the Great Monarch of France to be braved by those Bastards of the House of Arragon. Every one desired this, excepting those that managed the Affairs, particularly the Cardinal Briconnet, who either by intelligence with the Pope, or out of Sloath and Cowardize, hindred the rest from acting. The King might be angry with them if he pleased, nothing went forward.

1496. The importunity of those Lords who were engaged in the Kingdom of Naples, the reproaches of the French, and those of his own Conscience, obliged the King to resolve upon a new Effort, for the Affairs of Italy. He parted from Tours, where he left the Queen his Wife, came to Saint Denis to take his Farewell of the Holy Martyrs, advanced to Lyons, and gave out his Orders every where; then when it was believed he would have passed the Mountains, he returned Post to Tours, whither the Charms of one of the Queens Maids attracted him as it were per-force. These grand Preparations amounted to six Vessels laden with Provisions and Men for Cajeta.

1496. Ludovic had perswaded the Emperor Maximilian to enter into Italy, to embrace the Defence of Pisa, which he thought by this means to get into his own Hands. Upon this Expedition it was that the Pisans pull'd down the King's Statute to set up the Emperors in its stead. As for the rest of this Enterprize, no more then in all his others, he showed neither Valor nor Perseverance, and to speak the Truth, he minded no more, but only to make his Musters compleat, that he might get the Pay, and then drew off again like a Hireling.

The French Affairs declined from Bad to Worse, Aubigny was Sick still, Percy marr'd his greatest Success by his unsufferable Pride, the Germans Mutined for want of Pay, and the Garrisons were quite unfurnished. And to compleat these Misfortunes, Montpensier suffers himself to be shut up in Atella by three Armies, of Venetians, Spaniards, and Arrogonians, and for want of Provisions capitulated to Surrender the whole Kingdom in one Month. The other Chiefs, especially Aubigny and Guerre, refused to obey him in the execution of this Infamous Treaty. As a Punishment for this Stubborness, Ferdinand banished both him and all his Soldiers into the Maritime Countries, where the Pestilential Air destroy'd most of them. Of five thousand Men he had with him, hardly did five hundred escape, and Montpensier himself died at Puzzoli of Sickness or of Poison.

* Or Consalvo. From Asella, Consalvo * passed to Calabria, reduced Manfredonia and Cosenza, and Besieged Daubigny in Gropoli. That generous Captain defended himself so bravely that he made an honourable composition; they gave him leave to carry back his

his Forces into France, with Colours Flying: but the surrender of Cajeta was comprehended in it.

Nothing was left the French of this glorious and suddain Conquest but a villanous Disease, which cannot handsomely be named. The Spaniards having gotten it in the Islands of Florida, where it is almost Epidemical, had brought into and infected the Kingdom of Naples with it; the Women whom they had spoiled with this Venome, communicated it to the French.

Before Cajeta was Surrendred, King Ferdinand Died, and Frederic his Uncle ascended that mournful Throne with the good wilhes and acclamations of all his Subjects. 1495.

Ferdinand King of Spain (his own people called him so, and the French in railery John Gipon*,) made an Inroad towards Narbonna in favour of Ferdinand King of Naples. Charles d'Albon Saint Andre, Lieutenant for the King in Lan- * Or Jack Short-Coat. guedoc, did not only repress them, but in ten hours forced the City of Salles in sight of their Army. The Spaniards fearing they might draw the whole burthen of the War upon themselves, entred into a Conference which towards the end of the year produced a Truce for some Months.

Several designs were set on foot, and divers means considered and projected for the recovery of the Kingdom of Naples, sometimes to receive Hommage and Tribute of Frederic, at other times to agree with the Pope who was Lord of the Fief, then to begin with the Milanais, and give the conduct to the Duke of Orleans. To this purpose Levies were made amongst the Swiss, and the Cavalry advanced as far as Ast: but the Duke refused that employment. Several consultations were held afterwards, some resolutions taken, but no effects; though the several and various interests of the Italian Princes did call every day for the Kings return, and opened the Gates wide enough for his re-entrance. 1497.

But his Health hourly diminishing, as well because he was of a watly constitution, and had loved the Ladies too much, or perhaps some slow working poyson given him by the Italians, made him lose the relish of all these Conquests; nay even of those amongst the Beauties, so that he now thought of nothing but how to lead a quiet and Christian life. 1498.

He therefore turned himself wholly towards God, and applied himself to the reforming of his State. He heard the complaints and causes of his Subjects, deposed corrupt Judges, studied to restore Justice to its Ancient Rules and Methods, without Charges or Bribes, considered how to lessen the Taxes and bring them down to twelve hundred thousand Crowns, which should not be Levied but by consent of the Estates, and that upon extraordinary occasions, and intended to defray his House-keeping and ordinary expences, out of his own Revenue and Demesnes and the ancient Duties belonging to the Crown.

These good intentions came not into his Head till he was almost incapable to put them in Execution. He had resided for some time past in his Castle of Amboise, where he was building; one Day the 6th of April about two hours after Noon, being in a Gallery, from whence he was looking upon some that were playing at Tennis in a dry-Ditch, he was Siezed with an Apoplexy, which made him fall down backwards. The Courtiers and Officers beholding him in that condition, laid him down in the same place on a pittiful Bed-matt, where he expir'd about Eleven at night, and forsook him to ride in all post hast to the Duke of Orleans his Successor. Many believed he was poysoned with an Orenge. 1498.

He Reigned fourteen years and a half, and had lived seven and twenty and nine Months. Of three Sons he had by Anne of Bretagne his Wife, not any one of them attained the fourth year. He was but of an ill shape, of low Stature, Weak and Sickly. His Shoulders were round, his Face deformed, his Speech slow and broken, yet were his eyes quick and sparkling, his thoughts suddain and sharp on great occasions, but not lasting; he shewed much Goodness, Humanity and Courtesie to all, but had so little Spirit, and was so careless that he was but little obey'd. We do not find that in his whole Life he ever turned away a Domestick Servant, or ever offended any one of his Subjects with a harsh word.

The next Day after his Death, happened that of Jerosme Savanarolla the Dominican, a generous Victim for Liberty and the truth. He had foretold, either by his strength of reason and judgment, or by Divine revelation, all those grand revolutions in Italy; He

Church. He boldly Preached the Reformation of Princes, and of the Court of Rome; asserted that God had led the King by the Hand, and defended the Liberties of his Country against all those Factions that started up against it, an Infalible token of a good Man. For which the Pope having Excommunicated him, the Cordeliers exclaiming against him in their Pulpits, Sforza and the Venetians Solliciting his Death, the Magistrates of the contrary Faction, caused him to be burnt alive.

In the fifteenth Age.
Councils.

The Council of *Constance* had laboured successfully enough towards taking away the Schism caused by those who contended for the Papacy: but they left the Seeds of a division almost as dangerous between the Church and the Popes. The Church stood in need of Councils to prevent the like disorders for the time to come; and to have the Holy Canons observed; but they could not allow there was any other Sovereign Tribunal but their own, or other power that could controul their Excess. So that when they came to mention the reformation of manners, Pope *Martin* and the Court of *Rome*, who apprehended they would search that wound to the Quick, closed up the Council which ended the two and twentieth of *April* in the Year 1418. and referred that Business till another time.

They could not however hinder them from resolving that there should be Councils held from time to time, the first to begin within five Years from their breaking up, and afterwards one in every seventh Year; That the place should be assigned by the Pope, with the Consent of the Council, and upon his refusal by the Council themselves a Month before their rising; That all the Prelates without any other Summons, should be obliged to appear, and all Princes invited to assist either in Person or by their *Proxies*.

Pursuant to this Decree, there was one assembled at *Pavia*, about the Month of *November* in 1423. which having continued a Year, not being very numerous, nor hoping for more, because of an almost universal Plague and War, dissolved, having first assigned another for the next seventh Year to meet in the City of *Basile*.

That began on the Nineteenth of *July* in *Anno* 1431. and lasted eighteen Years, the three first almost in continual Broils with *Eugenius* IV. the four following Years in pretty fair correspondence, the last eleven in an open War, and in fine went and expired at *Lanzanna*, whither *Felix* whom they had elected Pope, transferr'd it, to renounce the Papacy.

Let me note, *en Passant* that this *Felix*, whilst he was *Amadee* VIII. Duke of *Savoy*, instituted the Military Order of Saint *Maurice* about the Year 1434.

We have observed how during these disorders the *Gallican* Church being assembled at *Bourges* *Anno* 1438. not only owned the Council of *Basile*, and would not give their consent to transfer it to *Bologna*, as the Pope had ordained: but made that constitution so equitable and Canonical, entitled the *Pragmatique Sanction*. The Council approved it, and gave it as much applause as it afterwards met with Contradictions and Attacks from the Popes; who could never rest in quiet till they had abolished it. Nevertheless maugre all their endeavours it kept in being till the Year 1516. when it was suppress'd by the *Concordat*.

In the eight and twentieth Session of the Council of *Basile*, there was made one of the most just and necessary Decrees in the World; but which shock'd the gainful Interests of too many People to be in force or observed any long time. It did forbid that any either at *Rome*, or elsewhere, should take any Money, &c. for Elections, or Confirmations, Presentations, Collations, Provisions, Institutions, Installations, and Investitures of all sorts of Benefices, Monasteries, and Ecclesiastical Offices, even of Cathedral Churches and Metropolitans; neither for Sacred Orders, Benedictions, or upon sending the Pall, nor upon account of Bulls, the Seal, Common or Petty Services, first Fruits, whether under pretence of Custome, Priviledge, or Statute to the contrary, or in fine by what Title, or under any Colour whatsoever: Ordaining that such as contravened, whether in giving, or else in taking any thing, should incur the Penalties of Simoniaques, and should have no right to that Benefice whereinto they should have intruded themselves by such corruption; And if even the Pope, who was the most obliged to observe the Oecumenical Decrees of the Councils and the Holy Canons, should infringe this Decree, he should be accused in Council.

In

In the same Council it was ordained, that the triennial Possessor of a Benefice, should not be disturbed in his enjoyment of it. Church.

As to the particular Councils of the *Gallican* Church, we can find but three, one of the Province of *Tours*, celebrated by the Archbishop *John Bernardi* in *Angers* *Anno* 1448. for restoring of the Discipline; One of that of *Reims* *Anno* 1455. by the Archbishop *John Juvenal, des Ursins* in the City of *Soissons* for the same end, and one at *Avignon* by the Legate *Peter de Foix* Archbishop of *Arles*, *Anno* 1457.

Some perhaps would in this Rank place the two Assemblies of *Bourges* called by *Charles* VII. the one where the Pragmatick was framed, the other with whom he consulted to which of the two Popes they were to adhere, either to *Nicholas* or *Felix*; and that which was held at *Lyons* *Anno* 1447. whither the Deputies of the Council of *Basile* resorted, and the Ambassadors from the *German* Princes, and likewise the Electors of *Treves* and *Colem* to regulate the Conditions, upon which *Felix* should renounce the Papacy.

Neither any of *Nickel's*, nor the *Hussite* Sectaries spread so far as to infect *France*, or at least did take no rooting there: but in the Year 1412. there sprung up a Sect in *Picardy* who were called *Men of Intelligence*, whereof a Frier *William de Hildernissen* a *German* of the *Carmelites* Order, and one *Giles le Chantre* a *Secular*, were the Evangelists. This *Giles* said he was the Savior of Mankind, and that by him the Faithful should see *Jesus Christ*, as by *Jesus Christ* they should behold God the Father: That the Devil and all the Damned should one Day be saved; That the Pleasures of Love, being simple acts of Nature, were no Crimes, but a fore-tast of *Paradice*; That Fastings, Penance, Confession and Ceremonies were but useless things; That the time of the Old Law, was that of God the Father, the time of the New Law, that of God the Son, and that there would shortly be a third, which should be the time of the Holy Ghost, and therein all Mankind should be set at Liberty. That their Actions contributed neither to Salvation nor Damnation, for that Our Lord *Jesus Christ* had abundantly satisfied for the whole World. These with many other Whimsies they openly taught. The *Carmelite* was forced to retract them at *Bruxels*, at *Cambray* and at *Saint Quentines*, where he had dogmatized, before *Peter Daily*, who about that time was created Cardinal.

The Court of *Rome* did likewise place in the number of Hereticks, another *Carmelite* named *Thomas Connet* a *Breton* by birth, and caused him to be burnt alive in the Year 1431. though many believe that the Evangelical Liberty he took to reprove the abominations of the Prelates, and the Confidence he had in carrying on his reformation to the very Spring-head of Corruption, was all his Crime. However his Sermons were so powerful, that they wrought a wonderful Change where ever he went, moving even the wanton Women so much, as to sell their very Cloaths and Jewels to bestow in Alms, and throw all their amorous Toys and Ammunition into the Fire, that they might be no longer tempted with those Vanities and dangerous Trifles.

A certain *French* Priest going to *Rome* at the time of Jubile in *Anno* 1450. ran the same hazard as the *Carmelite*, because he affirmed he had lived four years without eating. They believed it to be either an Impostor, or a Compact with the Devil, and he was banisht after they had first whipped him.

We find that in the Year 1453. one *William Edeline* Doctor in Divinity, and Prior of *Saint Germans en Laye*, was condemned by Sentence of the Bishop of *Euureux* to perpetual Imprisonment, for having abused a Woman of Quality; and to effect this, it was said he had made a Contract with the Devil, had worship'd him in the shape of a Ram, and had often been transported through the Air, to those Nocturnal Assemblies, which they called their *Sabat*.

We read likewise in the *Bourdelois* Chronicle, that *Anno* 1435. in the time of *Peter Berland* Archbishop of *Bordeaux* in that Country, was discover'd a grand Cabal of those Wretches, called Witches: that many of them were thrust into Prison, some of them were burned, and the rest poysoning themselves, left their Carcasses to be served as the others. This Archbishop was a Peasant by Birth, and but little Polished; nay, as I guess, more Scrupulous than Wife or Intelligent, since he opposed the Pragmatick; but yet he led a pure and innocent life.

There was War still betwixt the *Jacobins* and the *Cordeliers*, as between two Disputes, opposite Powers, and mutually jealous, each of them watching an opportunity to take

Church.

take advantage of his Adversary. In the year 1460. one *James de la Marche Cordelier* having preached at *Bresse in Lombardy*, that the Blood of *Jesus Christ* whilst it was poured out of his Veins at the time of his Passion, had lost the Hypothetical Union, and that therefore during those three Days it was neither Divine nor Adorable: a *Jacobin* Inquisitor of the Faith, cried out it was an Heresy, commanded him to revoke that Proposition, and caused a Friar of his Order to preach in contradiction to him. The dispute grew warm, and then it was no longer the Opinion of two private Persons, but of both the whole Orders; the Devout took part with either according to their Affections and Interest, the People were cabaled and were divided, as it is usual, though they never understood the Question in debate.

Pope *Pius II.* fearing the consequences of these partialities, commanded the Generals to send the most learned of their Friars to him that he might hear their Arguments and Reasons in this Point. This question was bandied three whole Days before the Pope, and in the presence of the Cardinals, the Bishops and the most Famous Doctors in Law, who are more numerous in that Court, than the Divines. The greatest part of that Assembly, and the Pope himself inclined to the Opinion of the *Jacobins*: but having need of the *Cordeliers* to preach up the *Croisade*, which ran much in his mind, they referr'd the decision of this Contest to another time, which is not come to this very Day; and in the interim the Holy Father made a Constitution, which forbid them, upon pain of Excommunication, and being rendred incapable of all lawful Functions, to Mention, Preach, or Teach in Private or Publick, any thing concerning this Question, or to maintain, that either the one or the other of these Opinions is Heretical. Nevertheless there have been some School-Men in the last Age, who out of a strange Itch of raking together all these Niceties and Punctillios, much fitter for Sophisters than solid Divines, have thrust this Question into their large Volumes: And there are besides some People of such a depraved Taste, and so ignorant of all Antiquity, that they do more delight in reading this Rubbish than in perusing the Holy Fathers or the Councils.

For this little advantage, the *Jacobins* frequently met with great rubbs and checks upon the Point of the Conception of the Virgin; They from time to time renewed the attack upon this question: but they were ever routed & beat from their ground. It happened in the year 1497. that one of their Doctors having Preached at *Rouen*, that she had indeed been purified not preserved from the Original stain; was cited before the University, and condemned to recant it publicly. The Faculty of Theology proceeded farther, they made a Decree to receive or admit no more Doctors hereafter, that did not first swear to profess and maintain that the Virgin was conceived without any blemish or stain. A great victory for the *Cordeliers* to have thus obliged their Adversaries to swear what they never intend to believe or practise.

Alms being the only Revenue of the *Mendicants*, they endeavoured to engross the Confessions and Burials of all Seculars to themselves, that so they might get profit both by the Living and the Dead. They had two advantages above the Ordinaries, the first was the Union of their Community, all labouring with one mind, and never quitting the design they have once propounded to themselves; the Second the exterior mortified and singular Fashion of their Habits: So that the Churches belonging to those Monasteries were ever crowded with throngs of People, and the Parish Churches almost deserted, the Sheep forsaking their natural Shepherds and the solid Food of their true Nursing Fathers, to run after the others Spiritual dainties.

In the year 1409. when the *Cordeliers* came to know they had a Pope of their own Order, which was *Alexander V.* they seemed as it were transported, and out of their Senses, hurrying thorow every street, so verily did they imagine they should dispose of his power to their own advantage. And indeed he did grant them all they desired, and amongst other favours a Bull to the four Orders *Mendicants*, which augmented their Priviledges to such an excess, that the University of *Paris* opposed it, and lopp'd off all those from their Body that made use of them. The *Jacobins* and *Carmelites* renounced all right to it; but the *Cordeliers* and *Augustines* stood up for them. The King was fain to interpose his Authority: Proclamation was made by sound of Trumpet at the Doors of their Covents, forbidding them either to Preach or to Confess: So that Pope *John XXIII.* revoked

ked that Bull, and the Council of *Constance* annull'd all those abusive Priviledges. Church.

They did not desist from carrying on their Enterprizes, and maintained that one is not obliged to be at the Parish Church Masses upon Sundays and Holy-Days, nor to make Offerings to the Curates upon those Days; that such as were obliged to have Masses sung, whether for the Living, or for the Dead, did not acquit themselves of that Obligation if they had it done by the Curates only, for as much as he was bound to do so by his duty: That the Law of God did enjoin the paying of Tithes indeed, but that it matters not to whom they are paid, provided they are bestowed for pious Works; That Saint *Francis* did regularly once a Year descend into Purgatory, and take forth all those that died in his Habit or of his Order; That the Friars Minors might hear Confessions without approbation of the Ordinary, and provided they made Confession to them, they were not obliged to confess to their Pastor, no not once a Year. The Council of *Basle* condemned these Propositions as erroneous, and tending to destroy the Hierarchical Order.

The Devotion of the *Rosarie*, and of the Virgins *Psalter*, instituted by Saint *Dominique*, but afterwards disused and neglected, were restored by the Preaching of the blessed *Alain de la Roche* a *Jacobin*, particularly in *Saxony*, *Belgica*, and the lesser *Bretagne*, and soon after confirmed by Pope *Sixtus IV.* You may remember to this purpose, that *Lewis XI.* ordained in his time, the Devotion to be paid to the Virgin at Noon upon the ringing of a Bell. Nor must we forget now in the Year 1475. he commanded the Feast of Saint *Charlemain* should be Solemnized, which had been otherwhile ordained by Pope *Paschal* upon the request of the Emperor *Frederic I.* and afterwards received and approved by all the Western Churches.

Innocent VII. Pope of *Rome*, approved the Rule of the third Order of Saint *Dominique*. *Lewis Barba* Patrician of *Venice*, Abbot of Saint *Justinas* at *Padoua*, reformed the Order of Saint *Bennet* in 1408. and instituted the Congregation of Mount *Cassin*. Anno 1419. Saint *Bernardin* of *Sienna* attempted to reform the Order of Saint *Francis*, and to bring them to a more strickt Observance, which divided it as it were in two * Branches, that of the *Observantines*, or the narrow Sleeves, and that of the *Cordeliers Conventuals*, or of the great Sleeves. Some Years after, to witt, in 1425. the Blessed *Collett Boile* Native of *Corbie*, a Holy Sister of *Sancta Clara*, did likewise reform the Monastery of *Nuns* of her Order; She died at *Ghent* in the Year 1447. On the contrary the Rule of the *Carmelites*, as too austere, was qualified and moderated by Pope *Eugenius III.* in Anno 1432. in the same manner they hold to this Day who are called *Mitigated*.

The Brangling, Cobweb, Scholastick Controversies still kept the upper hand in the University. Their *Latin* was gross, and had only the Termination, but not the Phrases, and pleasing Air of the true ancient *Roman* Tongue. The *Greek* was a greater Stranger yet then the *Latin*, and more barbarous: but both of them began to be refin'd and polish'd, the *Latin* a little before the middle of this Age, in imitation of *Petrarque* and other *Italians*, who after him set themselves upon the Study of Elegancy; and the *Greek* about the Year 1460. when the learned *Grecians* sheltered themselves in divers Parts of the *West*, after the taking of *Constantinople*. *Gregory Tiphernas* came to *Paris* in Anno 1460. and presented himself to the Rector to teach the *Greek* Tongue, and have that Reward allowed by Holy Decree which was granted. *Hermonyme* of *Sparta* came soon after, and taught that Language to *John * Reclin*, who took the name of *Capnion*: then *Janus Lascaris* arrived, and by his politeness gave a great Gusto to all the most learned Men. After that many showed their Parts, as Poets, Orators, and *Grammarians* in both these Tongues.

The Credit of the University appeared very eminently at the time of the second *Schisme* as well as in the first. Who was, as we may say, the chief Promotrice of the Pragmatick Sanction, so holy, and to this very Day, so much regretted by good People.

We have hinted how the Cardinal *d'Estouteville* reformed the abuses of this Body in the Year 1452. and how *Lewis XI.* gave Order to *John Wesel* a *Cordelier*, to labour to banish thence those obstinate contests which were between the *Realists* and the *Nominals*; *Wesel* having therefore Assembled the Principal Officers and Heads of the University, with their Consent and Advice contrived an Edict, dated

X x x

Monks.

* They are called of the great and the little Observance.

* *Reclin* in High-Dutch is Smoak, in French and in *Greek* Capnos, whence he took the name *Capnion*.

Church. ted the First of *March* in the Year 1473. at *Senlis*, which forbid Teaching any more the opinions of the *Nominals*, and commanded that all such Books of theirs as were in the Libraries should be chained up, lest any should come to peruse them, or transport them from that place.

There were few Learned men in *France*, but like Bees came out of this fruitful Hive. Amongst the Divines you have *John Gerson*, whom we have mentioned, who lived a long time in this Age, and retired to *Lyons*, where he Died in Anno 1419. The Cardinal *Dailly*, *Peter de Versailles* Bishop of *Meaux*, *Thomas de Courcelles* Canon of *Amiens*, a powerful and most admirable man for his Doctrine, but yet more valuable for his modesty, who drew divers of the Decrees of the Council of *Basil*; *William Forteon*, and *Stephen de Bruslefer* of the Order of *St. Francis*, *John Siret* Prior General of the *Carmelites*, *Martin Magistri* Doctor of *Sorbonne*, and *William Chartier* Bishop of *Paris* who was maintained in the Schools by *Charles VII.* And was a Good and Holy Man, and a great Clerk.

Amongst the Curious in humane Learning, I find *Alain Chartier* Brother of *William*, (out of whose mouth proceeded so many good Sayings, and grave Sentences, that *Margaret Stuard Lewis* the Dauphins Wife, finding him one Day fast asleep in a Hall where she was passing thorow with her Train, would needs do him the Honour to bestow a kiss upon him. I find one *Charles Ferdinand*, who being Born blind, gave himself nevertheless so much to Study, that he acquired a great deal of Reputation for his knowledge in Humane Learning, in Philosophy, and in Divinity. He took on him the Habit of *St. Bennet* in the Abbey of *la Couture at Manse*. There was likewise *Judocus Badius* Famous for many of his Commentaries, *John Bouteiller* advocat in Parliament, Author of the *Somme Rurale*, *Robert Gaguin* General of the Order of the *Mathurins*, Library-keeper to *Charles VII.* and after sent on divers Embassies. *John de Rely* Bishop of *Angers*, who was Confessor to *Charles VIII.* and harangued at the Estates of *Tours* for the three Orders. *Ottavian de Saint Gelais*, of the illustrious Family of *Lusignan*, who was Bishop of *Angoulesme*, and began somewhat to Purge and Beautify our French Poetry. I may add *Peter Reuclin* and *Picus Mirandolus* without borrowing any thing from *Germany* or *Italy*, since themselves in their Writings own they had drank in that Fountain of all Arts and Sciences, our University.

Trithemius relates that in the year 1456. there came a young Spaniard thither named *Ferrand de Cordule* Doctor in Divinity, who astonished the whole University by his prodigious Learning; for he knew all *Aristotle* by rote, together with all the Law-Books, also *Hippocrates*, *Gallen*, the principal Commentators on all those Authors, the *Greek*, the *Latin*, the *Hebrew*, the *Arabian*, and the *Caldean* Languages.

Judicial Astrology, much sought into and Studied, but very little understood, was in vogue, and had great access in the Closets of King *Charles VII.* and *Lewis XI.* Seven or Eight of their Prognosticks are to be seen concerning each of those Kings; and 'tis affirmed, but perhaps not till after the events, that they did foretel several particulars that came to pass. The most Famous of them was *Angelo Catto*, a Native of the Dutchy of *Tarentum*, whom *Lewis XI.* made Arch-Bishop of *Vienne*. The Author of the *Memoirs* * of his Life, writes, that going

* Printed and added to *comiments*.

to King *Lewis XI.* who was then hearing Mass at *Tours*, he foretold the defeat and Death of *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, the very day it happened at *Nancy*. But if that had been true, *Philip de Comines* who Dedicates his *Memoirs* to him, would never have omitted it.

Printing was brought to *Paris* about the year 1470. by three Germans, *Martin*, *Ulric* and *Michael*, very able men in that new Art. In the beginning they used Characters that imitated writing Hand, then Square or Roman Letters, and some time after the *Gothique* or *Lombard* Letters, and at last they came to the *Italic* and *Roman* Character.

Physick was likewise Cultivated with more success then formerly. The Doctors of that Faculty knowing that an Archer of *Bagnolet* very much subject to the Gravel, was condemned to Death for some Crime, Petitioned the King that he might be put into their hands to try an experiment whether they could cut him and draw forth the Stone or Calculus matter. Their operation Succeeded very happily, and the Archer survived a long time after in good and perfect Health.

During this whole Age *France* did not furnish the Church with any one Canonised Saint: but there were many Illustrious Prelats. The most remarkable of those

those that wore the Sacred Purple, were *Peter Dailly* Grand Maistre of the Colledge of *Navarre*, then Bishop of *Cambray*, *John de Roquetaillade* Cardinal Arch-Bishop of *Rouen*, Vice-Chancellor to the Pope and his Legat at *Boulogne*; *Renold de Chartres* Arch-Bishop of *Reims*, *William d'Esouteville* who was Legat in *France* and reformed the University, *Peter de Foix* Arch-Bishop of *Arles* who had been of the Order of *St. Francis*, *Lewis d'Albret* Bishop of *Cahors*, who was named the delight of the Sacred Colledge, *John Joffredy* Bishop of *Arras*, then of *Alby*, *John de Balue* Bishop of *Evreux*, and *William Bricconnet* Bishop of *St. Malo's*, who all signalized themselves in the greatest affairs, the six first being of noble Parentage and rare Learning, *Joffredi* and *la Balue* of mean Birth; that Son of a Peasant, and this of a Taylor in *Saintonge*; the former considerable however for his Erudition, but *la Balue* only by his Intreagues and his Fourberies. The Cardinal de *Foix* was he that founded the Famous Colledge bearing his name at *Thoulouse*, with five and twenty Bourses to maintain Scholars; We have had a very Learned Prelat from thence, whose name will be sufficiently made known to all posterity, without expressing it here.

Amongst the Bishops we may observe *James* and *John des Ursins*, Brothers and Successively Arch-Bishops of *Reims*, *Martin Gouge* Son of an inhabitant of *Bourges*, who was Bishop of *Clermont*, and to ennoble himself assumed the name of *Charpagnes*; These three lived in the time of *Charles VII.* whose affairs *Martin* administered, and held the Seals till the time of his Death, which happened in Anno 1444. *Andrew Espinay* Arch-Bishop of *Bordeaux*, had great Credit and Employments under *Lewis XI.* *Lewis d'Amboise* Bishop of *Alby*, *John de Rely* of *Angers*, and *Ottavian de Saint Gelais* of *Angoulesme* heretofore mentioned, were considerable to *Charles VIII.*

The Clergy were but little vexed with Tenth during this fifteenth Age, as well for the great respect which *Charles VII.* had for the Church, as because things were as yet so uncertain, that the Pope who had ever raised them at discretion, could no longer do it without the Kings consent, nor the King without the Popes permission or allowance, which neither of them did willingly grant to each other: However in time they found out an expedient to share the Dole between them, and strick the Ball very regularly each in his turn.

X x x 2

Lewis

LEWIS XII.

Surnamed

The JUST,

AND THE

Father of the People.

King LVI.

Aged xxxvi Years compleat.

POPES,

ALEXANDER 5 years during this Reign.	of October in the year 1503. S. 9 years and 4 Months.
PIUS III. Elected the 22th of September 1503. S. 26 Days.	LEO X. Elected the 11th of March 1513. S. 8 years and near 9 Months, whereof one year and 10 Months under this Reign.
JULIUS II. Elected the last day	

1498.

Lewis Duke of Orleans Succeeded to Charles VIII. as being the nearest to him of the Masculine Line, and his Cousin in the third and fourth degree. His Age was ripe, his Temper very Humane, Sweet, and Just, his Prudence tried, and his Ministers honest and disinterested. The long Imprisonment he suffered had made him more merciful, and his Adversities had taught him more wisdom. He proved the better King by having been so long a Subject; and had Learned to moderate the severities of Sovereign commands, by having undergone and felt the weight of them.

The 27th of May he was Crowned at Reims, the first of July he was Crowned at St. Denis, the day after he made his entrance into Paris; and by a Decree of the Council took the Title of King of France, and of both Sicilia's, and Duke of Milan. This Duchy belonged to him by Right of Valentine his Grandfather.

From the first day of his ascending the Throne, he incessantly laboured for the felicity of his People, easing them from the burthen of Imposts, and taking great care that Justice should be Administred duly to them. As to the first he diminished

diminished the Taxes year after year, though they were already easie enough; Because he knew the Princes Exchequer to be like the Spleen, the less it is the more healthful the Body of the State does ever find it self. He did so much abhor new impositions, that wanting Money for his War in Italy, he chose rather to expose the Offices belonging to his Revenue to Sale, then to take any thing from his People. However in length of time he found that such Venality caused those evils he would avoid; and therefore would he have taken that off again, had he survived but a year or two longer.

As to the distribution of Justice, he Created divers Companies of Judges, out of pure zeal to have it equally administred, and without any pecuniary Interest, which ever since hath been the only end of all such Creations. He fitted that called the Grand Council, which had been before projected by Charles VIII. He made a Parliament for Normandy at Rouen, to whom he first gave the Title of perpetual Exchequer, and three years after he did the same for Provence in the City of Aix.

He made most excellent Ordinances for the abbreviating of all Process; but there happening to be some Articles that touched the Priviledges of the University, that great Body stirred in it with too much heat. The tumult had proceeded to a Sedition, had not the King made halt to get to Paris: His presence quelled the hottest Heads amongst them, and banish'd the Rector.

Upon his first coming to the Crown he dispatched Ambassadors to the Pope, to Venice and to Florence; and three Months after he received theirs who brought him complements and excuses. King Frederic and Duke Ludovic sent none to him, he being their declared Enemy.

From that hour divers negotiations were set on foot. Those Potentates were not become much wiser for all the dangers they had undergone; they busied themselves more about their little particular revenge, then to preserve the common Liberty of Italy. Alexander had reconciled himself with the Ursini, but he hated King Frederic to the Death, for having denied to give his Daughter to Borgia his Bastard; and the Venetians fought to ruin Ludovic, because he hindred their aggrandizing, and had a design upon the City of Pisa, which they endeavoured to appropriate to themselves. As for the Florentines they had an extraordinary passion to recover their Towns, and made a War to that end.

Thus all the three blinded by their interest, did eagerly Sollicit the Kings alliance. An occasion proffer'd it self wherein the Pope might oblige him; which was, that desiring to break his marriage with Jane Daughter of King Lewis XI. he wanted a Commission from him to take cognisance of that affair; And to obtain this he gave the Duchy of Valentinois to his Bastard, who straightway laid down his Cardinals Cap. The Pope sent him into France with a Bull which named three Judges for the Kings Tooth, these were Philip de Luxembourg Cardinal Bishop of Mans, Lewis d' Amboise Bishop of Alby, and Peter Bishop of Sente who was a Portuguese. The Bastard would have played the Sir Politique, and said, he had not brought the Bull, the King informed to the contrary gave him a fowre look, and assured him he would go forward. He was therefore forced to produce it.

He had likewise brought a Cardinals Cap for George d' Amboise Archbishop of Rouen, who managed all Affairs; In recompence the King made him Marry Charlota Daughter of Alain Lord d' Albret, and Treated a League with him, by which the new Duke * was to serve him towards the recovery of the Milanois, and he afterwards to assist him in dispossessing all those petty Lords who detained the Cities of Romandiola.

* He called himself Duke of Valentinois.

We must observe that about Two Ages before this, when the power of the Popes was much weakned, such as were then Governours of the Towns belonging to the Holy See, had usurped the absolute Sovereignty of them, and that they might possess them with some apparent Title, had obtained the Seignoury, or Lordships thereof from the Popes, under the Title of Vicars or Lieutenants, upon condition of paying them a certain Tribute yearly: but since then had taken no care to satisfy the same, and had sometimes even taken up Arms against the Popes. The Potentines Citizens of Ravenna had usurped Ravenna and Cervia: but the Venetians had taken them into their hands. The Malatestes had made themselves masters of Cesena but that returned again to the Holy See by the Death of Dominique the last of that Branch dying without Children. The Riari did yet hold Imola and Forli, Pandolphus Malatesti Rimini; Astor Manfredi Faenza;

Faenza; *John Sforza Pizaro*; as the *Bentivogles* did *Bologna*, and the *Baillons* *Perugia*.

1499. The Kings Marriage with *Jane*, was declared Null by the Commissioners upon clear proof that *Lewis XI.* had forced him to it, though in truth he consummated it afterwards. Being at liberty he Married *Anne* of *Bretagne* Widdow of his Predecessor and his first inclinations. The Nuptials were kept the Eighteenth of *January*. The people of *Paris* who alone of all the People in *France* had received much favour from *Lewis XI.* highly murmured that the King should repudiate his Daughter, and there were some scrupulous Doctors that blamed him in their Pulpits: but *Jane* patiently underwent that affliction, and gave her self up intirely to God, spent her days devoutly in the Nunnery of the Annunciation in the City of *Bourges*, where she put on the Sacred Vail.

1499. Before he began to stir at all in the Affair of *Italy*, he bethought himself of securing the friendship of his Neighbours, first of the King of *England*, then of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, and afterwards of the Arch-Duke Son of *Maximilian*. *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* withdrew their Forces out of *Italy*, and rendred those places to *Frederic* which they held in *Calabria*; the Arch-Duke by the Treaty recover'd his Towns of *Artois*, upon condition he should do Homage to the King for that County, and for that of *Flanders* and of *Charolois*. And this he really did at *Arras* bare-headed and un-girt, in the hands of *Guy de Rochefort* Chancellour of *France*, who was cover'd and sitting in a Chair.

1499. There was more difficulty how to agree with *Maximilian*, because he was engaged with *Sforza*, for which he had received great Sums of Money, and had also sent an Army to enter the Duchy of *Burgundy*: but the Count de *Foix* having easily repulsed them: And *Ludovic* not having a stock of Riches large enough to satisfy his covetous indigence, he was soon persuaded to make a Truce for some Months.

The *Florentines* in the mean while, and the *Venetians* composed their differences by means of the Duke of *Ferrara* whom they chose for Arbitrator: but *Ludovic* embroiled himself so much with the *Venetians*, that they made a League with the King to pluck his Feathers. They were to have for their share of the *Milanois*, all the Towns without the River *Addo*: and they imagined that they should soon have the *French* Kings part likewise, who would sell it, or suffer it to be lost by ill Government and their Divisions, as they had done the Kingdom of *Naples*. But they were mistaken in the account, and found soon afterwards, that as to the matter of Princes and Estates, the next Neighbour being ever an enemy, the most potent is the most dangerous.

This wretched *Ludovic* with all his Craft and Fineness in Politiques, had not one friend, not so much as the Duke of *Ferrara* his Father in Law; he was fain to have recourse to *Maximilian* and to the Sultan *Bajazeth*; the ones assistance was slow, very costly, and not very certain, that of the other was infamous and odious.

1499. In the Month of *July* the Kings Forces entered into the *Milanois* on the one hand, and those belonging to the *Venetians* on the other. In Fifteen days *Ludovic* lost all his Countrey; the *Venetians* took all beyond the *Addo*: the *French* went no less swiftly on, *Novarre* and *Alexandria* defended themselves but ill and were sacked, *Mortara* capitulated, *Pavia* sent their Keys. The City of *Genoa* followed the Dance, the *Adornes* and the *Fregoses* being at Daggers draw who should deliver it up first; In fine, none kept their faith to *Ludovic*, neither the People, nor Commanders, nor Cities.

In this revolution he sent his Treasures and his Children into *Germany* to the Emperor *Maximilian*: thither he retired also himself, having first well provided the Castle of *Milan*. After his departure the City received the *French* with joy; *Bernardin Curtio* whom he believed to be the faithfulest of his Creatures, took Money of the King, and sold the Castle to him which was held inexpugnable. A Treachery which appeared ugly, yea even horrible to the very Purchasers, and which loaded and cloathed the seller with so much shame, that he dyed with it about Ten or Twelve days afterwards.

The King who was then at *Lyons* went immediately to *Milan*. He made his entrance in a Ducal Habit: and Sojourned about three Months in that Country. He presently took off a fourth part of their Imposts, allowed liberty of Hunting to the Nobles which they had not before, and thinking to make them more affectionate to his Service, distributed a considerable part of his demesnes amongst them,

them, particularly to *Trivulcio*, on whom he likewise bestowed the Government of all the Duchy.

All the Princes of *Italy*, excepting *Frederic*, Congratulated his good Success; and the *Florentines* engaged to assist him in the Conquest of *Naples*, upon condition he would help them to recover *Pisa* again for them. 1499.

After this he was obliged to make good his word to *Cesar Borgia*; he lent him Forces with which he regained the Cities of *Imola* and *Forli*. In which last was *Cathrine Sforza* Mother and Tutorefs of the *Riari*, whom he led away Prisoner to *Rome*. 1499.

The change which happened at the same time in *Milanois*, retarded his progress. *Ludovic* lay in wait to re-enter, there were few *French* in the Towns, the Nobility were offended at the Pride of *Trivulcio* their equal, at his too great passion for the Party of the *Guelphs*, and that upon some hubbub he had killed some with his own hand in the open Market place; And the people were scandalized at the Liberty the *French* took with their wives. *Ludovic* well informed of all these particulars, and having regained the affections of the *Milanois*, returns with fifteen Hundred men at Arms who were all *Burgundians*, and twelve Thousand *Swisse* whom he had raised with his Money, not being able to obtain any Aid of *Maximilian*. 1500.

Upon his Arrival the People receive him with open Arms, the City of *Coma* having chased out the *French*. *Trivulcio* perceiving so sudden a change, leaves *Milan* in the night time, and very humbly retires to *Mortara* with his Cavalry. All places surrender themselves to *Ludovic*, excepting the Castle of *Milan*, and some of those which the *Venetians* held.

This Ebb notwithstanding did not run very low: *Lewis de la Trimouille*, whom the King sent with a very good Army, meets him near *Novarre* which had newly Surrendred. The *Swisse* which this unfortunate man had in his Service, being gained by those that were in the *French* Army, refused to give Battel, and retired into *Novarre*; he was forced to follow them. All that he gain'd of them, was that they promised to Guard him to some place of safety. But next day the eighth of *April*, he was discover'd disguised like a private Soldier in the midst of them, (perhaps themselves made signs to know him by) and sent to the King at *Lyons*. He caused him to be removed from thence to *Loches*, where he was shut up till his Death ten whole years, with a severity so unusual and contrary to the mercy of that good Prince, that it was thought to be a Visible punishment from Heaven. The Cardinal *Afcagne* his Brother was also delivered into the hands of the *French*, by the *Venetians* who happened to light upon him. 1500.

The *Swiss* upon their return home, Siezed upon the City of *Bellinzonne*, which shuts up the passage to the Mountains on that side; so that holding this place they could fall into *Milan* when ever they pleased. At first they would have parted with it for a very small matter of Money; but after they had found of what importance it was, no proffer could be so considerable as to make them let it go out of their hands.

This revolt cost the City of *Milan* the Heads of ten or twelve of their Chiefs, and a Sum of two hundred thousand Crowns. Upon Holy-Friday, a day of Mercy, the Cardinal d' *Amboise* received the *Amende Honorable* of those People in the Town-Hall, and pardoned their Crime, in the name of the King. The other Cities were Taxed, but according to their faculties, and at such moderate Sums, that they were rather Subsidies then any punishment. 1500.

The apprehensions the King had of *Maximilian*, hindred his Forces from drawing out of *Milanois*, to go about the Conquest of *Naples*. Whilst he was treating to renew the Truce with him, he sent a Party of them under the conduct of the Lord de *Beaumont*, to subdue the City of *Pisa* in favour of the *Florentines*, and another Party commanded by *Yves d'Allegre* to *Cesar Borgia* to assist him in turning out the Vicars of *Romandiola*. 1500.

As for *Beaumont*, having been beaten off upon three assaults at *Pisa*, finding his *Swiss* Mutined, and the *Florentins* not very diligent in supplying him with provisions, as they had engaged to do, he leaves that City at Liberty, and takes his march towards *Milan*.

Borgia without striking one blow drew into his Nets, the Cities of *Pesaro* and *Rimini*; *Fayano* maintained a Siege three times, but at the last their courage failed and it Surrendred; But this was not till the year after. The protection which the

1500. the King granted to *Bentivoglio*, and the *Florentins*, kept him from laying Hands like wife upon *Bologna* and *Pisa*, as he had a great mind to do.

This year the 25th of February on St. Mathias day, Charles Son of Philip Arch-Duke of Austria, and of Jane of Spain Daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella came into the World, and near the same time the little Prince Michael went out of it, as it were to yield up the Birth-right to him. This Michael was Son of Isabella eldest Sister of Jane and Wife of Emanuel King of Portugal, who died before her Child. The Pope gave Emanuel permission to Marry the Third, who was named Margaret.

1500. The Centenary Jubilé ended this fourteenth Age. After it had been Celebrated at Rome, Alexander sent it into the Provinces, and made use of this Pious juncture to animate the Christian Princes to league themselves against the Turks; who in favour of Ludovic had made cruel irruptions in Friuli; Whilst the Venetians were employed in the Milan Wars, and withal had taken from them the City of Modon and Coron in Peloponnesus.

It seemed as if Heaven invited the Christians to this enterprize; for during the Years 1500 and 1501 all Germany and the Low-Countries saw the Shapes of Croffes of all Sizes not only in the Air, but likewise on their Cloathes, especially on their Linen, as their Shirts, Night-caps, Napkins, and Sheets. They were of a confused Colour, and most times appeared Bloody, and could not be scoured out with Soap, but vanished by little and little. So many Authors of those Countries testifie this Prodigy, that it may be believed without too much Credulity. Nor would it be an impossible thing to deduce some reasons for it from ordinary causes; And we may boldly say that they were so disposed by the Sovereign Master of the Universe, who fore-seeth all things, that the effects which they produce, though they be purely natural, may however, when they draw our Eyes to consider the singularity of them with attention forewarn us of his Holy will, or presage what is to come.

King Lewis had strength enough to have Conquer'd the Kingdom of Naples without help: And yet he was so ill advised as to share it with Ferdinand King of Arragon, and thus allowed of a Partner with him in Italy, where he was absolute Master. Ferdinand's division was Puglia and Calabria; the King had Naples, Terra del' Avouira and Abbruzzo.

Ferdinand had for a long time devoured all that Kingdom in his hopes; for he pretended that Alphonso the Great, Brother of John his Father, could not give it to Ferdinand his Bastard: but he concealed this desire of his with a profound dissimulation, in so much as although he had shared in the Spoil of the unfortunate Frederic, he still made a shew as if he would assist him, thereby to have the fairer opportunity to oppress him. To this purpose he sent the great Captain to him, who under pretence of securing some places of safety for a Retreat upon occasion, made them give him two or three of their best Towns, which he detained when the Treaty with the French came to be declared.

1501. In order to this Conquest Daubigny, the Count de Gajazza, and the Valentinois commanded the Kings Army by Land, Philip de Cleves Ravestein commanded that by Sea, which rendezvouz'd at Genoa. Frederic having no aid but from Fabricia Columna Constable of the Kingdom, did make no long resistance. When the French had forced Capoua, where seven or eight Thousand Persons were Massacred, and Naples and Cajeta terrified at the cruel fate of that City had afterwards surrendered: he came to a Treaty with Daubigny and Nemours, whereby he agreed to give up all those Towns in the division made for the King within six days. They suffer'd him to keep the Island of Ischia for six Months, to retire whither he pleased, and to take away any thing out of the Castles of Naples, excepting the Cannons belonging to Charles VIII.

Being reduced to this condition, having no Kingdom, and his relation Ferdinand having betray'd him under colour of assistance, he thought he had no other game to play but to cast himself upon the Kings mercy. He had a safe conduct given him to go into France; where he was received with much Humanity, and obtained a Pension of thirty Thousand Crowns, which was continued to him even after the French were driven again out of Naples.

In the French Army there were a great many young Princes and Lords that went Volunteers: Amongst others Lewis eldest Son of Gilbert Earl of Montpensier. It is related of him that going to pray to God over his Father's Tomb at Puzzeoli, reflecting in his

his thoughts upon the miseries he had endured, and the deplorable manner of his Death, his blood was so moved thereby that he was put into a Fever of which he Died at Naples, thereby demonstrating that to be a false belief and observation, That Love ever descends towards our Posterity, but never ascends to our Parents.

Gonsalvo on his side had as little trouble in Conquering the other part of the Kingdom. Frederic had put his Son Alphonso into Tarenta, which he thought impregnable, having left the care of his Son, and of the place to the Earl of Potentianne, and Leonard Bilhop of Rodes. These two Captains finding no hopes of Succours, capitulated in good time, and promised to surrender the place in four Months. Had they held it but six, the quarrel that happened between the French and Spaniards had saved it, and with it their young Prince. This surrender completed the Conquest of the Kingdom. Gonsalvo had sworn to that young Prince upon the Holy Eucharist, that he would give him the liberty to retire whither soever he pleased: yet after all he detained him and sent him into Spain to Ferdinand, who indeed treated him with much more humanity, then he could expect after so much Treachery.

This War ended, Rauestein went with the Fleet against the Turks; King Ferdinand though he were entered into the League, refused to send his Ships. The want of good intelligence between the French and the Venetians, turned this expedition to their great shame. The French having Attack'd Metelin's Capital City in the Island of the same name, lost a great number of their Brave Men there: at their return a Tempest horribly shatter'd them; and such as were forced into the Islands belonging to the Venetians, found them a more faithless and ruder Enemy than the Turks.

Above all things the King desired the Alliance of Maximilian, that he might have from him the Investiture of the Dutchy of Milan. About the end of September the Cardinal George d' Amboise who was called the Legate (the Pope having given him that Commission in France) went upon that Errand to wait upon him in the City of Trent with a stately Equipage, his Train consisting at least of Eighteen Hundred Horse. The Emperor demanded with great instance the freedome and release of the Sforza's; he agreed to that of the Cardinal Ascagnia, and had his word reciprocally for a prolongation of the Truce, and the Investiture, but which should be only for the Kings Daughters, not for the Sons.

He made this exception, because he ardently desired to have the Kings Eldest Daughter, and that Dutchy in Dowry for Charles his Grand Son. The Arch-Dukes Ambassadors being come to the King at Lyons, that Marriage was agreed upon the Tenth of August, it was again confirmed by the Arch-Duke and Jane of Castille his Wife in the Month of November in their passage thorough France into Spain.

They were magnificently received at Paris; the Arch-Duke took his Seat in Parliament in quality of Pair of France. The King and Queen entertained them at Blois fifteen days together, and caused them to be conducted to the Frontiers with all imaginable honour, even with the power of granting Pardon in every City they passed thorough.

The limits for the division of the Kingdom of Naples had not been well express'd, there soon arose a Debate for the Country called *Capitanata*, * of very great importance, because of the Toll for Cattle which were brought thither to Graze in Winter; the French would have it to be a part of Abbruzzo, the Spaniards of Puglia. (From words they proceeded to blows, the Spaniards more haughty, although the weaker, began the brawl in several places.) The two Generals, the Duke of Nemours and Gonsales conferring together concluded a Cessation to bring the controversie to an amicable compofure: but the Spaniards soon broke it again by divers Acts of Hostility. In so much as the King, who was then at Ast, sent to the Duke of Nemours a command to make down-right War upon them, since they had already violated the Peace two several times.

He was gotten into Italy to endeavour and take care for the preservation of his Dutchy of Milan, and the Florentins his Allies, and suppress the horrible Tyrannies of Caesar Borgia, called the Duke of Valentinois. For as to the former Maximilian had broke the Truce, the Swiss threatned him with an irruption into the Milanois, unless they might have Bellinzzone settled upon them, which was already in their hands, and the Venetians did openly enough show their hatred against him.

Y y y

And

1501.

1501.

1501.

1502. * This word is corrupted from *Capitanata*, a name which one *Catapan*, General for *Basilus* the Greek Emperor, gave to this Country.

And for the latter, there was a League made betwixt the *Vitellozzi*, the *Orsini*, *John Paul Baillon*, and *Pandolphus Petrucci*, to restore *Peter de Medicis*, to the Signory of *Florence*; as for *Cæsar Borgia*, he brought all the Petty Princes of *Italy* into dispair, not sparing the King of *France's* Allies.

1502. From all parts there came complaints to the King, of the violent proceeding and enormous Treacheries of that Man: nevertheless being as politique as wicked, he knew how to appease his anger, by constraining *Vitellozzi* with grievous Menaces to Surrender up the Towns to the *Florentins*, and by this means gained so great Credit and Interest at Court, that the King believing him a very necessary instrument for his Affairs, renewed the Alliance with *Alexander VI.* which drew the hatred of all *Italy* upon him, and perhaps the Curse of God; with whom it is impossible to be well whilst we joyn in Society with the wicked.

✠ Whilst he was in *Lombardy*, the *Genoese* invited him to honour their City with his Presence. He made his entrance in great Pomp the Six and Twentieth of *August*, and after he had tarried there Ten days returned into *France*.

The War in *Naples* and settlement of that Conquest, which seemed almost perfected, required him not to have left *Italy* so soon: but he relied on the Truce which he thought was certainly consented to by *Maximilian*, though indeed it was not concluded.

In a short time the *Spaniards* were driven almost out of all the places of *Capitanata*, *Puglia*, and *Calabria*, and *Gonsales* found himself shut up in *Barletta* without Provisions or Ammunition. The War had been at an end if the *Venetians* had not speedily furnished him, or if *d' Aubigny* had been believed; he would have brought the whole Army to have forced him there: (but) the Duke of *Nemours* divided them most unluckily into several bodies to besiege the other Towns; and in the mean while *Gonsales* wisely timing his Affairs, recovered himself.

1503. The Arch-Duke with his Wife repassed thorow *France*, conferred with the King at *Lyons*, and treated an accommodation touching the business of *Naples*, by which it was agreed; that *Charles* the Son of *Philip*, but one year old, should be Married to *Claude* the Kings eldest Daughter, which Queen *Anne* very passionately desired: that for her Dowry she should have the Kingdom of *Naples*; that in the mean time the Kings should enjoy their Divisions, and that the Country which was in Debate should be Sequestred in the hands of the Arch-Duke. The Ambassadors from *Ferdinand* his Father in Law, whom he brought with him, and who were fully impowred, Signed this Treaty and swore to it, submitting themselves to Excommunication in case it were violated; the Heralds proclaimed it, and the two Princes sent notice of it to their Generals. The Duke of *Nemours* obey'd: but *Gonsales* refused to submit to it, unless he had an express Order from *Ferdinand*.

A reinforcement of two Thousand *Germans* which he had newly received from *Maximilian*, the assurance he had that the Pope and the *Venetians* declined the Kings interest, and the Information given him that four thousand *French* which were set on Shore at *Genoa*, had disbanded by the failure of the Treasurers, who believing the Peace was concluded had kept back their Pay, raised his courage, and he assured himself of being owned, provided his success deserved it.

Till then the *French* had the advantage, but fortune turned her back upon them on a suddain, the King neglecting to make the necessary provision, relying upon the Arch-Dukes faith, and the *Spaniards* recruiting his Forces during this mock-Peace. Besides all this the rashness of the *French* Generals who imprudently engaged the Enemy, and fought with more of fury then conduct, lost all; *d' Aubigny* who ought to have drawn things out in length, and waited the *French* Supplies, made hast to fight the body of their Army Commanded by *Hugh de Cardona*, *Emanuel de Benavide*, and *Antonio de Leva*. This was on the one and twentieth of *April* near *Seminara* in *Calabria*; and in the same place where a few years before he gained a memorable Victory, he now met a contrary fate.

1503. His defeat did in some manner oblige the Duke of *Nemours* to try his fortune, and endeavour to vanquish *Gonsalvo* before this General should be joyned with the victorious Army. He fought him near *Cerignoles* in *Puglia* the eight and twentieth of the same Month, and had yet more misfortune then *d' Aubigny*, for he was slain upon the place: and *d' Aubigny* had made his escape to *Angitola*. 'Tis true he was immediately besieged there, and in few days forc'd to capitulate, and agree that all his Men should quit that Kingdom, himself remaining a hostage till that were fully performed.

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After this *Gonsales* (had nothing that could hinder him from going whither he would. *Naples* open'd her Gates to him) the thirteenth of *May* (and received him with acclamations of Joy, the *French* Soldiers that were there retiring into, the Castles. The Cities of *Capona* and *Aversa* followed the example of *Naples*. Amidst this grand revolution, the constant fidelity of *Peter Caracciolo* Duke of *Malfy*, deserved singular commendation; he refused all the advantageous conditions which *Gonsales* proffer'd him, and chose rather to lose all his Lands, and go out of that Kingdom with his Wife and Children, then to be wanting in his Faith (to the *French*).

The *Chateau Neuf*, or *New-Castle* did not hold out long, *Peter de Navarre* having made a breach by springing of a Mine, the Garison was so astonished at this unknown new-thunder which burst out of the Earth, that they surrendered upon composition, a Day before the Arrival of the Kings Navy, which brought two Thousand men, and a great quantity of all sorts of provisions. The Castle del *Ovo* held three Weeks longer, and was likewise taken by the same invention.

You may therefore observe that in this War *Peter de Navarre* a Soldier of Fortune, bearing the name of his own Country, taught them the way of filling a Mine with Gun-Powder, to blow up their Walls, whether of his own invention, or rather he bringing it to greater perfection. For it was said that he had seen it practised by the *Genoese* at *Serazzenella*, when they besieged it upon the *Florentins* in the year 1487. (where the Mine having only crackt the Wall, because it was not deep enough, nor enough charged, they had laid aside this invention as of little use or effect: But that he having observed their mistakes, and the cause why it miscarried, corrected them and had found the way to make them very useful.

There yet remained several places in possession of the *French*, as *Aquileia*, and the Rock of *Evander*, some others in *Abruzzo*, and *Venouza* in *Puglia*, where the brave *Lewis d' Ars* and the Duke of *Malfy* had put themselves in after the Battel of *Cerignoles*. *Alfo Rossana*, *Matelona*, *Sanseverina*, and two or three other Cities belonging to the Lords of the *Angevin* Faction; still held for the Party: And as the Battel of *Cerignoles* was rather a rout then a defeat, *Tves d' Alegre* had carried off four thousand Foot, and four hundred Men at Arms, whom he had quartered about *Cajeta* to refresh themselves.

This place being strong and withal a Sea-Port to receive Succours from *France*, *Gonsales* went and laid Siege before it to shut up that back door: *d' Alegre* immediately put in all the men he had left him, and defended himself well enough till the Arrival of the *French* Army.

The Arch-Duke at his parting from *Lyons* was gone to visit the Duke of *Savoy* his Brother in Law. He was not afraid upon the receipt of all this news to return to the King at *Blois*: This was a great Testimony of his good conscience and integrity, or a very bold and confident dissimulation. He omitted nothing that might seem to justify him, sent away immediately to *Gonsales*, and wrote earnestly to his Father in Law. In fine, he demeaned himself so fairly, that the King believed he acted with sincerity, and prayed him not to apprehend that he would tax him with it, For if his Father in Law had committed a piece of Treachery, he would in no wise act like him, but would rather a Kingdom should be lost, which he was able to regain, then to lose his honour which can never be retrieved.

In the mean time *Ferdinand* would not yet clearly discover his intentions to his Son in Law: he designed to hold him in suspense that he might hold the King so too, lest he should make hast to relieve the Castles of *Naples* and *Cajeta* which still held out. But when *Philip* had made known to him by a Courier that he should not leave the Court of *France* till he had fully satisfied the King in this matter, he sent ambassadors thither who downed his proceedings, as having exceeded his Commission (which however was not true). And after this thinking to gain time by new Forberies, they made a new proposition, which was to surrender the Kingdom to *Frederic*: but the King would hear nothing from a Prince in whom there was no Faith, and commanded them to depart the Kingdom. As for the Arch-Duke, he treated him still civilly, and suffered him to return into *Flanders*.

That this affront might not rest upon *France*, the King had resolved to shock *Ferdinand* with all his might and power; And to this purpose he set four Armies

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on Foot, three at Land, and one for the Sea. The greatest of the Land Armies commanded by *la Trimoville*, and composed of eighteen thousand Foot, and near two thousand Men at Arms, were to recover the Kingdom of *Naples*; and the other three to attack *Spain*. The first commanded by the Lord *d' Abret* and the *Mareschal de Gie* were to make an irruption towards *Fomarabia*; this consisted of five thousand Foot, *Swiss*, and *French*, and about one thousand Men at Arms. The second conducted by the *Mareschal de Rieux* almost twice that number, had order to enter by *Roussillon*. The third was a Naval Army who at the same time were to scower the Coasts of *Catalongne*, and of the Kingdom of *Valentia*, and take care that nothing should be convey'd from *Spain* to the Kingdom of *Naples*.

1503. *La Trimoville* who was upon the march with his Forces moved slowly; for most part of the *Italian* Lords that had taken money of the King to furnish him with men at Arms failed him, only the *Florentins* helped him to two hundred. Besides there was no secure passing them at *Rome* without an agreement with his Holyness, who being diversly influenced by the ambition of his Son, and his own apprehensions, had much ado to come to a resolution. He at last declared he would be Neuter, and that both the Kings should have liberty to pass thorow his Countries and raise men there, though they knew him to be a *Spaniard* by inclination as well as by Birth, and that under-hand he favoured *Gonsales* in all he could.

1503. When the *French* Forces were in the Territories of *Sienna*, *la Trimoville* was Siezed with a Malady which put him out of the condition of Leading them. He being disabled, the King gave that command to *Charles de Gonzague*, Marquiss of *Montona*, whose Faith seemed so weakly founded, being a reconciled Enemy, that the King himself had forbid the *Florentins* but the year before to take him for their General. When they were near *Rome*, the Death of Pope *Alexander* happened by a strange accident, but which deservedly deprived him of his Life, and over-turned the vast designs of his Son.

* Or *Vignola*, pleasant Gardener &c.
This Bastard having a desire to enjoy the spoil of Cardinal *Adrian Cornet*, had made an appointment with the Pope to go and Sup with him in his Vine-yard*, and had caused some Bottles of exquisite Wine to be brought thither, but which were mixed and prepared to poyson their Host. Now it hapned that the Father and the Son being Arrived very early, and very thirsty, by reason of the heat of the Season, asked for some drink, and whilst the Servant who was privy to the secret was gone out of the way, another Valet gave them some of that same Wine. The Father who drank of it pure, died the very same day, which was the Seventeenth of *August*, the Son who was more vigorous and had mingled it with water, had time to make use of remedies, and being wrapped up in the belly of a Mule recovered: but such a languishment remained upon him as would not suffer him to act when his affairs most required it.

1503. This death, not in it self, but by accident, was very pernicious to the business of *Naples*. The Cardinal *d' Amboise* who was at *Milan*, being come with great speed to *Rome* for the Election of another Pope, conceived a design of getting it himself, and finding that the City of *Rome* was in great trouble and full of Soldiers, because of the Faction of the *Ursini*, who would be revenged on the Duke of *Valentinois*, and that of the *Colonnas* who protected him, he thought he might make use of the Kings Forces, and staid them some time near that place: but by the same means he imposed upon the Sacred Colledge the necessity of Electing him to the Popedom, which he desired more for the Kings sake then his own. Now *Julian de la Rovere* Cardinal of *St. Peter's* had the same ambition as the other: but not being able to compass his own Election by reason of the Vicinity of the *French* Army, and the Tumults that were in *Rome*, he had so much craft as to persuade him that he ought not to suffer those Forces to approach nearer then within six Leagues of *Rome*.

The Colledge being at Liberty Electd *Francis Piccolomini* Nephew of *Pius II.* who took the same name as his Uncle. This Pope was in a Dying condition and could not survive above two or three Months at most: So that the Cardinal *de la Rovere* had only as we may say deposited the Papacy in his hands, being assured he could not fail to have it after his Death. And notwithstanding he made the Cardinal *de Amboise* believe, that it should be infallibly for him, that so might he cause his Forces to March.

The new Pope in effect lived but six and twenty days: But it was for the advantage of the Cardinal *de Rovere*; For the Cardinals, the very same Evening they entered

tered in Conclave, named him almost all with one Voice, so well had he persuaded them that he would restore the honour of the Holy See, and the Liberty of *Italy*.

1503. As for the Bastard Borgia, these are in short his adventures. Under the Papacy of *Pius III.* he was like to have had his Brains beaten out by the *Ursini* and the *Colonnas*, who were reconciled to fall upon him; hardly did he make his escape into the Castle *St. Angelo*. The King of *France* had taken him into his protection, which gave occasion to the *Ursini* who had received money of him, to fall off, and treacherously side with the *Spanish* Party. In recompence this perfidious man breaks his faith with his Protector, and did likewise make an agreement with his Enemies. But his alliance brought them no great advantage; For immediately *Perugia*, *Piombino*, *Urbino*, *Pezaro*, *Camerino*, *Senigalia*, which he had invaded, returned to their Lords; Those of *Romandiola*, persevered in his obedience, till news was brought them, that he was hid in the Castle *St. Angelo*, denuded of Forces and Friends. Then some of them rendred themselves to the Pope, and others to the *Venetians*.

He had four places left yet which he offer'd to confide in the hands of Pope *Julius*, who at first shewing himself very generous, would not accept of them, and suffer'd him to retire whither he pleased: but having afterwards bethought himself, he sent and caused him to be dragg'd out of a Galley at *Ostia* where he was Embark'd, and detained him in Prison, till he had got those places out of his hands. Then he allowed him to go to *Gonsales*, who having kindly received him sent him however into *Spain*, where he was confined to a perpetual Imprisonment. He made his escape thence about three years end, and took refuge under *John d' Albret* King of *Navarre*, his wives Brother: And in fine, Anno 1516. he was slain in a Fight or rencounter by a private Gentleman who knew him not.

1503. The first exploits of the Marquiss of *Montona* substituted in the place of *la Trimoville*, was prosperous enough. He made a Bridge over the *Gariglian*, and under the favour of his Cannon passed his Army in sight of *Gonsales* who had bragg'd that he would hinder them. But the very same day the *French* Captains conceived some mistrust of his conduct, because it seemed to them he spared the Enemies, when if he had follow'd his blow he had utterly defeated them, and had regained the whole Kingdom. There were some likewise that accused him of holding secret intelligence with the *Spaniards*; for which reasons finding himself to be suspected, he feigned Sicknes to have an opportunity to withdraw. He took with him a good part of the *Italian* Cavalry, all the remainder that were of that Country disperfed, or went to serve the Enemy.

1503. After his departure the *French* conferr'd the command upon the Marquiss *de Salusses*. *Gonsales* being encamped on a *Moorish* ground, called otherwhile *Palus Minturnia*, within a League of their Bridge, put them to a full stop, and made them pass their Winter in very cold and untenentable Lodgings.

The inconveniences of the Season almost ruined their Army, and the shakings of the Commissaries to whom the ruin of Armies is profitable, complicated it. The best of their Officers died of Sicknes, and on the contrary the Enemies increased their numbers by the additions of the *Ursini*. The Marquiss understanding they had passed the *Gariglian* to come and attack him, he retreated to *Cajeta*.

1504. *Gonsales* besieged him immediately; the Marquiss finding a Horrible Famine would sooner be with him, then any relief, made his capitulation the first Day of the year 1504. It importd that the Soldiers might go free away either by Sea or Land, and that all Prisoners should be deliver'd up without Ransom. *Gonsales* interpreting this in his own Sense and Mode, excluded such as belonged to the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Lewis d' Ar*s would not be comprehended in this Treaty, but retreated with Trumpets sounding and Colours flying quite through all *Italy*.

The cause of these Misfortunes was laid at the Doors of the *Financiers*, *John Heroet* Intendant of the *Finances*, was condemned to Banishment, with so much the greater Justice, as being in the King's Favour, he nevertheless had a greater Love for Money, (which is the real, and only true Sovereign of those people) then for the Honour of so good a Master.

The three Armies which *Lewis* had sent against *Spain*, put him only to expences without any Progress. The Naval one scowred the Coast of *Castille* and *Valentia*, then retired to *Marseille*; and for the two Land ones, that which was commanded

commanded by *Alain d' Albret* and the *Mareschal de Gie*, only saluted the Walls of *Fontarabia*, then disbanded thorough the Conteſts of the two Chiefs, and perhaps out of the little affection the Lord *d' Albret* had for the King's Service, by reason of the Differences formerly between them in *Bretagne*, when they courted the Dutcheſs *Anne*; ſuch as remained went to joyn the third which beſieged *Sales*. Theſe having batter'd the Place forty Days together, King *Ferdinand* arrives with thirty thouſand Men, which made them raiſe their Siege.

After this there was a Truce between the two Kings, as to their Countries of *France* and *Spain*, by the mediation of *Frederic*. *Ferdinand* made him believe that he was ready to reſtore the Kingdom to him; if *Lewis* would conſent, and propounded to beſtow his Siſter in Marriage upon *Alphonſo*: ſhe was Widdow of *Ferdinand* the Young, King of *Naples*.

1504.

The Kings diſcontent and trouble for ſo much ill ſucceſs, for the loſs of his reputation, and for his not being able to detect and unravel all theſe *Spaniſh* Fourbes and Intrigues, were ſo great as caſt him into a fit of Sickneſs which brought him to extremity. The Queen believing him dead, thought of retiring her ſelf into *Bretagne*, and ſent away her Equipage. The *Mareschal de Gie* having ſtopt it incur'd her indignation; ſhe could never forgive this in him, who was born her Subject, and proſecuted him Criminally with that heat, that the King was forced to ſend his Proceſs to the Parliament of *Toulouze*, as the moſt ſevere in the Kingdom, where notwithstanding they could find no Colour to condemn him to any other Punishment, but to be baniſhed from Court.

The *Spaniard* uſing ſtill the ſame Artiſces, had ſent his Ambaſſadors into *France* together with thoſe of the Arch-Duke his Son to Treat of a Peace. But as they offer'd nothing that was ſatisfactory, they were diſmiſſed: and the King made an Alliance with the Emperor, and with the Arch-Duke.

By this Treaty they confirmed the Marriage of his eldeſt Daughter, or of the Second, in caſe the Elder died, with Prince *Charles*; which he cauſed to be ſigned by *Francis de Valois*, his preſumptive Succeſſor to the Crown, and other Princes of the Blood, and Grantees of the Kingdom. The Emperor gave him the inveſtiture of the Dutchy of *Milan*, for him and for his Children, as well Males, if he had any, as his two Daughters, provided he paid 120000 *Florins* payable in two Six Months, a pair of Gold Spurs every *Chriſtmas-day*, and an aſſiſtance of five hundred Lances, when the Emperor ſhould go to take the Imperial Crown at *Rome*.

1504.

About this time hapned the death of *Frederic* King of *Naples*, who was now fully undeceived of the fraudulent hopes given him by *Ferdinand*; and ſhortly after towards the end of the Year, hapned that of *Iſabella* Wiſe of *Ferdinand*, a great and generous Princeſs; and indeed the *Spaniards* liſt her above all other Heroines.

1505.

Her death changed the Interests of all Princes. The Power of the Arch-Duke being augmented by the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, and the Alliance of *Henry* King of *England*, whoſe eldeſt Son *Arthur* had married his Siſter *Catharine*, began to create ſome fears in *Lewis*, ſome confidence in *Maximilian*, and ſome kind of jealousy in *Ferdinand* himſelf, who perceived that his Son-in-law would not leave the Adminiſtration of *Caſtile* to him, as *Iſabella* had ordained by her Teſtament.

By theſe motives the King and he made Peace, which they faſtned with ſome Ties. *Ferdinand* married *Germain* Daughter of *John de Foix* Vicount of *Narbonne*, and of *Mary* the King's Siſter, who gave him his ſhare of the Kingdom of *Naples* in Dowry, upon condition it ſhould all fall to her Husband if ſhe died the firſt, but ſhould return to the King if ſhe ſurvived, and brought no Children.

1505.

Thoſe baniſhed from *Naples*, and the Gentlemen of the *Angevin* Faction, were reſtored to their own, the Queen Widdow of *Frederic* went out of *France*, and retired to *Alphonſo* Duke of *Ferrara* her Relation.

1506.

This hindered not *Philip* from paſſing into *Spain* with his Wiſe. The *Caſtilians* ſoon flock'd to this Young Prince, Handsome, Liberal, and who had married their Sovereign; *Ferdinand* was forced to give way to him, and to go out of *Caſtile*, never to return ſo long as *Philip* lived. Very happy yet, that he left him the *Indies* and the Kingdom of *Naples*; whither he made haſte, becauſe *Gonſales* would have put it into the Hands of *Philip*, finding he could not uſurp it for himſelf, as he could heartily have deſired. The

The Great Lords of *France*, and other moſt notable Perſons, having conſidered the Inconveniencies that would flow from the Marriage of the King's Eldeſt Daughter, with *Charles of Auſtria*, aſſembled of their own proper movement, as they ſaid, in the City of *Tours* where the King was, and intreated him to give her to *Francis* Duke of *Valois* his preſumptive Heir, which he granted them forthwith, and they contracted the two Parties the eight and twentieth day of *May*. A freſh Affront which *Maximilian* might add in his Red-Book, where he wrote down all thoſe Injuries the *French* had done him: Like ſuch as lay aſide a great many Wares, but can never find Money to pay or fetch them away.

The following Month he ſent to Summon the King, to perform what he had promiſed by the Treaty, which was to reſtore the baniſhed *Milaneſe*, the fifty thouſand *Florins* for the Inveſtiture, the five hundred Lances to attend him into *Italy*, whither he deſired to go to take the Imperial Crown. The King ſatisfied him in all things, excepting the Payment, which was not yet due: but underhand he ſupported the Duke of *Guelthers* againſt the Arch-Duke, and put ſome jealousy into the Heads of the Pope and the *Venetians*; inſomuch as they prayed the Emperor not to enter into *Italy* with an Army.

The Pope having diſcover'd the Genius, and the Conduſt of theſe Princes, being Proud and Preſumptuous, believed himſelf to be above them all in Underſtanding, as well as in Dignity; that therefore he could awe them with a Nod, lead them as he pleaſed, and in the end deſtroying them by one another, drive them both out of *Italy*, and govern alone himſelf; And they on their Parts were weak enough to believe they could do nothing without him, and ſo by their fears encreaſed his Power.

He made the King ſet a great Value upon the Power he gave him, to diſpoſe of the Benefices in *Milanois*, and the two Cardinals Caps, the one for the Nephew of the Cardinal *d' Amboiſe*, the other for *la Trimovilles*: and therefore for this, he in return obtained that the King ſhould employ his Forces to recover *Bologna* for him out of the Hands of *John Bentivoglio*. This Lord finding himſelf aſſaulted by him who had ever been his Protector, intreated him at leaſt to interceed with his Holyneſs, that he might have the liberty to go out of the Town; and carry his Goods along with him.

1506.

Julius did not ſeem to be a jot the better pleaſed with the *French*, but on the contrary he deſpiſed the King and the Nation, though he had very great obligations to them beſides. For in the time of Pope *Alexander* his Capital Enemy, he found his Refuge in *France*, and a great deal of kindneſs from *Lewis* ſix years together: but far from bearing in mind ſo many Favors, this good Prelate, when his Brain was pretty well warmed with Wine, it evaporated in Diſcourſes injurious both to the King and Kingdom of *France*. The King and Courtiers were not wanting in their returns by reparties, ſo much the more picquant as they were Ingenious, and which left their tormenting Stings in his haughty and implacable Soul.

The firſt important Occaſion wherein they perceived his hatred, was, about the Affairs of *Genoa*, where his Emiſſaries by their contrivance, turned a Com-motion which hapned betwixt the Nobility and the People, into a down-right revolt againſt the King. The mutinous Rabble being at perpetual Diſcord with the very inſolent Nobles, choſe eight Tribunes, under whoſe Authority they took thoſe Places, which *Lewis de Fieſque* held along the River, and far from reſtoring them as the King commanded, beſieged *Monaco*, ſo that *Raveſtein* not thinking himſelf ſecure at *Genoa* went thence, and then they Eleſted a Duke, who was only a ſimple Dyer, named *Paul de Nova*.

The Pope had omitted no under-hand Devices to excite this Rebellion. The Emperor on his Part had blown up this Flame as much as it was poſſible; and yet both the one and the other left theſe Wretches in the Perils they had drawn them to. They had raiſed a Fort to defend the Paſſage into the Mountains which ſurrounds their City, and had poſted themſelves near it with all their Militia. The King preſenting himſelf with twenty thouſand fighting Men, Maſter'd it at the firſt Aſſault, and put their Army to a Rout; which aſtoniſhed them ſo much, that they brought him the Keys of their Town without any Compoſition.

Two days after, which was the twenty ninth of *April*, he made his Entrance in Arms, having his Back and Breſt-piece on, his Sword drawn in his Hand, all the

1507.

the People crying out for Pardon and Mercy, and the Women and Children clothed in White, casting themselves down at his Feet. Their Crime was expiated only by the Blood of *Demetrius Justinian*, of *Paul de Nova*, and a fine of three hundred thousand *Ducats*, which was laid out in building of Castles to bridle them. The King's Clemency pardoned all the rest, and made them experiment the truth of that Devise, which he had on his Coat of Armour the Day he made his Entrance. It was a King of the *Bees* surrounded with his *Swarm*, with these apt Words: *Non utitur aculeo Rex cui paremus.*

1507.

It would have been facile for him, with a Victorious Army, and in the astonishment it gave to all *Italy*, to have made a mighty Progress which way soever he would have turned his Sword: but he was so fearful of displeasing the Pope, and of drawing the Inundation of all *Germany* upon *Milanois*, very much exasperated against him by some Speeches of *Maximilians* in their Diet, that to avoid all jealousy, both in the one and other, that he designed any Enterprize, he disbanded his Forces; He had likewise returned immediately into *France*, had he not waited for King *Ferdinand*, who desired to confer with him.

The Arch-Duke *Philip* died in the five and twentieth of *September* in the foregoing Year, being eight and twenty years old. By his Testament he left *Charles* his eldest Son under the Protection of King *Lewis*, and desired him to take the Guardianship; which he generously did, and had so great and particular a care of his Education, affigning him *Philip de Croy-Chevres* a most ingenious Lord, for his Governor, that he made him much more able and knowing, then consisted with the benefit of *France*.

Jane de Castille his Wife, who before had her Mind a little discomposed, was so concerned at his Death, that she lost all her Wits and Reason; she being therefore incapable to Govern, *Ferdinand* parted from *Naples*, where he had been to take Possession, to come and administer the Kingdoms of his Grand-Son.

In his Passage he conferr'd with the King at *Savonna*; each of them treated the other with all imaginable Honour, and Token of reciprocal Affection. King *Lewis* went first to visit *Ferdinand* in his Galley, *Ferdinand* came to see him in his House, putting themselves thus into one anothers Power without any precaution. They Swear upon the most Holy Sacrament to keep the Peace: but the Event made it apparent, that on *Ferdinand's* Side it was but feigned; he stood no longer in need of the Friendship of *Lewis*; the jealousy of the Arch-Duke which had before troubled him was now vanish with his Life.

The *German* Princes were much heated in the Diet of *Constance* against the King: they were made to believe that he despised them, and that the Army he had Marched over the Mountains to chastize the *Genoese*, were to invade all *Italy*. In this believe they had promised the Emperor to set a Potent Army on Foot: but when Intelligence came that he had Disbanded his, they grew Cool on the suddain, and refused to furnish the Soldiers they had promised.

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Upon the Report of their great Preparations for War, the King, the Pope, the *Swiss*, though otherwise Enemies amongst themselves, re-united to hinder the Emperor from coming into *Italy*. And in effect, when he would have passed along the Valley of *Trent*, with five or six thousand Men, a very small Appareil for so much Noise as he had made, the *Venetians* shut up the Passage against him. He was very much disgusted and enraged, but more yet when *Bartholomew d'Alviane* their General, having defeated some of his Troops, was received into their City in Triumph.

It was enough for them to have stopt his Army, after that they agreed to a Truce with him for a Year. The King was extremely offended that they had done it without his participation, and that they had excluded the Duke of *Guel-ders*; and this Affront made up the measure of fifteen or twenty others he had received. The Pope, the Emperor and *Ferdinand* hated them no less for different Causes, and particularly because they had encroached upon each of their Territories: but it was very difficult to get all these Princes, who had such different Interests, to enter into the same League.

Truly there was neither Security, nor Advantage for King *Lewis*, to associate either with *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian*, who had ever been, and could not but always be his Enemies, nor with the Pope, who mortally hated the *French* Nation, and who besides had the ambitious thoughts in his Head of over-ruling all *Italy*.

Italy. There was no Amity nor Confederation that he could trust to but the *Venetians*; And there were none but they that would suffer him to be in those Countries, provided he attempted nothing against them, and would let them enjoy their Usurpations. Nevertheless when he proposed this in his Council, without whose Advice he never resolved on any thing, all those that were there present shaping their Opinions, so as to make them suit with the hatred * he had declared against the *Venetians*, rather then grounding them on the Reasons of found and good Politicks, were of a contrary Opinion. There was none but *Stephen Poncher* Bishop of *Paris*, who not able to make his Fidelity sloop to that unfaithful complaisance, argued vehemently and rationally that *France* could not have better Confederates in *Italy* than they, and that the Society of all the rest was ruinous and destructive.

The Advice of the Multitude, and Passion of the King, which would have been very just in a private Person, made him commit that oversight, to joyn and clubb with his most Mortal Enemies, for the ruin of the *Venetians* by the Treaty of *Cambrai*.

Thither under Colour of accommodating the Differences between *Charles* the Emperors Grand-son and the Duke of *Guel-ders*, came first *Margaret* Widow, Dutcheß of *Savoy*, and Sister of the defunct Arch-Duke, and the Cardinal d'Amboise; then the *Spanish* Ambassador arrived as Mediator, to whom the other two did not communicate the main Secret, till they had agreed upon all that was betwixt them, because they suspected *Ferdinand*. They concluded then, to make War upon them inseparably to recover those Lands they detained from them: That the Pope should admonish them, upon pain of Excommunication, to restore them, and that the Emperor should give the King the Investiture of the Dutchy of *Milan* pure and simply for him, for *Francis* Duke of *Valois*, and for all their descendants.

The *Spanish* Ambassador would not Sign till he had a New Order from his Master, nor the Pope neither till the *Venetians* should have refused (so much their good Fortune had blinded them) to give him up *Faenza* and *Rimini*, for which he would have abandon'd all the rest.

Nothing appeared of all the Treaty, but the Confirmation of the Peace between the Princes, and this League was held so secret, that the *Venetians* came to the knowledg of it sooner by the Effects, then by information or other discovery. Those People before so insolent and daring, were greatly astonish'd when they found at the same Time, the King on the other side the Mountains with forty thousand Combatants, beginning a War upon them, and the Pope thundring them with his excommunications, which makes mighty impressions upon Peoples Hearts, when they are sharpened and seconded by the terror of an Enemies Sword.

The King having passed the River *Addo*, pursued their Army so close that he fought them the fourteenth day of *May*, and gained that memorable Battle of *la Giera d'Addo*, near the Village d' *Aignadel*, within four Miles of *Caravaz*. All their Infantry were cut off, and their General *Alviane* having lost an Eye, was made Prisoner.

In fifteen days time the Kings, without scarce striking a Blow, conquer'd all the Places they detained from him. He might also have taken *Vicenza*, *Padona*, *Verona*, *Treviso*, and all those that belonged to the Empire, or to the House of *Austria*, had he not had more Justice than Ambition ledg'd in his Heart. He sent back the Deputies of all those Cities, who brought him their Keys, to the Emperor, who took them into his Obedience, and sent in some Garrisons.

The Pope had sent an Army of ten or twelve thousand Men into *Romagnia*, it was commanded by the Cardinal de *Pavia*, by *Francis Maria de la Rovere* Son of his Holinesses Brother, and by the Duke of *Ferrara*, this having the Title of *Gonsalvomer* of the Church, and the other of Duke of *Urbino*, by the adoption of *Guido-balde de Montfelterre* Brother to his Mother. King *Ferdinand* had only a Small Navy in the *Golfe*, and watched to make his Advantage, as he did of the Labour and expence of the *French*.

Now the Loss only of the Battle of *Aignadel*, put the Signeria of *Venice* into such a consternation, that despairing of being able to keep any thing in the *Terra Firma*, they resolved to shut themselves up close in the Islands of their Gulf; and in this despair, commanded the Governors of all Places that belonged to the

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Pope, or to *Ferdinand*, to open the Gates to them, and recalled their Magistrates from *Verona*, *Padua*, *Vicenza* and others upon which the Emperor had any Pretensions. Thus those three Potentates by the Valor of the *French*, rather than by their own Strength, recover'd all that had been usurped by the *Venetians*; and the Ambition of that Republick, because they had not bounded it, saw their Signory contracted in a Moment, within the very Shoars of their *Canal*. I have read likewise in the Memoires of those Times, that the King drawing his Army neer, caused some Volleys of Random Cannon-Shot to be made against the City of *Venice*.

However it were, thinking he had done all, he retired to *Milan*, and sent the Cardinal d' *Amboise* to the Emperor, who having made him wait a long while, and having consumed all the Money he had scraped together in his Hereditary Estates, and amongst the People of the Low-Countries in superfluous Expences, was with much ado got thither upon the earnest Sollicitations of the Pope, who desired to have him in *Italy* to Counter-balance the Power of the King. He assigned him a day whereon he was to be at *Guardia*, which is on the Confines of the Valley of *Trent* and *Milanois*, to discourse with the King: but because in the mean Time the Inhabitants of *Treviso* had denied Entrance to a Governor whom he sent thither, and set up the *Venetian* Colours, he made his Excuse upon this fresh Accident, that he could not be at the Rendezvous.

This resistance of *Treviso*, made the *Venetians* find they had with too much hast abandoned what they possessed in the *Terra Firma*. This grain of Hope and Comfort dispell'd their fear, *Maximilian's* slowness gave them time to take breath, and their Courage began to rouse after they had by repeated Supplications, the meanest and most abject that can be imagined, mollified the Pope so much as to admit and hear their Ambassadors, whatever Instance or Arguments the Emperors and the Kings could urge to the contrary. But nothing was so favourable to the Recovery of their Affairs, and to the Ruine of the Emperor, as the Kings departure, who notwithstanding promised to assist him with five hundred Men at Arms: for whilst he neglected to take Order for the preserving his Places, and minded not to gain the Affection of the People, nor Curb and keep them in Awe by strong Garrisons, they had partly per-force, partly by Surprise, regained the most important City of *Padua*; This was about the time the King returned into *France*.

1509. The Emperor who had none but vast Designs, had projected to besiege *Venice*, and crush that Republick in the very Head: but this was neither the Popes nor the Kings intention; but by delaying it too long, he had not the opportunity to do it, the King and *Ferdinand* having called home their Naval Forces. Besides it concerned his Reputation to recover *Padua*, in which the Confederates, but particularly the *French* assisted him pursuant to the Treaty of *Cambray*. He laid Siege to it with six and thirty thousand Foot, 1800. Men at Arms, and a thousand light-Horse: but there were in the Town twelve thousand Foot, two thousand Horse, two hundred Sons of Noble *Venetians* Volunteers, every one of them resolved to be buried in a City, the preservation or loss whereof decided the Fate of the Republick. And indeed they defended themselves so bravely that the Emperor decamped the seventeenth day of the Siege, and having disbanded almost all his Troops, retired greatly enraged with the Confederates.

Nevertheless a more strict Alliance between the King and him, was again cemented, he wanting his Assistance to get satisfaction of *Ferdinand*, who kept back all the profit of the Administration of the Kingdoms of *Spain*. They both refer'd this difference to the Council of *France*, which ordained that *Ferdinand*, in case he had no Children, should have the Administration of *Castille*; but should annually pay fifty thousand Ducats to the Emperor, and as much for the maintenance of the Pupil.

1510. In the mean time his Holiness was reconciled to the *Venetians*, notwithstanding the Kings and the Emperors remonstrances, and took off their Excommunication, having imposed what Conditions he pleased upon them. He was daily more and more alienated from the King, and every Hour forged some complaint or other against him for things of no consequence, and most commonly without any just Grounds. On the contrary the King sought all means and opportunities to regain his Good-Will; but his Care and good Offices proved ineffectual as to that purpose, his Holiness creating him Enemies in every Corner. For at the same Instant he solicited the *Swisse* against him, by his Instrument *Matthew Schiner* Bishop

Bishop of *Sion*, whose vehement Harangues moved and agitated that Savage People, as a Storm of Wind blows the Leaves: He likewise animated the Young King of *England* *Henry VIII.* who mightily desired to signalize his Name and Advancement to the Crown, by some Glorious Enterprize. To which he was likewise prompted by *Ferdinand* his Father in Law, who desired to embarrass the King, fearing he should tear the Kingdom of *Naples* from him. *Henry's* Father was dead the Year before about the one and twentieth of *April*.

A small occasion of Interest served to bring *Julius* into the Field, *Alphonso* Duke of *Ferrara*, had some Salt-pits at *Comachio*, and the Pope was in possession of those of *Cervia*. This last had went to vend his Salt in *Lombardy*; but *Alphonso* had treated with the King to furnish him at a much cheaper Rate. Now *Augustin Ghisi* Farmer of the Popes Salt-Pits, having complained of it to his Holiness, he commanded the Duke to break off this bargain with the King, and upon his refusal, began to make War upon him, with design as it appeared, to embroil the King, and have an occasion to quarrel with him.

The *Swisse* on their Side fought to make some brawl, they demanded some old Debts, and an Augmentation of their Pensions of twenty thousand Livers yearly. It had been no more then this Summ alone, all the time of *Lewis XI.* and now was raised to sixty thousand. The addition they pressed for, was not considerable, considering the great danger they could put *Milan* into: but they proceeded in such an insolent manner, that the King believed himself obliged in Honour to refuse them. He would also let them see that he could do well enough without them, having engaged the Vallies of *Sion*, and the League of the *Grisons* to his Service. They were so offended at this his slighting them, that they devoted themselves entirely to the Pope, under this specious Title of *Defenders of the Holy See*, for a thousand * Florins Pension for each Canton.

The Lord de *Chaumont* Governor of the *Milanois*, going to the Assistance of the *Ferrarois*, drove the *Venetians* out that Dukes Country, and by the taking of several Places brought their former Terror again upon them. * They had 5 thousand from the King.

Thereupon the five and twentieth day of *May*, died at *Lyons* *George d' Amboise*, the wife and prudent pilot of *France*, a Minister without Covetousness or Pride, a Cardinal with one single Benefice, who having no other aim for Riches, but to encrease the Publick Store, heaped up for himself a Treasure of Benedictions to all Posterity. Every one mourned him, excepting *Julius* who alone rejoiced, for having ascended the Holy Chair, as he had done by Steps not altogether Canonical, he apprehended lest if the King had become strongest in *Italy*, this Cardinal might have made his Process and degraded him for it.

It might be thought that his hatred being now no longer enflamed by that Object, should have extinguished of its self; but on the contrary, being now freed from those Fears which somewhat daunted him, it broke forth with all its Violence, and yet without any ill Effect for that time. For his Army having twice approached *Genoa*, could not make them stir, a re-inforcement having been timely put in, and *Chaumont* shut up the Passages to *Milan*, so carefully against the *Swisse*, that having in vain attempted to get thorough in several Places, they returned again.

The King perceiving that, whether he would or not, there must be a War with *Julius*, appointed an Assembly of the *Gallican* Church at *Tours*, about the end of *September*, to know how far in Conscience he might proceed upon such an Occasion. The Assembly having considered eight Questions which he caused to be propounded, answered as to the substance of them, that this was a just War, and that he might make it offensive, to defend himself. After this Advice, he made inhibition his Subjects should not apply themselves to the Court of *Rome*, for Provisions of Benefices, or carry any Money out of the Kingdom.

Of all the Potentates in *Italy*, there were none but the Duke of *Ferrara*, the *Florentins*, and the *Bentivogli* dispossessed of *Bologna*, that took his Part; The *Venetians* were openly in League with the Pope, who for above a Twelve-Month past, had renounced the League of *Cambray*; King *Ferdinand* likewise, having received from him the investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples* for a white *Palefroy*, without payment of the forty thousand Ducats, as his Predecessors were wont to do. He did not however declare himself so soon, but acting the Mediator between the one and the other, he pretended to appease the Pope, to animate him the more, dived into the Kings and the Emperors Secrets, and amused them with divers propositions.

The only considerable Ally that stood for the King, was the Emperor, who being always indigent by his continual Expences, and delaying his Affairs from Diet to Diet, where the Pope by his Intrigues easily blasted all his Designs, especially in the matter of getting Monies, was not at all advanced in his business against the *Venetians*: yet however he being obstinately bent to bring them to reason, notwithstanding all the Intercessions of the Pope, was obliged to hold himself strictly united with the King. Who for his own part flatt'ring his Ambition, proffer'd to assist him with all his Forces to reduce the City of *Rome*, and all *Italy* to his Obedience, excepting *Milan*, the Dutchy of *Ferrara*, the Seigneuries of *Genoa*, *Florence*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*. Thus both the one and the other, to pull down the Pride of *Julius*, concluded between themselves to assemble a General Council, for the reformation of the Church, as well in it's Head as in it's Members.

1510. *This Year an Epidemical Disease, spread it self over all France, which they named Coqueluche, because it clouded the whole Head, with a drowsy yet painful heaviness; It caused likewise great Pains in the Stomach, the Reines and the Calves of the Legs, with a burning Fever, attended with dangerous Deliriums, and a Disgust of all sorts of Food. Few People were exempt from it, and a great many Died of it.*

1510. & 11. The mischief to the King's Designs, was that weakness of his to spare *Julius*, and not utterly ruine him, as it was in his Power for above two Years. He had forbid *Chaumont* from attacking the Lands belonging to the Church: this did not keep him from excommunicating that General, and the Duke of *Ferrara* likewise.

A few days after, *Chaumont* had a fair opportunity to take him in *Bologna*, where he had rashly engaged himself: but in stead of besieging the Town smartly, he suffered himself to be amused with Propositions for an accommodation several days together: in which time the *Venetians* and *Turks* came with some Forces and freed him from that Peril.

1511. When those Forces were joyned, *Julius* commanded his Generals to besiege *Ferrara*, and to facilitate the taking of it, first to attack the little City of *Miranda* belonging to the Children of *John Picus*, who had in no manner offended him. This Siege not going on with speed enough to his Mind, he goes thither himself notwithstanding the Frost and Snow, having no regard, neither to his Age of seventy Years, nor to the Dignity of his Sacred *Tiara*. He hastned on the Works, ordered the Batteries, encourag'd and pusht on the Soldiers, sometimes by Caresse, otherwhile by Threats; And the Town being taken on composition, the nineteenth of *March*, he was carried into it thorough the breach.

The King's Reputation being much declined in *Italy*, by the taking of *Miranda*, he sent fresh Troops thither, and Orders to *Chaumont*, not to spare *Julius* any longer. *Chaumont* followed him so close at the Heels, that he constrained him to retire to *Bologna*, and from thence to *Ravenna*: but thereupon this honest General happens to die at *Corregio*, and amidst the weakness caused by his Sickness, was so touched with Scruples of Conscience, that he sent to beg Absolution of the Pope. The Command of the Army fell to *Trivulcio* because of his Office of Marechal, and the King confirmed it, till he could send *Gastande Foix* his Nephew, who was as yet but twenty Years of Age.

King *Ferdinand* was press'd by both Parties, to declare himself, he was unwilling to Arm against the Emperor, being Grand-Father to the young Prince, the insolence of *Julius* shock'd him, the Kings Power was ever formidable to him; and whatever the event of this War might be, he almost equally feared, both the one and the other. So that he thought it fitter to endeavor an accommodation, and engaged those three Potentates to send Ambassadors to *Montona*, that they might find out some expedients.

1511. *Stephen Poncher* Bishop of *Paris*, a Prelate of rare Prudence and great Learning, went thither in behalf of the King, *Matthew Lang* Bishop of *Curs* for the Emperor: Many things were propounded: the *French* Ambassador yielded and complied in several Points, but the more he gave ground, the more the others flew off.

1511. In the mean time the Pope desired the Bishop of *Curs*, to come to him at *Ravenna*; He thought to gain him by force of Promises, and the splendor of a Cardinals

dinals Cap, which he had newly communicated to eight other Prelates very considerable for their Learning or Credit, of which number was *Matthew Schiner*, to fortifie and support himself by their Suffrages against the Council, with which he was threatned. But the Bishop who more valued the Dignity of his Character than the *Roman Purple*, did not mind his Proffers, but treated him with unheard of haughtiness. For he obliged him to come and meet him as far as *Bologna*, sat on a like Chair as his, and would confer with none but himself, leaving it to his Gentlemen, to treat with those Cardinals the Pope had sent to him. Withal he kept firm to the Interests of the Emperor and the King, and returned without concluding ought.

Trivulcio therefore began the War anew, and took *Concorda*. Approaching 1511. *Bologna* with the *Bentivoglio*s, the Pope retired to *Ravenna*, and left the guarding of *Bologna*, to the Cardinal of *Pavia* his * Favourite, and to *Francis Maria*, * *Francesco Alidosi*, Duke of *Urbino* his Brothers Son, his Forces being in the Place, and the *Venetians* in the Vicinage: but this could not stay nor hinder the inconstancy of the *Bolognese*, nor the impetuosity of the *French*. Upon his way, he met with three Mortal Displeasures, the first was the News, that the *Bolognians* had driven out his Soldiers; the second, that his Army was dispersed; the third, the Duke of *Urbino* his Nephew stabb'd, almost in his sight, the Cardinal of *Pavia* in *Ravenna*, upon some Quarrel between them; and in those Cities thorough which he passed, he saw the Indiction, posted up, for a General Council at *Pisa*, the first of September.

It was of the sixteenth of *May*, made at the requisition of the Kings and the Emperors Procurators, in execution of the Decree of the Council of *Constance*, and in the Name of nine Cardinals, three of them having signed it, these were *Sancta Croce*, *Cosenza* and *Saint Malo*: their Names *Bernard de Carvajal*, *Francis Borgia*, and *William Briconmont*, who hapned to be then at *Milan*. The King and the Emperor approved this Indiction, by their Letters Patents, of the following Month of *July*.

In this consternation, seeing no Security for himself even in *Rome*, if the Kings Victorious Army should pursue him, he cast about for an Accommodation: but as soon as he knew that the King tyred with the importunate Scruples of his Wife, had sent Orders to *Trivulcio*, not to make any Attempt upon the Territories of the Church, he shewed himself more stubborn and more implacable then ever.

And so by his Bulls of the Seventeenth of *July*, he assigned a Council at *Rome*, in the *Lateran* Palace for the nineteenth of *April* following, declared Null the Convocation of that of *Pisa*, and cited the three Cardinals to appear before him, within threescore and five Days, upon default whereof they should be degraded of their Dignities, and deprived of their Benefices.

The Kings negligence and the Chimerical irresolutions of the Emperor heightened his Courage. For the Emperor ever slow and wavering, omitting at first to press the Business home, had not so much Credit as to make his Prelates go to *Pisa*; the King managing this serious Business, as it were but in Sport, sent thither but fifteen of his Bishops of *France* and *Milan*, together with some Abbots, Doctors, and Procurators of the Universities; and the Council was not opened till the twenty-ninth of *October*, they being troubled to obtain leave of the *Florentines*, under whose Seignoury *Pisa* then was, who had at length reduced it by force about two Years before this. The Cardinal of *Sancta Croce* was President there, *Odet de Foix Lautrec* the Guardian, and *Philip Dece* an excellent Lawyer the Advocat.

The *Pisans* had little respect for this Assembly, and the People, whether of themselves, or by the secret Instigations of the Popes Emissaries, or the *Florentines*, who apprehended the furious resentments of the Pope, did often quarrel with the *French* Soldiers. The Fathers took such an Alarm upon it, that at their third Session they transferr'd it to *Milan*, where they were no better received nor longer in quiet.

Julius relied much upon the Assistance of *Ferdinand*, and the *Venetians*; the twentieth of *October*, he concluded the League with them, which they named *Holy*, for the Peace of the Church, said they, the abolishing the Council of *Pisa*, the recovery of the Lands belonging to the Holy See, and the expulsion of all those out of *Italy*, that would hinder the Execution of those things.

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1512. In the Month of *January* of the Year 1512. the Army of the Holy League, commanded by *Raimond de Cardonna* Vice-Roy of *Naples*, besieged *Bologna*, and the Citizens of *Brescia* introduced the *Venetians* into their City, where they put in fifteen hundred Horse, and eight thousand Foot in Garrison, who besieged the Castle. But now, behold, the young *Gaston de Foix* General of the Kings Army in those Countries, more sudden and more terrible then Thunder, overthrows them and all their Designs. For on the tenth Day of the Siege, whilst the Snow fell so thick, as to prevent the being observed, he entred into *Bologna*, to the great astonishment of those Old Soldiers, who raised their Siege confounded and clothed with Shame.

From thence marching towards *Brescia*, with six thousand chosen Men, he on his way defeated *John Paul Bailloni*, who commanded part of the *Venetian* Army. Then entering into the City by the Castle, he forced their Works, and the Intrenchments they had made, strewed the Streets with eight thousand of their Slain, and drove out the *Venetian* Troops. These three grand Exploits performed in less then fifteen Daies, raised this Prince above all the Captains of his Time.

Notwithstanding all these Advantages, the Pontifical League being reinforced every day with some remainders, the *Florentins* renounced their Amity with *France*; the Report was spread of a sudden Irruption of the *Swiss*; and the *English* were just upon breaking with the King; for the Pope had intoxicated them, with the vain Glory of defending the Holy See, and the Fumes of all sorts of delicious Wines, whereof he had sent them a whole Ships loading, together with Hamms, Sauciges and Spices, to give the Wine a better relish or gusto, and make them the more desirable.

1512. Now the King, that he might not have so many Enemies at once, sent Order to *Gaston*, that he should give Battle to the Army of the League, during the Torrent of his good Fortune. The Enemies themselves presented it to him, being approached near *Ravenna*, to make him raise the Siege which he had undertaken for this very purpose. It was fought on *Easter* Day the eleventh of *April*. Their Forces were equal, the shock very bloody, in the conclusion the Commanders for the League some of them being fled, and the others taken, the Victory turned to *Gaston's* Lot. But as he was pursuing too eagerly, a Body of four thousand *Spaniards*, who made their retreat in good Order by the way betwixt the rising Ground, and the River *Ronca*, he was surrounded and slain with the thrust of a Pike, and his Cousin *Odet de Foix Lautree* grievously wounded,

This gross was not pursued, the rest were all cut in Pieces or made Prisoners, *Ravenna* afterwards Sacked, and some Neighbouring Cities, put into the Hands of the Cardinal *Sanseverin* Legate from the Council of *Pisa*, as likewise the Cardinal *Julian de Medicis* the Popes Legate, *Ferrand d' Avalos* Marquis of *Pescaro*, and *Peter de Navarre*, who had all been taken in the Battle.

After this it was expected there would have been an Universal Revolution in *Italy*, in favour of the *French*. In effect their fright was so great in *Rome*, that the Cardinals in a Body went to implore the Pope, to make a Peace with the King. *Ferdinand* and the *Venetians* having brought him a little to heart again, he fell to practise his wonted Artifice, which was to amuse the King with Propositions of an Accommodation, and to engage the Queen to act, who by Motives of Conscience, Careless, Intrigues, and Importunities often disarm'd him and made him relent.

With this his trouble in Mind occasioned by the death of his Nephew, the misunderstanding which arose between the Cardinal *Sanseverin*, who was Legate, and *la Palice*, who had the Title of General, the little obedience the other *French* Captains yielded to this last, and the ill-timed good Husbandry, or sparingness of the Treasurer, Pay-Master to the Army, did not only render that Victory fruitless, but occasioned the loss of the Dutchy of *Milan*. For the Treasurer disbanded a considerable part of the Forces, and *la Palice* left *Sanseverin* but six thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, and led the rest into *Milan*. There being encamped at *Pontevica*, a Place proper to relieve *Milan*, *Cremona*, *Bress*, and *Bergamo*, four thousand Lanquenets, which made up two thirds of his Infantry, and had been raised in the Territories of the House of *Austria*, were recalled by the Emperor *Maximilian* at that instant when the *Swiss* were cutting into that Country.

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In few Words, the *French* reduced to two or three thousand Men, did wholly abandon all *Milanois*; *Maximilian Sforza* was restored to that Dutchy by the *Swiss*, who declared themselves Protectors of it. The City of *Genoa* revolted, and created a Duke, which was *Janus Fregosa*: Almost at the same time the King of *England* sent a Herald, to declare a War against the King; and the Emperor who had so often protested, never to sepearate from him, forsook him, and knit a new Alliance with *Julius*.

Amidst this rout amongst the *French*, the Council of *Pisa*, who were retired to *Milan*, made their escape to *Lyons*. During the time they had been at *Milan*, they held four or five Sessions, in which the Fathers had Summoud *Julius* to name some free Place for the Council, and to meet there in Person, to justifie himself, had declared him suspended of the Papal Administration, and forbid to pay him Obedience.

The Council of *Latan*, much more numerous and better authorized, thundred with more force, especially after the Emperor had owned them. In their third Session, which was upon a *Friday* the sixteenth of *November*, a Bull was read which condemned the Council of *Pisa*, their Abettors and Adherents, and confirmed the Excommunications and Degradations, which *Julius* had fulminated against the Cardinals and Bishops who composed it; As also their Letters *Monitorie* of the fourteenth of *August*, whereby he put the Kingdom of *France* under interdiction, excepting the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, and transferr'd the Faires from *Lyons* to *Geneva*. In the Fourth, which was the eleventh of *December* there was read a Decree which adjourned the King, and the Prelates, Chapters, and Parliaments, to appear before him within sixty Days, and to shew their Reasons, why they would not have the Pragmatick Sanction abrogated.

The Lure which King *Ferdinand* had made use of, to engage the Young King of *England* his Son-in-Law, in a War against *France*, was the Promise he had made him, to assist him with all his Forces to conquer *Guyenne*. Upon this assurance, the *English* by the end of *May*, landed a great Army near *Fontarabia*: but *Ferdinand* had of a long time formed the design of conquering *Navarre*, so that in stead of joyning with him, he falls upon that unhappy Kingdom, nothing concerned in the Quarrel, and took occasion upon the apprehensions of their Army, to invade it the more securely, and easily.

King *John d' Albret* had not dar'd to arm himself, for fear of giving him that Pretence he desired to oppress him; So that as soon as he appeared on the Frontiers, he coward-like retired into *Bearn*, and abandon'd the whole Kingdom to him, excepting only some Fortresses.

When *Ferdinand* had usurped *Navarre*, he sought out some Title to it, that he might still hold it. He could find no other, but the right of War, and a Bull of the Popes, which left it as a Prey to the first Occupier, because *John*, said, he, was an Abettor of the Council of *Pisa*, and an Ally of the King of *France* Enemy to the Holy See. But as to the right of War, unless they mean the Force or Power of the Sword, which gives no right, but amongst the *Barbarians*, *Ferdinand* had none at all, since *John* had no way wronged him, and was so far from taking Arms against him, that on the contrary, he proffer'd him free Passage thorow his Kingdom. And as to the other Point, that Bull so much alledged, is no where to be found: but could it be produced, it could give no right to a Crown which is held only from God; and if it could give any, it was published, say the *Spaniards*, in the Month of *July*, and the Invasion was made in *June*. Which is to chop off a Man's Head, and then pronounce his Sentence.

The Succors which the King sent to *John* his Ally being ill conducted did him no Service. The Duke of *Longueville* Governor of *Guyenne*, and *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon* who commanded them, could not agree. The King sent *Francis* Duke of *Valois* thither; His Authority stified their Discord, he entred into *Navarre*, in despite of the Duke of *Alva*, who was encamped at Saint *John's de Pied de Port*, and laid Siege to *Pampelonna*; but the want of Provisions, and Inconveniences of the Season, constrained him to De-Camp at the end of six Weeks.

Ferdinand having reaped what Fruit he could hope for by this War, did willingly make a Truce with the King.

About these Times, began the Reign of the Cherifs in Affrica, by one Mahomet Ben-hemet, who, saying he was descended of the Blood of his Great Prophet, and having Sanctified

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1512.

Empp.
Maximilian,
And
Selim II. after
he had slain
Bajazeth his
Father, R. 8.
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Sanctified himself in the Opinion of the People, by a tedious and long Solitude, animated them with a furious Zeal, to make War upon the Christians, and those Moors that had made Alliance with them, and by the help and means of his two Sons, conquer'd the Kingdoms of Fez, of Morocco, and of Tremillen.

1513. The wrath of Julius had no bounds, he had framed a Decree in the Name of the Council, to transfer the Kingdom of France, and the Title of Most Christian, to the King of England. When he was just on the Point of publishing it, the Heavens taking pity of him, and of all Christendom, called him out of the World the three and twentieth of February. He died of a lingering slow Fever, contracted, as they said, thorow Grief, for that he could not persuade or incline the Venetians, to make an Agreement with the Emperor; So violent were his Passions, much fitter for a Turkish Sultan, then the common Father of all Christians.

1513. The Cabal of Young Cardinals, having observed that the Oldest were sometimes the most passionate, would essay whether amongst the youthfull there might not be found, one more Temperate; And for this consideration, elected John de Medicis Son of Laurence, who was but thirty six Years of Age. He took the Name of Leo X.

There were two Opinions in the Kings Council, the one to make an Accommodation with the Venetians; the other to regain the Emperor. Stephen Poncher Bishop of Paris was of the first, such as would be complaisant to the Queen stood for the second. This Princess passionately desired to marry Renee her second Daughter to the Arch-Duke Charles; and this Advice had carried it, if she would at that very time, have given her up to Maximilians Hands to breed her, and had not obstinately resolved to keep her near her self, till she were marriageable. Ferdinand on the other side, fearing lest the Venetians should renew, and joyn in friendship again with France, endeavoured to reconcile them with Maximilian, and propounded to get Verona to be restored again to them: but the Emperor demanded prodigious Summs of Money, and very crabbed Conditions; So that the Venetians not being able to come to an Agreement on reasonable Terms with him, condescended to a League with the King.

1513. By means of their Assistance, and during the Truce he had with Ferdinand, he believed he might recover the Dutchy of Milan. He gave Commission for this to la Trimoville, the most renowned of his Captains, together with sixteen thousand Foot, one thousand Men at Arms, and two thousand light-Horse, to whom the Venetian Army commanded by Alviane, newly deliver'd by the French, were to joyn in case of need.

At his arrival, though he had not much more then the half of his Men, it spread so great a Terror thorow Italy, that all the Places in Milanois surrendered to him, excepting Coma and Novarre, in the last of which Duke Francis Sforza put himself, with five thousand Swisse. At the same time the Fleet which consisted of nine Galleys and some Ships, having appeared on the Coast of Genoa, the Fiesques and the Adornes drew near to Genoa with four thousand Men, and having beaten some Soldiery, whith which Duke Janu Fregoso thought to hinder their Passage from the Mountains, chased away that Duke, and restored that Seignury to the Obedience of the King, having caused Antonio Adorno to be created Duke, to administer in his Name.

1513. The injoyment of this Conquest lasted not so long, as the time they had employ'd in acquiring it. La Trimoville had besieged Sforza in Novarre and made a Breach: but he durst not make his Assault, because the said Breach, was hardly large enough, and there was another Body of Swisse, coming to relieve the besieged. There were two Opinions that divided the Officers, la Trimoville thought it best to go and meet the Swisse, John Jacques Trivulcio on the contrary to avoid fighting, and wait for the French Troops, that were marching to re-inforce them. The plurality of Votes made them resolve to pursue the first, and for that purpose, Trivulcio with the Van-Guard should go and take his Lodgment upon that Road, whilst la Trimoville should remain yet some time longer before Novarre with the Rear-Guard, to expel the Swisse, if they endeavour'd to make any Sallies. But having some Lands of his own in the Place they had assigned him to take his Lodgment, and besides being proud and haughty, his Pride and Avarice made him turn another way, and take his Lodgment near la Riota, in a Bog-

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gy Ground, and cut up and down with deep Trenches, so that the Horse could be of no Service, nor be able to help the Foot.

The Swisse that were in Novarre, therefore marching forth in the Night, which could not have been imagin'd, and having joyned the others, came with much fury to charge the French Army at the first birth of Day. Their Charge was received with the like courage; Fifteen hundred of their Men were slain, and as many wounded: nevertheless they gained the Victory, and hew'd all the German Infantry in pieces, together with the Gascons. La Trimoville wounded in the Leg, retreated with all his Cavalry to Verceil, and from thence to Susa.

The burthen of the War fell afterwards upon the Venetians; they maintained it well enough: but all those Cities that had given themselves up to the French, returned, and submitted themselves to the mercy of Sforza, and were chastized for their defection, by great Fines which served him to pay the Swisse.

The Adornes who had not yet held the Government of Genoa above one and twenty Days, having not wherewith to support themselves, after such a revolution, made their best advantage of it; They assembled the People, and having declared, that they would not maintain an ambitious Government, to the great hazard of their Country, withdrew themselves out of the City, most of the People and Senate conducting them forth with Tears and Wishes for their return. By the interest of Cardonna General of Ferdinand's Army, and upon the Popes recommendations, Ottaviano Fregosa was settled in that Principality, and not Janus who was formerly expell'd.

Hitherto Maximilian, although he had abandoned the King, had not yet formally declared himself; When he found the opportunity so fair, he enters into open hostility against him; and then was France in more eminent danger then it had of a long time been. For on the one side, the Swisse extremely puff'd up by the Victory at Novarre, entred by the Dutchy of Burgundy, and he with the King of England fell upon them in Picardy.

The Swisse besieged Dijon with five and twenty hundred Men, to whom the Emperor had joyned the Nobles of the Franche-Comte, and some German Horse commanded by Ulric Duke of Wirtemberg. La Trimoville having defended it six Weeks, judged it better to turn this Torrent another way, which after the taking this Place, would have overflowed all even to Paris, than to render it more violent by thus putting it to a stop. He enters upon a Treaty with them, and manag'd it so wisely, as to send them back into their own Country, obliging himself that the King should pay them six hundred thousand Crowns, and should renounce the Council of Pisa, and the Dutchy of Milan. He had no express Order to make these conditions: but thought he might be allowed to do it for the saving of all France, and thereupon gave them up six Hostages, two Lords, and four Citizens. The King refusing to ratifie this Treaty, their Heads were in great danger. Only the fear the Swisse had of losing the great Summs of Money he proffer'd them, saved the Lives of those innocent Persons.

At the same time about mid-July, the Emperor and the King of England had besieged Terovenne with above fifty thousand Men. The French Army happily enough, threw a Convoy of Provisions and Ammunitions into the Fosse: but at their return not standing well upon their Guard, they were Charged and put to the rout. The Battle was fought the eighteenth of August, near Guinegasse*, it was named The Battle of Spurs, because in this Fight the French made more use of them, then of their Swords. The more Valiant notwithstanding shewed great Personal courage, which they paid for; the Duke of Longueville, and the Chevalier Bayard were hemm'd in, and carried away by the English. Terovenne capitulated fifteen Days after: The two Princes not being able to agree who should have it, commanded it to be dismantled, against the express Terms of the Capitulation, and burnt it all excepting only the Churches. Tournay fearing the like Fate, surrendered in good time to the King of England, who built a Citadell to bridle them.

About the same Time, James IV. King of Scotland, the only Ally the King had left him, having marched into England, to make a Diversion, was beaten by the English Army, and slain upon the Spot, the seventeenth of September.

The King's Spirit bore him up bravely against all these Adversities: but he had a Domestick trouble greater then those of all his Enemies. This was his own Wife, who moved with the Scruples common to her Sex, could not endure

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* There have been two Battles at Guinegasse.

he should be at variance with the Pope, and should maintain a Council against him. She still making a noise in his Ears, upon these two Points, he was sometimes forced, to keep Peace within Doors, to lay down his Arms, when his Affairs were most promising, and in a fair way of bringing *Julius* quickly to reason. In fine, being quite tyred and overcome by her Importunities, and the remonstrances of his Subjects, whom she stirred up on all Hands, he renounced his Council of *Pisa*, and adhered to the *Latran* Council, by his Procurators; who caused his *Mandate* to be read in the eight Session, the fourteenth of *December*, the Pope then Presiding. He likewise promised to appear concerning the Business of the Pragmatick: but because of those Enemies, who encompassed him round on all Hands, he demanded a competent Time, which was granted him.

The Cardinals *de Sancta Croce* and *Sanseverin*, went to *Rome*, to cast themselves at the Feet of Pope *Leo*, and presenting themselves in the Council, in the Habits of simple Priests, craving pardon on their Knees, acknowledging they had justly been degraded by Pope *Julius*, and detesting the Assembly of *Pisa* as Schismatick, were restored to their Dignities, and took their Places in the Sacred Colledg. After these submissions, the Pope seemed in appearance, to be satisfied with the King: but did not omit underhand, to incite the Emperor to make War upon him, that he might be so much embroil'd as not to have leasure to return into *Italy*.

Queen *Anne* survived but few Days after this reconciliation, which she had so infinitely desired; She died the ninth of *January* at the Castle of *Blois*. Her Husband loved her so entirely, that his Heart bowed under this Affliction, he put on Black for Mourning, shut himself up for several Days in his Cloister, and turned all the Fiddlers, Comedians, Jugglers and Buffoons, out of the Court.

(Having no Children, he with great tendernefs bred up *Francis* Duke of *Valois*, whom the Laws of the Kingdom appointed necessary Successor. Queen *Anne* out of a hatred she had ever conceived, for *Louisa* Mother of this Prince, had hindred his Marriage with her Daughter *Claude*; The King would have it consummate the eighteenth day of *May*, at *Saint Germain en laye*.

Himself had as then, no thoughts of re-marrying: but the Duke of *Longueville* who was Prisoner in *England*, and endeavoured to make a Peace between the two Crowns, having talked of a Marriage between the King, and *Mary* the Sister of King *Henry*, the good Prince hearkned willingly to it, out of the desire he had to settle his People in Peace, and the King of *England* inclined thereto, as perceiving the Fourberies of *Ferdinand* his Father in Law, who had disappointed him three several times.

The Peace and Marriage were made in *London* on the same Day, being the second of *August*. The King of *England* was to hold *Tournay*, and *Lewis* obliged himself to pay him six hundred thousand Crowns at two payments, as well for the Expences of his War, as for the Arrears of the Pension that had been promis'd by the Treaty of *Pequigny*, and confirmed by that of *Estaples* in 1492. In this Summ they had deducted his Wives Portion, which was four hundred thousand Crowns. The Marriage was compleated at *Abbeville*, the tenth Day of *October*.

The young Duke of *Valois*, who was all fire and flame for the fair Ladies, did not want some Sparks for this new Queen, and *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, who loved her before this Marriage, and followed the Court of *France* in Quality of Ambassador from *England*, had not extinguished his first Flames. But the remonstrances of *Arthur de Gouffier Boisjy*, having made the Duke of *Valois* consider, (whose Governor he had been) that he was going to play a ticklish Game, and had reason to apprehend the like from the Duke of *Suffolk*, the wean'd himself of his Folly, and caused every Motion of that Duke to be narrowly observed.

(The good King's Grave was not far distant from his Nuptial Bed. As he was raising a Potent Army to re-pass the *Alpes*, making himself secure of Fortunes favour; since he had gained the King of *England* his most dreadful Enemy, a fit of Vomiting seized upon him in his *Hofel des Tournelles* at *Paris*, (and brought him so low, that he died of it the first day of *January* Anno 1515. He was fifty three years of Age, and had Reigned seventeen.

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His Humour was open, gay and easie, he loved to hear the Truth, and that of things even concerning himself without shewing any Anger, unless it reflected on the Honor of some Ladies; of whom there were not many Stories to relate, the Queens severe Chastity, and his great and manly Soul, above those triflings and vain divertisements that begets so much Corruption, having made them keep themselves mightily reserved.

He pleased himself in reading of good Books, and cherish'd and advanced Learned Men: but more those that were able to instruct and do him Service, then such as could only flatter, and please the Ear with their soft discourses.

Never Prince loved his People so much, nor was so much beloved as he. As he spared them as much as he could himself, so he took care they should not be a Prey to the Grandees and Sons of War. He had so well regulated the last, that often times the Provinces would request it as a Favour and Advantage, that he would send them Companies of his Men at Arms. He was more then once observed to have Tears in his Eyes, when he was forced to lay some little Subsidy upon them; and upon the prospect he had of what would be squander'd and wasted in Luxury and vain Prodigality by *Francis* I. after his death, he sighing said, *Ah! we labour in vain, this great Boy will spoil all.*

Two Male Children he had by *Anne* of *Bretagne*, died in the Arms of their Nurces. There were only two Daughters left, *Claude* who was married to *Francis* I. and *Renée*, who in Anno 1528. was by that King married to *Hercules* Duke of *Ferrara*, a petty Prince whom he made choice of purposely, that he might not be able to contend with him for the Dutchy of *Bretagne*.

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Francis I.

FRANCIS I,

CALLED

The Great KING,

AND THE

Father of Learning.

King LVII.

Aged xx Years and about four Months.

POPES,

LEO X: *near seven Years under this Reign.*

29th of November 1525. S. 10
Years and above 10 Months.

ADRIAN VI. *Elected the 4th of January in the Year 1522. S. 1 Year, and above eight Months.*

PAUL III. *Elected the 13th of October 1534. S. Years, and one Month, whereof 12 Years and a half under this Reign.*

CLEMENT VII. *Elected the*

1515.
in January.

THis is the third time in the *Capetine* Race, that the Scepter, for want of Male-Children in the direct Line, passes in a collateral Line. *Lewis I.* Duke of *Orleans* had two Sons, *Charles* who was Duke of *Orleans* after him, and *John* who was Earl of *Angouleme*. *Lewis XII.* was the Son of *Charles*, and from *John*, came another *Charles*, who was Father of *Francis I.* who succeeded to *Lewis XII.* He was crowned at *Reims* the five and twentieth of *January*, and took the Title of Duke of *Milan* with that of King of *France*.

When this Prince appeared on the Throne in the Flower of his Youth, with the Meene and Stature of a Hero, with wonderful dexterity and address in all the noble Exercises of a Cavalier, Brave, Liberal, Magnificent, Civil, Debonnaire, and well Spoken, he attracted the Adoration of the People, and the Love of the Nobility; and indeed he had been the greatest of Kings, if the too high Opinion of himself, grounded upon so many fair Qualities, had not inclined him

him to suffer himself to be entangled in the Snares of Women, and the Flatteries of Courtiers, who corrupted his Mind, and made it spend its self most in outward vain Glory, and superficial appearances.

His first Cares were to seek the Alliance and Amity of the Princes his Neighbours. The King of *England* taking yet to Heart, the Infidelity of *Ferdinand* his Father in Law, continued the Peace with him on the same Conditions, as he had made with his Predecessor, and to last during both their Lives. The King sent back Queen *Mary* to him, who afterwards married the Duke of *Suffolk*. The Arch-Duke likewise being thereto obliged by the *Flemmings*, who in no wise would have a War with *France*, and besides judging there might be danger to let things stand, without any Colligation between *France* and *England*, sent the Count of *Nassau* Ambassador to him: who after he had rendred the Homage due for the Counties of *Artois* and *Flanders*, treated a perpetual confederation between the two Princes.

The Band and Knot that was to tye this fast, was the Marriage in future of his Master, with *Renee* the Queens Sister; It was stipulated under terrible Oaths, and great pains of refusal on either Part, for which *Francis* stak'd down the Faith of several great Lords, and twelve of his best Cities for security. The Conditions were, six hundred thousand Crowns of Gold, and the Dutchy of *Berry* for her, and for her Children; That she should renounce to the Succession of Father and Mother, namely to the Dutchies of *Milan* and *Bretagne*, and that the King should be engaged to assist the Arch-Duke with Men and Ships, to go and take Possession of the Kingdoms of *Spain*, upon the Death of *Ferdinand* his Grand-Father.

It would have been very easie also, for the King to have confirmed the League made by his Predecessor with the *Venetians*: but *Ferdinand* refused the continuation of the Truce, unless upon the same Conditions as the last, which was, that he should not meddle with, or touch the Dutchy of *Milan*. Which the King not having accepted of, the said *Ferdinand*, the Emperor, the *Swisse*, and *Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, made a League which imported; That to compel the King to renounce that Dutchy, the *Swisse* should attack *France* by the way of *Burgundy*; That in order to it, they should receive three thousand Ducats Monthly, from the other Confederates; and that King *Ferdinand* should fall with a powerful Army into *Guyenne* or *Languedoc*. The Pope for whom they had left room in this League, did not enter till the Month of *July*, when he found that the King who had kept this design conceal'd all the Winter, marched in good earnest to pass the Mountains.

Upon his access to the Crown, he supplied the Offices of Constable, and Chancellor with two Persons, whereof one caused great mischiefs to *France* in this Reign only, and the other was the occasion of such, as were felt then, and perhaps may last to all the following Ages. He gave that of Constable to *Charles de Bourbon*, who afterwards stirred up great Troubles against him, and that of Chancellor to *Antony Duprat*, at that Time, first President of *Paris*, who to furnish the Prodigal and conquering Humor of a young King with Money, suggested to him the Sale of Justice, by creating a new Chamber of twenty Counsellors, in the Parliament of *Paris*, and so proportionably in all the others, to augment the Tailles, and lay new Imposts, without waiting the Consent or Grant of the Estates, as was the ancient Order and Practice of the Kingdom.

All the Apparel for War being ready, the King went to the City of *Lyons*, where he staid some time, till *Trivulcio* and the Lord de *Morete*, with the Mountainers whom the Duke of *Savoy* had sent to them, could find a Passage over the *Alpes* for his Troops, which were arrived in *Dauphine*. For the *Swisse*, who had posted themselves at *Suza* and those Parts, hindred their way by Mount *Cenis*, and the Mount of *Genevra*, which begin both in that Place. The Popes Army, and that belonging to *Ferdinand*, were encamped on the other side of the *Po*, towards *Piacenza* and *Parma*, and *Prospera Columna*, had come and lodg'd himself with a thousand Horse in *Villa Franca*, which is within seven Leagues of *Saluzzes*, where he thought himself very secure.

When with incredible difficulty, and by meer strength of Arms, *Trivulcio* had made them sling and hoist the Artillery over the tops of the Mountains, and from thence with no less toyl, let them down again in the Country of *Saluzzes*, the King's Forces palled the *Alpes* at *Dragonmiera*, *Roquepavier* and other Passes which are high *Provence*. *La Palice* who was passed one of the first, having correspondence

5115. response with some Inhabitants of *Villa-Franca*, used so much Skill and Celerity, that he surprized *Prospera* as he was sitting down to Table, and made both him, and all his, Prisoners. Some days before *Emard de Prie*, with five or six thousand Men, was gone to *Genoa*, to attack *Alexandria*, and some other Towns on this side the *Po*. *Octavian Fregosa* had at the same time treated with the King, who left to him the Signcure of *Genoa*, to be, not a Duke, but only Governour in his Name.

1515. These tydings brought to *Lyons*, the King parted from thence the fifteenth day of *August*, accompanied by seven Princes of the Blood, and an infinite number of Great Lords, having before-hand left the Regency to *Louise de Savoy* his Mother, who was stiled Madame. As he was going forth, arrives an Ambassador from *England*, to let him know from his Master, that he ought not to pass into *Italy*, for fear of disturbing the Peace of *Christendom*: which only served to discover the inconstancy of that Prince, and the jealousy he had, lest a young King should out-strip him in the Race of Honour, who had lived a much longer time.

King *Ferdinand's* Menaces signified as little, as the King of *Englands* Remonstrances. He was but too well pleased, that the first Efforts and Attempts of this new Conqueror were to fall upon *Italy*, and not upon *Spain*. And therefore as soon as he was certain of his March that way, he disbanded the greatest part of his Forces, and little cared for that League he was entred into, for the defence of *Milan*.

1515. This Shock, or Surprize of *Prospera Colonna's* being very considerable, because it was the first essay of the whole Enterprize, greatly changed the disposition of the Minds of the Emperor, the Pope, and even the *Swisse*: who after having burnt *Chivas* and *Verceil* retired to *Novarre*, whilst the King was assembling his Troops at *Turin*. He immediately set forwards to follow them without delay, being informed how they began to disagree, and judg'd he had a fair opportunity either to vanquish them during their disunion, or to treat the more advantageously with them.

And indeed some of their Chiefs began to give ear, to the Propositions that were made by him: but knowing he was come to *Verceil*, they dislodg'd from *Novarre*, and retired to *Galerate*. He followed the same Pace, and got into all their Towns without striking one Blow.

Being thus repulsed, and at variance with each other, they set a Treaty on Foot, by the mediation of *Charles Duke of Savoy* their ancient Allie. He obtained them all the satisfaction they could hope for, that is to say, great Sums of Money as well for their Pensions, as to make good the Treaty of *Dijon*, and a very fair settlement in *France* for Duke *Sforza*, in recompence for his Dutchy of *Milan*. But thereupon arrives a re-inforcement of ten thousand Men from their own Country: who desiring to have their share in the Honor and Spoil, as well as their Companions, whom they found very rich, broke off all and led them back to *Milan*.

This did not however take away all hopes they might be pacified, by adding an over-plus Summ, to stop the Mouths of the most Troublesom and Active: but one Day, when all seemed to be at an end, and the King was ready to send Money for performance of the Articles, the Cardinal of *Sion*, whilst they were all met to make the final Conclusion, begins to Harangue them with so much earnestness, that he made them take up their Arms, to come and Charge the *French*, who were lodged at *Marignan*, within a League of *Milan*, and expected no less then such a sudden Onset.

Therefore the thirteenth of *October* about four in the Afternoon, they came and Charged the *French* Van-guard with impetuosity, who having been forewarn'd, received them much better then they imagined; they could not however hinder them from gaining the enclosure of their Camp, and some Pieces of Canon. But the King hastning to that part with the Flower of his Nobility and Gent-darmerie, prevented them from piercing any further. Never was there a more furious scuffle, nor heavier Blows: the Fight lasted four hours in the Night: nought but their over weariness made Truce between them, till break of Day, but did not part them; many of both Parties lying down by each other all the Night. The King with his Armor on, rested himself upon the Carriage of a Gun; where the great Thirst his toyl had brought upon him, made him relish even a little Water mixed with Dirt and Blood, brought to him by a courteous Soldier in his *Morion*. He

1515. He did not waste all the Night in reposing himself, but the greatest Part in placing his Guns, his Musquetiers, and *Gasccon* Cross-bow Men. The Day appearing, the *Swisse* returned to the Assault with more vigour then the Night before: but the Cannon broke their Battallions, the Bullets and Arrows made a great Slaughter, then the Horse sallied and ran over them: some of their Companies were driven into a Wood, who were all cut in Pieces.)

About nine in the Morning, the rest thinking themselves vanquishd, because they had not been able to Vanquish, and withal observing *Alvaine* approach with the choice of his *Venetian* Cavalry, began to make their retreat towards *Milan*; none endeavouring to pursue them, excepting *Alvaine*, who thinking to Charge them in the Rear, soon found by their fierce resistance, that they dreaded their *Italian* Lances but little. This was all the Share he had in this Battle, whatever the Authors of that Nation are pleased to relate.

The *French* kept the Camp, cover'd with ten thousand dead *Swisse*, and three or four thousand of their own Men, but of the bravest, and for the most part Gentlemen. *Francis de Bourbon* Brother to the Constable, the Prince of *Tal-mont* only Son of *Lewis de la Trimoville*, *Bussy d'Amboise* Nephew to the Cardinal of that Name, the Count de *Sancerre*, and eight or ten other Lords of Note were slain there. *Claude Duke of Guise*, who commanded the Lansquenets in the absence of *Charles Duke of Gueldres* his Maternal Uncle, was trod under Foot; a *German* Gentleman his Esquire saved his Life, at the expence of his own, by covering him with his own Body, and receiving the Blows they made at his Master.

This ill Success begot new discords between the *Swisse*, those that would have agreed with the King, demanded Money of *Sforza* that they might be gone; they knew well enough he had none, and thereupon they returned by way of *Coma*, which the King had left open for them. The rest follow'd them the next day: but left fifteen hundred of their Men with *Sforza* to maintain the Castle, together with five hundred *Italians* he had there, promising in a short time to come back to his assistance: as likewise on his side the Cardinal of *Sion* going to the Emperor for the same purpose, vow'd to return again speedily: So that upon this assurance, he shut himself into the Castle with one *John Gonzague*, *Jerome Moron*, and some *Milanese* Gentlemen. The City surrendred the next day to the King: but he judg'd it was not convenient for his Majesty to enter into it, he had the Castle likewise, which he ordered should be Besieged by the Count de *Navarre* and *Peter de Navarre*.

As soon as he came first into *Italy*, the Pope had feignedly begun to Treat with him: After the Battle of *Marignan*, he was in so great haste thorough fear, that he treated without disguise, not waiting the Resolutions of the *Swisse* Diet, nor the Emperors, who earnestly conjured him not to do so. Amongst other Articles, the King took into his protection his Person, the Ecclesiastical Estate, *Julian* and *Laurence de Medicis*, and the Estate of *Florence*; obliged himself that from that Time forward, the *Milanese* should be furnished with Salt from *Cervia*; consented free Passage should be allowed for the Vice-Roy of *Naples* Forces to retire; promised not to assist or protect any of his Feudataries against him. Reciprocally the Pope was to withdraw the Soldiers he had sent to the Emperor against the *Venetians*, and surrender *Piacenza* and *Parma* to the King, and *Modena* and *Reggio* to the Duke of *Ferrara*.

The Constable not relying solely upon the Success of those Mines, with the which *Peter de Navarre* had vaunted to take the Castle of *Milan* in a Month, made use of Money, which does its effect more certainly then Gun-Powder, and corrupted some Captains: so that they began to Mutiny. The *Swisse* Cantons, assembled at that time at *Zuric*, were just sending away a powerful Relief to *Sforza*, and the Pope who had not yet concluded his Treaty, would not have failed to joyn his Troops, and those of *Naples*: but *Moron* who was all the Council the unfortunate *Sforza* had, persuaded him to make a Composition with the King.

He yielded him all his Rights to the Dutchy, conditionally he should have a certain Summ of ready Money; to pay his Debts, thirty thousand Ducats Pension to be paid him in *France*, or given him in Benefices with a Cardinals Cap, and several other Conditions for his Servants, and such as had been of his Party. The Treaty signed, he came out of the Castle, and was conducted into *France* by some

some Lords; little bemoaned for being fallen from that high Degree of Sovereignty, because the extravagancy of his Mind, and his more then brutish Vices, had rendred him unworthy of it.

The Castle being surrendred, nothing more opposed the Conqueror. *Hugh de Cardonna* with *Ferdinand's* Army retired to the Kingdom of *Naples*; and the Pope dissembling his displeasure for the restitution of those Places he had been obliged to make, went to *Bologna* to confer with the King face to face.

1515. He arrived there the nineteenth of *December*, and the King two days after; On the Morrow he rendred him Obedience, his Chancellor *Antony du Prat* pronounced the Words bare-headed, and on his Knees; the King standing by cover'd, confirmed them, by bowing his Head and Shoulders. After that they lock'd themselves up for three Days together in the Palace.

* That having made Money more plentiful.

There it was that the young King, for vain hopes, and by the Advice and Counsel of his Chancellor, condescended to abolish the *Pragmatick*, and to make the *Concordat*; Whereby the Pope conceded to the King the right of nominating to Bishopricks and Abbeyes in all the Territories of the Kingdom of *France* and *Dauphine*; and the King granted to the Pope, the Annates of those great Benefices upon the foot of their currant Revenue, which were augmented above the one half, since the discovery * of the *Indies*. The Holy Father, very free of other Folks Money, made him a Present of two Tenths upon the Clergy, and the Title of *Emperour of the East*. But the King refused the last.

At the same Time, the renewed Alliance with the *Swisse* was concluded, notwithstanding the Contrivances of the *English*. It was upon these Conditions, That they should serve *France* with, and against all, excepting the Pope, the Emperor and the Empire; That they should surrender the Valleys of *Milanois*; That the King should pay them six hundred thousand Crowns; and should continue to them their Pensions. Five of the *Cantons* did at that time refuse to Sign to this.

1515. When the King had taken Care for the security of *Milan*, where he left the Constable with seven hundred Men at Arms, and ten thousand Foot Soldiers, he parted from *Bologna* the fifteenth of *December*, and by great Journeys came to his Mother and his Wife who staid for him at *Lyons*.

1516. His happy Progress, and his new Alliances, kindled the greater jealousy in the Emperor *King Ferdinand*, and the King of *England* his Son in law, in so much as they resolved by common Consent to make a War upon him, both in *Italy* and *France* at the same time. To which the King of *England* was inclined with the more heat and earnestness, as being incensed, for that the King hindered him from governing the young King and the Kingdom of *Scotland*, by such People as were dependant on him.

But as they were taking their Measures for this Design, it hapned that King *Ferdinand*, as he was going to *Seville*, died in the little Village of *Madrigalet*, the two and twentieth of *February* of a Dropsy, occasioned by a Beverage, which *Germain* his Wife had given him, to enable him to get Children. *Guichardin* making his Elogy, says there was nothing to be reproved in him, but his not observing or keeping his Word; and that as for the Avarice they reproach him with, it was manifest at his Death, he was not stained with it; because he left but very little Money in his Coffers: He adds that this Calumny proceeded from the corrupt judgment of Men, who more applaud the Prodigality of a Prince which oppresses and grinds his Subjects, then the good Husbandry of One, that thriftily manages their Substance as a good and careful Father of his Family ought to do.

He left the Government of *Arragon*, to his Bastard Son Bishop of *Saragossa*, and that of *Castille* to *Francis Ximenes* Cardinal Bishop of *Toledo*. (His Daughter *Jane* was Distracted still, and shut up in a Castle, where she clambred along the Walls, and crawled up the Tapestrey Hangings like a Cat.

Four Months after, on the six and twentieth of *June*, *John d' Albret*, who might have made some stirrs in the Kingdom of *Navarre*, whence *Ferdinand* had turn'd him out, ended his Days in a Village in *Bearn*. *Catharine de Foix* his Wife survived him but eight Months. Their Son *Henry* aged but fourteen years, inherited the Title of that Kingdom, of which he had nothing left him, but the little Parcel on this side of the *Pyreneans*.

1516. The Death of *Ferdinand* gave King *Francis* the opportunity and desire of marching his Armies into the Kingdom of *Naples*, which in this juncture was half revolted

volted. He imagined that *Charles* having need of him for a Passage, that he might go and take Possession of the *Spanish* Dominions, and withal, being under the apprehension of some trouble in the Succession to the Kingdom of *Arragon*, the ancient Laws thereof not allowing the Daughters, nor any descended from them to come to the Crown, durst not hinder him in this Enterprize, and would even be obliged to let him have the Kingdom of *Naples*.

But he did not know, that though *Charles* himself should have consented the Politicks of *Italy* could never suffer it, what Affection soever they might seem to shew him. In effect the Pope under-hand procured the *English*, the *Swisse*, and the *Medicis* to break his Measures. The Emperor on his side, being entred into *Milanois* with twenty thousand *Swisse*, of the five *Cantons*, ten thousand *Germans*, and four or five thousand *Horse*, amongst whom were the Cardinal of *Sion*, and the banished *Milanese*, after the having refreshed and relieved *Bress* and *Verona*, which were straightned by the *Venetians* and the *French* joyned together, passed the River *Addo* in the beginning of the Spring, ravaged all the Country between that River, and those of the *Po* and *Olli*, and gave so much Terror to the *French*, that they were ready to abandon *Milan*, and likewise fired the very Suburbs, by the malicious advice of the *Venetians*, who ever hated the *Milanese*, rather then out of any real Necessity.

Had he gone on directly, perhaps they would have given ground: his slowness gave the Constable time to provide himself so well, that they startled not upon his approach. But himself being informed of twelve thousand *Swisse*, who were come to the Constable, knowing the brutish Avarice of that Nation, and that he had no Money to pay his own, he on the sudden decamped and repassed the River *Addo*.

He remained there some Weeks, giving still much dread to the *French*, because their *Swisse* refused to Fight the *Swisse* that were in his Army: and at length even retired: but at three Weeks end, most of his Troops moulder'd to nothing for want of Pay, his *Swisse* returned by the *Valtoline*, and three thousand of the *Germans* and *Spaniards* went over to the Constable.

It was not doubted, but the Pope had been of intelligence with the Emperor for this irruption, since *Marc Anthony Colonna* appeared in his Army; Notwithstanding the King could not believe it, so well was he persuaded of his Affection, and faithfully observing the Treaty, permitted him to dispose of *Francis Maria* of the Dutchy of *Urbino*, to bestow it on *Laurenco Medicis* his Nephew, although he had put himself into his Protection.

If the Grandeur of King *Francis*, Young, War-like and Rich, were formidable to the *Italians*, they beheld another Springing up, now, who astonished them much more. I speak of *Charles* Heir to *Spain*, *Naples*, *Sicilia*, and the Low-Countries; and who being in a fair Way of succeeding to the Empire after his Grand-father, could not fail when once he had attained to it, of desiring to re-unite *Italy* to the other as being indeed the Head. Now they found that to drive out those two great Powers, who held it at both ends, there was no way to do it; That to keep the Ballance steady between them, was to undertake an impossibility, and besides it were to expose themselves to be the Theater and Prey to Foreign Arms; and to cast themselves all on one side, were to bring in an Absolute Master, and slavery beyond all redemption.

That it might not look as if the *Concordat* made between the King and the Pope, were a simple convention between two particulars, the Council of *Lateran* having caused it to be read in their last Session, which was the fifteenth of *December*, confirmed it by their Authority: but the Clergy of *France*, the Universities, the Parliaments, and all understanding and good Men opposed it by their Complaints, Remonstrances, Protestations and Appeals to future Councils. However at two Years end they were fain to submit to absolute Authority, and Register the *Concordat* in Parliament. Thus under Colour of taking away the Inconveniences of Elections which might well have been remedied, they authorized others which are infinitely greater, and can never have any Redress.

The Council of *Charles* of *Austria*, found it was necessary for his Affairs that he should renew the Alliance with King *Francis*, thereby to have free Passage into *Spain*. This was done by the Treaty of *Noyon* the sixteenth of *August*, between the Lords *Arthur de Gouffier Boisfy*, and *William de Crovy Chevres*, who had been Governors of two Kings, and the first Grand Maistre of the Royal House.

It was agreed amongst other Articles; That *Charles* should marry *Louisa* the Kings Eldest Daughter, or upon her default the second, if another were born, or if no other were born, *Renee* the Queens Sister; who for her Dowry should have that part the King pretended to the Kingdom of *Naples*, with reversion in his Favor in case of want of Issue; That *Charles* should pay an hundred thousand Crowns yearly, for the maintenance of this Daughter; That he should give up *Navarre* within six Months to *Henry d' Albret*; If not that after the expiration of that term the King should be permitted to assist him; That the Emperor should be admitted into this Treaty, if he would come in; That if he rendered *Verona* to the *Venetians*, they should pay him two hundred thousand Crowns, and that the King should give him an Acquittance for the three hundred thousand, which King *Lewis XII.* had lent him to make War upon them.

1517. Though the Emperor had again made an Attempt, with Success enough by General *Rocandolf*, to revictual *Verona*, which the *French* and *Venetians* blocked up, he despaired nevertheless to keep it any long time, because all the Avenues were shut. For this reason, he rather chose, according to his covetous Humour, to surrender it to *Lautrec*, who restored it to the *Venetians* for the Summ mentioned by the Treaty. After this he wholly laid aside the Fancy of further Conquests in *Italy*, and he moreover permitted the five *Cantons*, who had refused the Confederation with *France*, to accept of it as well as the other eight.

By all ways and means the King desired to gain the Pope, for his Designs in *Italy*. And for this reason, he assisted him with his Forces against *Francis Maria de la Rovere*, who made War upon him to regain his Duchy; for this Lord upon the hopes of Booty, had drawn into his Service, the Troops of either Party, that had been disbanded after the giving up of *Verona*. Moreover his Wife being deliver'd of her first Son the last day of *February*, he would needs have *Laurence de Medicis*, who was come into *France* to marry *Margaret* Daughter of *John* Earl of *Auvergne*, *Boulogne* and *Laraguez*, hold it at the Font, in the Name of the Pope his Uncle. This Couple died both within the Year, and yet left a Daughter named *Catharine*, who afterwards was Queen of *France*.

The War of *Urbino* lasted some eight Months, the *Spanish* Troops having been regained by force of all-powerful Money by the *Medicis*, *Francis Maria* was apprehensive, lest they would deliver him into their Hands, and retired to *Mantua*. The Emperor continued the Truce for five Years with the *Venetians*, for twenty thousand Crowns, they were to pay him each Year; and the King desiring to fasten and secure the Confederation with the Pope by some fresh Ties, gave up into his Hands again the writing, whereby he had obliged himself to surrender *Reggio* and *Modena* to the Duke of *Ferrara*.

Christendom enjoy'd a most Universal Calm, when She was troubled with two of the most horrible Scourges, or Plagues, that did ever torment Her. *Selim* the Turkish Sultan having conquer'd *Syria*, laid *Ismael Sophy's* Power in the Dust, extinguish'd the domination of the *Mamelukes* in *Egypt*, by the utter defeat and death of *Campson* the last *Egyptian* Sultan, vaunted that in quality of Successor to *Constantine the Great*, he should soon bring all *Europe* under his Empire; and at the same Time the Bowels of the Church began to be torn and rent, by a Schisme that hitherto no Remedies have been able to take away.

1517. The first Evil, gave occasion for the birth of the second. Pope *Leo* desiring to oppose all the Forces of Christendom, against the furious Progress of the *Turks*, had sent his Legates to all the Christian Princes, and formed a great Project to attack the Infidels, both by Sea and Land. Now to excite the Peoples Devotion, and get their Alms and Benevolence for so good a Work, he sent some according to the usual Custom in such Cases practis'd, to preach Indulgences in every Province. This Commission, according to the allotments made of a long time, amongst the four Orders Mendicants, belonged to the *Augustines* in *Germany*: Nevertheless *Albert* Archbishop of *Mentz*, either of his own Head, or by Order from *Rome*, allots and gives it to the *Jacobins*. The *Augustines* finding themselves wronged in their Interest, which is the great Spring, even of the most Religious Societies, Camplain, make a Noise, and fly to Revenge. Amongst these there was a Monk named *Martin Luther*, of *Islebe* in the County of *Mansfield*, Doctor and Reader in Theologie, in the University of *Witemberg*, a bold Spirit, Impetuous, and Eloquent; *John Stampis* their General commanded him to preach against these Questors. They furnished him but with too much Matter: for they made Traffick and Merchandize of those sacred Treasures of the Church, they kept their Courts or Shops

Shops rather in Taverns, and consumed great part of what they gained or collected in Debauches, and it was certainly known besides, that the Pope intended to apply considerable Summs to his own proper use.)

Perhaps it would have been better done to prevent these Disorders, only to have removed the occasion of his clamor; but the thing seemed not worth while, to trouble their Heads about it. In the mean time the Quarrel grew high, and was heated by Declarations, Theses, and Books on either side. *Frederic* Duke of *Saxony*, whose Wisdom and Vertue was exemplary in *Germany*, maintained him and even animated him, as well for the Honor of his new University of *Witemberg*, which this Monk had brought in reputation, as in hatred to the Archbishop of *Mentz*, with whom he had other disputes. He at first began with proposing of Doubts, then being hard beset, and too roughly handled, he engaged to maintain and make them good, in the very Sense they condemned them in. They had neither the Discretion to stop his Mouth, or seize upon him: but threatening him before he was in their Power, he takes shelter; and then keeping no more Decorum, he throws off his Mask, and not only declaimed, against the Pope, and against the Corruptions of the Court of *Rome*, but likewise opposed the Church of *Rome*, in many Points of Her Doctrine.

(And truly the extream ignorance of the Clergy, many of them scarce able to read, the scandalous Lives of the Pastors, most of them Concubinaires, Drunkards and Usurers, and their extreme negligence gave him a fair advantage to persuade the People, that the Religion they taught was corrupt, since their Lives and Examples were so bad. At the same Time, or as others say, a Year before, to wit in Anno 1516. *Ulric Zuinglius* Curate at *Zuric* began to expose his Doctrine in that *Swiss* Canton; and since almost every Year, new Evangelists have arisen, in such Swarms, that it would be difficult to number them.)

Every Day brought forth some occasion of difference between the King and *Charles* of *Austria*, the Lords de *Chevres* and de *Boisy* met at *Montpellier* to determine them: but the Death of de *Boisy*, made that great Work be left imperfect; *William* his Brother Lord de *Bonnivet*, much less wise than he, held the same Rank in the Kings Favor, who made him Admiral of *France*.

About the same Time, *John Jacques Trivulcio* lost it, and died for Grief at the Burrough of *Chastres* under *Montlehery*. *Lautrec* his antagonist, had given the King an ill impression of him, upon his being made a Burgher amongst the *Swiss*; and his Brother and others of his Kindred putting themselves into the *Venetians* Service.

There had been some Seeds of division sowed, between the King of *France*, and the King of *England*: their Counsels, before things grew to a greater height, thought fit to unite them by a new Alliance. The Admiral therefore going to *London*, made a Treaty to this effect; That the King of *England* should give his Daughter, as then but four years of age, to the Dauphin not yet compleatly one year old; That there should be a defensive League between the two Crowns, and that *Tournay* should be restored to the King of *France*; who should pay two hundred and sixty thousand Crowns for the Expences the *English* had been at there, and three hundred thousand more in twelve years time, besides that he should acknowledge to have received other three hundred thousand for the Dowry of the little Princess. The King not having the Money ready, gave six Lords in Hostage, and by this means got *Tournay*. It was likewise agreed that the two Kings should have an entre-view at their convenient time, between *Boulogn* and *Calais*.

In *Maximilian's* Council, it was judged more proper for the Grandeur of the House of *Austria*, to give the Empire to the Arch-Duke *Charles* his Grandson, then to *Ferdinand* his younger Brother, to whom for the same reason King *Ferdinand* his Grand-father would not leave his Kingdom of *Arragon*, who bred him in his own Court. And therefore *Maximilian* treated with the Electors, to get them to design him King of the *Romans*: but before he had accomplished that affair he died at *Lints* in *Austria*, aged sixty three years, the two and twentieth day of *January* in Anno 1519.

After his Death, King *Francis* and *Charles* declared themselves Aspirers or Competitors for the Imperial Crown, without shewing however the least picque against one another. Of the *Capetine* Race none but *Charles* Earl of *Valois*, had hitherto desired it. The *Swiss* denied *Francis* their Intercession with the Electors: the Pope pretended to favor him, but he was not either for one or other

1519.

of these two Princes, because they were too Potent: and if he recommended *Francis*, it was to get the Suffrages from *Charles*, and by this Intrigue to turn their Eyes and Thoughts toward some other German Prince. The Electors for the same reason were in suspense a good while: at the beginning the *Palatine*, *Triers*, and *Brandenburgh*, seemed to be for *Francis*, and the latter promised to gain the Archbishop of *Ments* his Brother likewise. But when he had finger'd his Money, and it came to give their Votes, *Ments* pleaded stoutly for *Charles*, and *Brandenburgh* seconded him; *Triers* kept his Word. The reputation of his Victories in *Italy* spake advantageously for the King, and the War the *Turks* threaten'd *Germany* withal, ought to have made him more considerable than *Charles*, who had as yet done nothing, and promised but little more. But he was not of the German Nation: besides, the more he seemed to merit, the more they feared he would reduce the German Princes to a low condition, as his Predecessors had reduced those of *France*; and if there were apprehensions of oppression on either Hand, it did not appear so visibly on *Charles's* side, nor seem to be so neer in likelihood from him, who was five years younger than the other, and of no very promising *Genius*. In fine, upon all these considerations, and with three hundred thousand Crowns, brought even a year before into *Germany*, and not distributed but to good purpose, *Charles* carried it, and was elected at *Frankfort* the twentieth of *June*, being at that instant in *Spain*, whither he was gone almost two years before.

Though King *Francis* set a good face upon it, yet this refusal went to his Heart, and he could not but imagine that *Charles* being Master of so many great Estates, would revenge the Injuries done to his Grand-father, and those of the House of *Burgundy*. For this reason he applied himself with more care to gain the friendship of the Pope, and the King of *England*: but the Pope followed Fortune, and invested *Charles* with the Kingdom of *Naples*, notwithstanding the constitution of his Predecessors, which forbid that the said Kingdom and the Empire should be in the same Hand.

1520.

The election of *Charles* of *Austria*, hastned the interview of the King, and *Henry* of *England*; This was done in the Month of *June* between *Ardres* and *Guines*. The two Kings equally Pompous and Vain, made their magnificence appear to the highest profusion. *Francis* expended more there than the Emperor did at his Coronation, and put his Nobles to great inconveniences, who ever imitate their Princes, but more readily in their Excess, than in their Wisdom. This enter-view was called the Camp of Cloath of Gold. After they had saluted each other on Horse-back, they went into a Pavilion erected expressly, with two or three Ministers of State belonging to either King, and there talked a few Moments about their Affairs. That done they left the care thereof to them, and spent ten or twelve days together in Feastings and Turnaments at Nights. *Francis* returned to *Ardres*, and *Henry* to *Guines*. Before they parted they confirmed their Treaty by solemn Oath upon the the Holy Communion, which they received together.

But soon after *Francis*, who too credulous built already on the Amity of the *English*, might plainly perceive what stress he was to lay upon so jealous, and so inconstant a Foundation. *Charles* V. coming from *Spain* by Sea to the Low-Countries, that from thence he might go to *Aix* to take the Crown, passed first over into *England*, and saw *Henry* with less splendor, and perhaps more Fruit than he. For the King of *England* promis'd him, that in case any Difference hapned between him and *Francis*, he would be Arbitrator, and declare himself Enemy to him that would not stand to his Award or Judgment.

His Intention was not to joyn with either the one or the other, but to keep himself in the midst, and be sought to by them both, giving them to understand that he could make the Ballance sway to that side he turned to; As he seemed to point out to King *Francis* at their late enter-view, at *Ardres*, where over his Tent Door, he had caused the Figure of an Archer to be placed with these Words, * He that accompanies or joyns with him is Master. This was the Method he used all his Life.

The two and twentieth of *October* *Charles* was crowned at *Aix la Chapelle*, and assigned a Diet at *Wormes* for the Month of *January* following. In the mean time not staying for the Judgment of the Assembly, being at *Colen* he condemned *Luther's* Books to the Fire as Heretical: but by this so hasty proceeding he made more Friends and Defenders, than Enemies. In revenge *Luther* without respect either for Pope or Emperor, was so confident as to burn the Book of the Decretals,

* Qui l'accompagne est Maître.

Empp.
Charles V. R.
38 Years.
And,
Solymon Son of
Selim R. 47
Years.

1520.

cretals, which he asserted to be contrary to the Word of God, in several Passages he had extracted from them.

The Spaniards grew angry that their King had left them to go into *Germany*, and besides they could not endure the Government of the Flemish; for after the Death of that memorable Cardinal *Ximene*, he left the Administration of Affairs to the Lord de *Chevres*. They complained that those Strangers heaped up all their fairest Pieces of Gold, and that they took into their Hands, or sold the greatest Offices, and the richest Benefices; amongst others the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*, wherewith the Lord de *Chevres* had provided his Brother. Some Grandees of that Country, who thought to do their business in the absence of a Prince, whom they esteemed of little Courage, kindled the Fire, and made a League which they called la *Sancta Junta*; *Toledo* and the greatest Cities came into it, and the Chief Officers that commanded their Forces, were *John* de *Padillia* and *Antonio* d' *Acugno* Bishop of *Zamora*. 1520. & 21.

They had a Design of giving the Kingdom of *Arragon* to *Ferdinand* Son of that *Frederic*, that died in *France*, and to make him come in with some Colour, would marry him to *Jane* the *Frantick* Mother of *Charles* V. whom they seized upon; but whether he doubted the event, or stood upon the Honor of keeping his Faith, he rejected the proposition and would not stir out of the Castle, where *Charles* V. had left him. In the mean while the Vice-Rois of *Castille* and *Arragon*, with the rest of the King's Servants, having armed themselves against the Rebels, lopp'd off by little and little the Branches of that Party, and then fell'd it almost quite down, by the defeat of their united Forces, and the deaths of *Padillia*, and the Bishop, both slain in that Battle.

Now whilst the Vice-Rois had drained the Garrisons of most of the Places in *Navarre* to defend themselves against the revolted, it had been easie for King *Francis* to have regained that Kingdom: but he did not dream of it till the Spring following, and then he sent an Army thither commanded by *Andrew* de *Foix* Lord de *L'Esparre* Brother of *Lautree*, who recover'd it all in few days. He met no resistance but at the Castle of *Pampelonna*, who stood out till he battered them, and then surrendered upon Composition. 1521.

Inigo de *Loyola* d' *Oguez* a young Gentleman of *Guipuscoa*, who had put himself into the Castle with some other Volunteers, was wounded upon the Walls with a Splinter, by a Cannon Shot which broke his Thigh, and made him lame all his Life. After which being retired to his own House, he was touched with a most fervent Zeal and Devotion, and was afterwards Institutor and Head of the great and famous Company, or Society of *Jesuis*, which hath extended it self into all the Parts of the World.

L'Esparre instead of satisfying himself with *Navarre*, and putting it in a good Posture, entred upod *Castille*, and besieged *Logrogne*. The Vice-Rois who returned from subduing the Rebels, and who nevertheless would not have thought of assaulting him, if he had not first fallen upon their Country, marched directly to him to fight him. Now his Lieutenant General *Sainte Colombe*, having cashier'd part of his Men, that he might put half by his false Musters into his Pocket, he found himself too weak, and retired near *Pampelonna*. And there he committed a second Fault, greater than the first: for without staying for a re-inforcement of six thousand Men, who were coming to him out of *France*, he rashly gave them Battle; and was beaten for his Pains, and so grievously wounded in the face, that he remained blind. 1521.

Pampelonna and all the rest of the Kingdom was lost in as short a time as it had been reconquer'd. The Emperors Council, to prevent the Revolts of the Nobility of the Country, affectionate to their Natural King, caused all the Castles to be demolished, and dismantled all the Towns, excepting *Pampelonna*, du *Pont de la Reine*, and d' *Estella*.

This War did not contravene to the Treaty of *Noyon*, since the six Months were expir'd: but there were otherquefs Subjects of hatred between *Charles* and *Francis*. For this last complained that *Charles* did not pay him the hundred thousand Crowns, as he had promis'd by the Treaty of *Noyon*, for the maintenance of his Daughter, and by consequence, that he had no mind to compleat the Marriage, That his Agents had spoken ill of him in the Diets, and in the Courts of the Princes of *Germany*; That he had debauched *Philbert* de *Chaalon* Prince of *Orange* 1521.

Orange from him; and that he cabaled in Italy to put the Dutchy of Milan in disturbance. Charles on the contrary, was angry that he had taken under his Protection William Duke of Gueldres, a sworn Enemy to his House and to the Low-Countries, and said that he unjustly detained from him the Dutchy of Burgundy.

Francis was the more forward to undertake, because he levied Subsidies as he pleased; whereas Charles could get no Money without a great deal of trouble, the Kingdoms of Spain, and the Low-Countries, having yet in those Times all their Liberties and Privileges entire: but then he was a much better Manager, and made but very few idle Expences.

In such a disposition were they towards each other, that nothing could be able to prevent them from coming to Daggers-drawing, but a third Party. The King of England kept himself Neutral enough, and designed only to be Arbitrator. The Pope did not do the same, for he first Treated a private League with the King, wherein he obliged himself to assist him for the regaining the Kingdom of Naples for his second Son, upon condition he should bestow a part thereof upon a Nephew of the Holy Fathers, and that the other Part, during the Minority of the young Prince, should be governed by a Legate from the Holy See, (This was to speak properly to keep it all for himself.) Then three Months after, he changed his Mind, and turns to the Emperor's side. Some believed he did this, as burning with a desire of regaining Parma and Piacenza which Julius II. had possessed himself of, though unjustly; Others said it was that he was angry they did not receive his Bulls at Milan with submission enough, nay that sometimes they rejected them with scorn.

Whatever it were, he entered into a League with the Emperor for the mutual defence of their Countries, to re-establish Francis Sforza in the Dutchy of Milan, and to recover the Dutchy of Ferrara for the benefit of the Holy See, to which it appertained. The Lord de Chevores who was then at the Diet of Wormes, having heard of this Treaty which was made without his knowledge, died of grief repeating these Words often, *Ah! what a World of Mischiefs!* His Brother the Archbishop of Toledo, whom he had taken along with him, went out of this World sometime before him.

The King being at Remorentine in Berry, upon Twelfth day, as he was sporting, and in jest attacked the Count de Saint Pol's House with Snow-Balls, who with his Companions were defending it with the same Artillery; it unfortunately hapned that a Fire-brand thrown by some hot-brained fellow, hit him on the Head and grievously wounded him, for which they were forced to cut off his Hair. Now he having a very large high Fore-head, and besides the Swift and Italians wearing short Locks and long Beards, he found this Fashion more pleasing to his Fancy, and follow'd it. His example made all France copy this Mode, who held it till the Reign of Lewis XIII. when by little and little they shortned their Beards, and let their Locks grow, till at last they left neither Hair on the Cheeks nor on the Chin, and Nature not being able to furnish them with a stock so thick and long, as they fancied would be most becoming, they have thought it best to shave their Heads, and wear Perruques of Womens more delicate and longer Hair for Ornament.

1520. & 21. Now here begins the event of the Melancholly Prognosticks of the Lord de Chevores. Robert de la Mark Lord of Sedan and Duke of Bouillon, having suffer'd disgrace in the Court of France, because of the many Robberies committed by his Gentsdarmes, went to the Emperors, whither he was enticed by the Bishop of Liege his Brother, a man very powerful there. Now it hapned that the Emperors Council received an Appeal from a Judgment, which the Pairs of his Dutchy of Bouillon had given in a certain Cause between the Lords de Simay and d' Emery; Robert being turbulent and impetuous, took this for an Affront to his honour, and would revenge it.

1521. He came therefore to the King at Remorentin, who was under cure of his Wound, and his Wife having before-hand prepared the way, reconciled himself to him, and put himself under his Protection. At his departure thence, he was so rash, as to send a Challenge of Defiance to the Emperor in the Diet at Wormes, and afterwards Florenge's his Son with three thousand Men, besieged Vireton in Luxembourg.

Immediately

Immediately the King of England undertaking to be Mediator, sends to Francis, whom he took to be the chief Promoter of this Challenge, to intreat him not to commence a War; Francis takes his Advice, and commands Florenge's away from Vireton; but the Emperor did not take this for satisfaction; he would not have it said, that a Man whose Ancestors had been Domestick Servants to the House of Burgundy, should have braved him impunitively. He raised a great Army, the command whereof he gave to Henry Count of Nassaw, who took four or five little Places from Robert, and caused some Soldiers of the Garrisons to be hanged on the Battlements. After this the Emperor being in some measure satisfied, granted him a Truce of forty Days.

At the same time the Lord de Liques a Henmeyer*, seized upon the City of Saint Amand in Tourneſis, under pretence of some Dispute he had with Lewis Cardinal of Bourbon, who was the Abbot. He afterwards besieged Mortain, which he said belonged to him. The Captain who was in it, gave it up upon Condition to have his Life and Goods spared: but the Emperors Men ransacked the Garrison; Then the Governor of Flanders laid siege to Tournay.

The King could interpret these Undertakings, for no other then a Declaration of War: however the Emperor would not own them as yet, having the like Design upon many other Frontier Places which he intended to execute without mentioning a Word; and besides he dreaded the King of England, who would needs be Mediator, and therefore wished both the one and the other to send their Deputies to him at Calais, there to make known their difference, giving them plainly to understand, that he would declare himself an open Enemy to him that should refuse.

They were therefore obliged, either of them being afraid to have him their Enemy, to send Ambassadors to him. Those from the King, were James de Chabanes la Palisse Mareſchal of France, the Chancellor du Prat, and John de Selve, first President of Parliament, who went to attend Henry at Calais. At first those on behalf of the Emperor demanded no less then the Dutchy of Burgundy, and that the King should acquit him of all Homage, as well for that Country, as for the Counties of Flanders and Artois, because the subjection as Vassal, said they, did injury to the Imperial Majesty.

During this Conference of Calais, the Count de Nassaw with the Emperors Army passed the Meuse and besieged Mouzon. The Soldiers that were in it frightened to see themselves exposed and laid open to a Battery that was on the Hill, compell'd their Commanders to demand composition. There were two of them, who were so imprudent, as to go both together to Nassaw to make it, and by this over-sight they had no Terms, but what were very disadvantageous.

The Chevalier Bayard behaved himself much more generously against the Attacks of the same General, for he not only defended himself like a brave Soldier, but made such a Division by counterfeit Letters between Nassaw and Sickinghen, who commanded that part of the Imperial Army on this side the Meuse, that he made them raise their Siege.

(It appears to me, if I have rightly observed, that in this Siege the Enemies made use of that sort of Artifice or Engines, since called Bombes, which are great Granados, long, or round, loaden with Gun-Powder, and shot out of a Morter-piece that they may fall in some certain place, where they work a double Mischiefe, both by the weight of their fall, and the great violence of the Powder, which is set on fire by a Fusee, so disposed that in a Moment it causes the Bombe to burst, after it's fall, and breaks and tears all that is either above it, or neer hand about it.)

(In this Retreat Nassaw having fired all in his way, putting Men, Women and Children to the Sword, especially in the City of Aubenton, gave the first beginning to Burnings, and Massacrings of Innocents.)

The King having drawn his Forces together, had his revenge for this Affront of the Emperors; he regained Mouzon, burnt and dismantled Bapaume, reduced Landrecy and Bouchain. Then with his whole Army passed the Scheld over a Bridge, made for the purpose, to seek out the Emperor, who with his own was come to Valenciennes: but he staid not for him, retiring from thence under the favor of a very thick Fog.

Upon

1521.

Upon this occasion, the King to content his Mother, began to discontent the Constable *Charles de Bourbon*; for he gave the command of the Van-Guard to the Duke of *Alençon*, first Prince of the Blood, and who had married his Sister, but a Man of shallow understanding and uncertain Courage. Which is more, he slighted the good Advice he gave him, to fall upon the Emperor's Army in their Retreat, when no doubt he might have put them into great disorder. In his whole life he never met again with so fair an opportunity, though he sought it every where; it seemed as if Fortune displeased that he would not lay hold of her Favor then, had sworn to avoid and fly from him, and never make him the like happy proffer again.

The Grave, Tacite and Haughty Humor of *Charles de Bourbon*, did not suite well with the King's, which was Pleasant, Free and Open: And withal Madame mortally offended that he disdained the Love she had for him, push'd on her Resentments all the ways imaginable, till in the end, she had her revenge upon him at the expence of her Son and the whole Kingdom of *France*.

An old Tradition, but which hath more the countenance of Falshood, then of Truth, says that this Princess desiring to marry the Constable, had perswaded the King this Match would be greatly to his advantage; for since he could have no Children by her, the rich Succession of that House of *Bourbon* would by consequence revert to him, according to some agreement or pact made with *Lewis XI.* That the King was allured by this advantage, and having one day spoken of his Mother to the Constable, that Prince who had an Aversion to her, made some reply that reflected on her Honor, at which the King was so offended that he gave him a Box on the Ear.

The Admiral *Bonnivet* having feigned a March towards *Pampelonna*, turned short by Saint *John de Luz*, and besieged *Fontarabia*; which surrendered after the first Assault the eighteenth of *October*. The Deputies from the King and the Emperor were still at *Calais*, with the King of *England*, labouring to adjust their Differences, and take away all such stumbling Blocks as might occasion the like hereafter. They were agreed upon every thing, having covenanted that the Emperor should raise the Siege of *Tournay*, and recal his Troops out of *Milan*, thereupon came news of the taking of *Fontarabia*; and he refused to ratify the Treaty, unless they would restore that place to him.

This would have created no trouble, if as soon as they had taken it the wise counsel of *Claude Duke of Guise* had been followed, who would have had it razed and the materials brought to *Andaye*, right over against it on the hither Shoar of the River *Bidasso*. But *Bonnivet* full of the vain desire to perpetuate the Glory of his Conquest, which he exalted as high as that of any Kingdom, perswaded the King to preserve it; and by this means a Fantastical and Ambitious Minister involved the Kingdom of *France* in a War of eight and thirty Years.

The King was encamped on the Banks of the *Scheld*, when the Courier brought him the Treaty of *Calais*: He remained there some Days; but finding the Floods so great, and the Ways so bad, that it was impossible for him to relieve *Tournay*, he retired into *Picardy*, having left part of his Men with the Constable and the Duke of *Vendosme*, who took *Hesdin*, and some Castles of small Importance. Being at *Compiègne*, he sent Word to *Champroux*, who commanded in *Tournay*, to make his Composition the most honorably that he possibly could, as he did the first of *December*, after a three Months Blockade and Siege.

In *Italy* the Pope and Emperor not having been able to make *Genoa* and *Milan* revolt by the Intrigues of the Banished, proceeded to open force. *Lautrec* who was Governor of *Milanois*, was come into *France*, to compleat his Marriage with the Daughter of *N. d' Albret d'Orval*; and the Marschal de *Lescun* his Brother supply'd his place. This Man furnish'd the Pope with a pretended Cause, who could find out no just one to break with the King. His Brother and himself being haughty and severe, had proscrib'd many of the *Milanese*: *Jeremy Moron*, who had been Senator of *Milan* under *Lewis XII.* and mightily cherish'd by that King, was of the number, being picqued for that *Francis I.* had refused to make him Master of Requests. *Lescun* having notice that these Exiles were assembled together at *Reggio*, went thither with fifteen hundred Horse, and endeavour'd to surprize the Town. The Pope made loud Complaints in the Consistory, and protested that *Francis* having violated the Alliance that was

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betwixt them, he thought himself no longer obliged to keep it: but he would by no means confess that he had broken it first, that his Gallies were gone to surprize *Genoa*, and that he had an Army in readines to enter upon *Milan* under the command of *Prosper Colonna* and *Frederic Gonzague* Marquiss of *Manzonia*, whom he had inviegled from the Service of the King of *France*.

The Tricks and Stratagems of the Exil'd were ineffectual, as well as the Voyage of the Popes Gallies. *Manfroy Palavicini* one of their Chiefs was taken, when he thought to take *Coma*; and *Octavian Fregosa* took such good care of *Genoa*, that nothing stirr'd.

In the mean time the King perceiving that he must have a War on that side, sent *Lautrec* thither. This Lord knowing the prodigal Humour and negligence of the King, refused to go till he could have the three hundred thousand Crowns to march along with him, which had been assigned him: but Madame and those that governed the Treasury, promised him so positively, even with the most Sacred Oaths, to send them immediately after him, that he condescended, and parted without them. And then indeed, just what he feared, hap'ned, the King having lost the sight of him, lost the remembrance of him too, and Madame, who hated him, diverted that Fund to other uses.

The Enemies had besieged *Parma*, *Lescun* had thrown himself in with five thousand Men, but two thousand forsook him. *Lautrec* knowing he was in danger advanced to the River *Taro*, which is within seven Miles of it to relieve him. At the same time News was brought to the Enemy, that the Duke of *Ferrara* had taken *Friul* and Saint *Felix*, and that he might come and get both *Reggio* and *Modena* from them: upon this apprehension they raised their Siege, and returned to Saint *Lazare*. Their *Germans* for want of Pay, abandon'd them in their March; and in this disorder there had been an end of their Army, if *Lautrec* had but followed and charged them smartly.

He was accused for having committed another Fault likewise. The Enemies having passed the River *Po*, had lodged themselves in the little Town of *Rebecque*, situate on the *Oglio* four Miles from *Pontevique*, which is Land belonging to the *Venetians*. They believed themselves to be in security there, because the *Venetians*, though Confederate with the King, would not open their City Gates to the *French*: but they were mistaken, for they suffer'd *Lautrec* to enter. This General having a Strength equal to theirs, had infallibly defeated them, had he but drawn neer their Camp and pent them up close; for by this means they could not have had room to draw up in Battalia, nor could they have staid there above two or three days, wanting Ovens to bake their Ammunition-Bread: but he amusing himself with firing upon them from *Pontevic*, they quietly stole away in the Night, and repass'd the *Oglio*.

Hitherto they had given ground to the *French*: but now their Strength increasing, they are going to give them Chace: The ten thousand *Swisse* which the Cardinal de *Sion* had obtained of the *Cantons* for defence of the Pope and the Holy See, after long deliberation whether they should follow him into *Milanois*, because that was to contravene their Alliance with the King, did at last joyn them near *Gambara*.

There hap'ned at the same time another thing very prejudicial to the *French*. The Lords of the Leagues had sent Couriers to command the *Swisse*, both of the one and the other Army, that they should return, for that it was scandalous to the *Cantons* to have their Ensignes set up publickly in two Camps, that were Enemies to each other. Now those that carried these Orders to the Confederates Army, were corrupted and stopt in their Journey: but the others went on directly to the *French* Army, and delivered those Commands to such *Swisse* as were there. So that they immediately withdrew, and the most part without saying *Adieu*: but not so much out of Obedience, as hopes they should get some Moneey of the Confederates, *Lautrec* receiving none from *France*, nor being able to raise enough in *Milanois* to satisfy them.

With what Forces he had left he got to *Cassan*, having left a Garrison at *Cremona* and at * *Pizzigton*, then after the Enemy had passed the *Adda* under the * *Vulgarly* favor of the little Town of *Vauray*, which they seized upon, he retired to *Milanois*. *Pisqueton*. but he held it not long. For they being come to lodge at *Marignan*, one Day the nineteenth of *November*, when they believed they could not stir out of their Quarters, nor draw their Cannon, so bad was the Weather, so rotten and deep the Ways, while he was walking about the Streets unarmed, and his Bro-

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1521. ther *Lescun* in Bed, tyred with his former Day's labour, he was amazed when towards the Evening, they attacked the Suburbs and gained it, the *Venetians* that had the Guard there, safely abandoning it. At the same time the Burghers of the *Gibeline* Faction, let them into the City: but the *Spaniard* revenged the *French*, and made that faithless Town pay dearly for their defection, plundering them for eight days together.

He then drew together round about the Castle all the Men he had, and after he had put Men enough into it, instead of charging the Enemy, whilst they were in disorder and separated, he resolves to retire the same Night to *Coma*, and thence to the Country of *Berguino*. Soon after *Coma* was taken by the Marquiss of *Pescara*, *Parma* abandoned by the too precipitate Order of *Lautrec*, and *Piacenza* delivered by her Citizens to the Confederates.

The over-joy for so much good Success moved Pope *Leo* so much, that the very Night he received it, he was seized with a kind of a Fever; of which, or of some other more hidden Cause he died at *Rome*, the first Day of *December*. Now he having projected this War, and furnished Money for maintaining of the Army, it might be judg'd that upon his Death the *French* should have recover'd their advantage, seeing they had still in their Hands all the best Places in the Dutchy, the Castle of *Milan*, *Cremona*, *Piacenza*, *Novarra*, *Alexandria*, seven or eight strong Forts, and the City of *Genoa*; the Colledg of Cardinals troubling themselves so little with those Affairs, that the Duke of *Ferrara* easily regained all the Towns that *Leo* had taken from him, *Francis Maria* the Dutchy of *Urbino*, and moreover that of *Camerin*, which he wrested from *John de Varane*, and *Bailon* the City of *Perugia*. But the Affront they received at *Parma*, being beaten off by a very few Soldiers and People half armed, gave other Towns the greater Courage to resist them; After which the two Armies rested near six Week without undertaking any thing, the *French* for want of Men, and indeed both of them for want of Money.

1522. The Holy See having been vacant more then two Months, by reason of the Discords which the interests of particular Men, and the division of their Affections between the King and the Emperor, occasioned in the Conclave: the Cardinals elected *Adrian Florent Cardinal Bishop of Tortosa*, a Hollander by birth, who had been Tutor to the Emperor, and at that time Governed Spain; all the World, nay they themselves after it was done, wondring how, out of I do no know what giddy Fancy, they should go so far off for one that thought but little of them, as indeed till now, they had as little thought upon him. He came not to *Rome*, till the twenty ninth day of August following.

Whilst the Armies lay quiet, *Prosper Colonna* took great care for every thing that was necessary to preserve *Milan*, both for the Fortifications and the Provisions, as also for Soldiers, and principally to dispose the People to make an obstinate Defence. Which he did as well by the hatred he encreased in them against the *French*, representing the Severities they had used towards them; and the extreme Resentment and Revenge, their Nature would prompt them to, if they should ever regain that Place, from whence they had been so shamefully beaten out: as by the Affection he inspired them withal, for *Francis Sforza* second Son of *Ludovic* and Brother of *Maximilian*. For the deceased Pope *Leo* had designed, by the Emperor's consent, to restore him to his Father's Dutchy, but he was yet at *Trent*, expecting a Levy of eight thousand *Germans* to conduct him thither.

Upon this, notwithstanding the Cabals of the Imperialists, the discords between the *Cantons*, some of them being for the King, others for the Emperor, and the contrary interests of the particular Chiefs amongst them, they had granted the King in one of their Diets, a Levy of twelve thousand *Swisse*, who marched into *Lombardy* by Mount Saint Bernard, and Saint Godards Mount, under the conduct of *Honorius*, Bastard of *Savoy*, Grand Maistre of *France*, and *Galeas de Sanseverin* Grand Esquier. Soon after *John de Medicis* came into the King's Service also, and joyned his Army with three thousand Soldiers.

With two such considerable re-inforcements, and raising of some *Italian* Troops, *Lautrec* thought he might do Wonders against the City of *Milan*, if he posted himself about it in the Neighbourhood, either by cutting off their Supplies

plies and Provisions, or by assailing them in that consternation he believed the People would be in upon his approach. When he had been there already some Days, and his hopes to gain it, either by Famine or by Assault, were reduced to the Forms of a long Siege, he had information that *Francis Sforza* having left *Trent*, with his Lanquenets, and crossed *Veronois* and the *Mantuan* Territory, was arrived at *Piacenza*, and that the Marquiss of *Mantona*, had joyned him with his Horse to convoy him to *Pavia*, where he was to wait a favourable opportunity to get to *Milan*. Then he decamped, and posted himself upon the *Cassine*, which is within three Leagues of *Milan* to hinder his Passage, and put the *Venetians* into *Binasque* for the same purpose.

When he had been there some while he had news that his Brother was returning from *France* with Money and some Infantry which were Landed at *Genoa*: he sent four hundred Lances, and seven Thousand *Swiss* to Guard him. *Lescun* came to *Novarre*, whose Castles still held out for the *French*, and turning their great Guns upon the Town, plaid upon it so furiously that he entred it by force upon the third Assault. But this delay of some days favour'd the passage of Duke *Sforza*, who marching by an uncouth Rode got into *Milan*, and infinitely encreased the Courage of the Inhabitants, and their hatred against the *French*, by the remembrance of the mild Government of the Dukes his Predecessors.

When he was gone from *Pavia*, *Lautrec* caused it to be besieged; It was better furnished with Men then he expected, his Soldiers were beaten off upon all their Assaults, and the great Rains which made the *Tesin* to overflow, and its Stream become so Rapid that they could not bring up any Boats, famished his Army. He decamped therefore and advanced as far as *Monce*, to receive the Money sent him from *France*. While the Treasurer that brought it was at *Aronca*, and could not get forwards because a Party of the Enemy had lodged themselves upon their Way; the *Swisse* impatient to receive their Arrears, demanded leave either to be gone, or to fight the Enemies Army, without considering that they were intrenched in a Place, where nothing could be gained but Blows. *Lautrec* finding he could not with-hold them any longer, neither by his Promises, nor the consideration of the Posture they were in, hazarded the Battle, wherein he foresaw all the disadvantage would fall upon them.

The Enemies were posted in a Farm, which they called *la Bicoque*, three Miles from *Milan*, where there is a very spacious House, and Gardens round about it enclosed with deep Ditches, and Fields parted in divers places with Water Channels, which are derived and brought thither according to the Custom of that Country, to water their Grounds. *Prosper Colonna*, who thought the Victory secure, stood his ground waiting their coming.

Lautrec assailed them on three Sides, himself on one Hand, his Brother on the other, and the *Swisse* in the place of most Difficulty, and to gain their Cannon. The two first did no great Matters; as for the *Swisse* they attack'd with fury, but the height of the *Fosse* stopping them, the Artillery made them fall in heaps, and the Arquebusers who were placed amongst the Wheat, taking them in Flank, they were well paid for their rashness, by the death of three thousand of theirs, so that they were constrained to retire, and having rejoyned the *French*, they together returned very orderly to their Quarters at *Monce*.

The next Day their Blood being cool'd, and *Lautrec* having passed the *Ad-*
do* near *Tressa*, they even took their walk homewards thorow the Territory of *Bergamo*, so disheartned and baffled in Courage, for having met with such unconquerable resistance, that for divers Years, they did nothing worthy of their ancient Valor: but indeed became more pliable, and much more manageable then before.

For *Lautrec*, having put things in Order at *Cremona*, he retired into *France* to sollicite for a supply of ten thousand Men, which the Admiral *Bonnivet* was to transport to those Countries.

As soon as he was gone, *Prosper* besieged *Cremona*, and *Lescun* who was in the Place, believing it could be no prejudice to his Honor, if he made such Composition as should secure the King's Affairs without hazarding ought, capitulated to leave the Place within forty Days, which expir'd the six and twentieth of *June*, with Arms, Colors flying, and his Artillery, if within that time, there did not come an Army that should pass over the River *Po* by force, or should take some considerable Place in the Dutchy of *Milan*. He likewise promised that all the

the others held by the King in *Milanois*, should be evacuated, excepting the Castles of *Cremona* of *Novara*, and of *Milan*.

The time being come, he got some few days more to be added, having purposely started new Difficulties about the evacuation of some Castles, which being settled, he executed the Treaty, and came back into *France*. Before he departed he had the further displeasure of being informed how *Prosper Colonna* with his Army had made himself Master of *Genoa*, and made *Antony Adorna* Duke; the City was surprized during a conference of capitulation, which is a very dangerous time, and opportunity. This last Blow taking away all hopes from the King of being in a capacity to gain any thing in *Milanois* this year, he recalled those Forces he was sending, and who were already got into *Astesan*.

Though the miscarriage indeed proceeded from his own Negligence in not sending Supplies till too late, amusing himself in Hunting, Dancing, and amongst the Ladies: nevertheless *John de Beaulne Samblancay* Surintendant of the *Finances*, suffer'd for it. *Madame* enrag'd that he should dare to justify before the King, that she had diverted the three hundred thousand Crowns designed for *Lautrec*, resolved to ruine him: The Chancellor *Duprat* Minister of her revenge, and who besides had some jealousy of the Credit of that grave old Man, whom the King called his *Father*, ordered a Commission to try him, who condemn'd him to be hanged.

In the mean time, they made use of all Ways and Means to get in Money. Then did they begin to alienate the Sacred Demeasnes of the King, they continued to sell Offices of Judicature, to create great Numbers of new ones, without which the Monarchy had been upheld eleven hundred years together, to raise the Tallies, and to lay several new Imposts. Publick report accused the Chancellor for advising all these things which bred so much disorder, who to flatter the Covetous humor of a Woman, and the ostentation of a Young King, furnished them with expedients and confidence to overthrow all the Ancient Laws of the Kingdom, whereof by his Office he was Guardian and Defender.

1522. The King had no less to do in *Guyenne* and in *Picardy*. The Emperor going into *Spain* thorow *England*, had prevail'd with *Henry* to take his part, against *Francis*. Arriving in *Castillia* he soon suppressed the remainders of the *Santa Junta*, punishing some few of the Seditious, pardoning the rest, and rewarding such as deserved it: Particularly *Ferdinand* of *Aragon* who had refused to be Head of the League. He did him great Honour, and Married him to *Germaine de Foix*, Widdow of his Grand-Father King *Ferdinand* who was extraordinary Rich, but almost past the Age of Child-bearing.

With the Forces that were remainders of this insurrection and some others he made up an Army which besieged *Fontarabria*, and the King of *England* Landed another at *Calais*, having first sent a Herald to defy the King at *Lyons*. This being commanded by his Brother in Law the Duke of *Suffolk*, joyned with the Count de *Bures* Governor of the Low-Countries, who had one of twelve thousand men: but both these made no progress, and the *English* were diminished one half in five Weeks time after they took the Field.

1522. Whilst the Christian Princes were thus engaged to their mutual destruction, Solyman the Turkish Sultan, who Succeeded his Father *Selim II.* two years since, was now lodg'd upon the Ramparts of *Christendom*. For the preceding year he took the City of *Belgrade* in *Hungary*, and this year he wrested *Rhodes* out of the hands of the Knights of *St. John's*. It was believed Pope *Adrian* might have saved it, if upon his Arrival in *Italy*, he would have sent thither the fifteen hundred Foot he brought along with him, instead of ordering them to *March*, as he did, into *Milan*. For they might have got in by the help of the *Venetian Fleet* then on those Seas, and by the favour of those Winds which wasted in several other Vessels.

It were difficult to name a Siege more Famous then this same, either for the dreadful numbers of the besiegers, for the brave resistance of the besieged, or the many and furious Assaults. There were above fifty Mines and twice as many Countermines about this place; It was batter'd with above six-score thousand Canon Shot, so that most of it was blown up into the Air, or beaten down to dust. The Turkish Army consisted of two hundred thousand Men, of whom above fifty thousand were Slain, and as many perished by Sicknes.

The fifth Month of the Siege, the Knights having no more Gun-Powder left, no Pioneers

neers, nor Labourers, hardly any men for defence, some lying by of their Wounds or of Sicknes, others dropping down with over-Working and Toyling: they accepted of the Capitulation proffered them by Solyman, which was to go forth with Bag and Baggage, and all their Gallies and Vessels that were in Port. He made his entrance upon *Christmas-Day*.

1522.

The Grand Master *Peter de Villiers-P' Isle-Adam*, to whose conduct and Heroick Vertue the greatest Honour of this Generous defence was due, sitting Sail with his Knights and four thousand of the Inhabitants as well of that as of the Islands depending on it, retired to *Candia*, where he Winter'd. From thence he went to *Sicilia*, and three months after to *Rome*; the Pope giving those Knights his City of *Viterbo* for their Retreat. Six Years after, in Anno 1530. they placed themselves in the Island of *Malta*; The Emperor bestowed it upon them to cover his Kingdom of *Silicia*, and they accepted it with the consent of all other Christian Princes, in whose Territories their Order had any Lands, or Possessions.

1523.

The loss of *Rhodes* being partly occasioned by Pope *Adrian's* Fault, it concerned him in Honour to repair it. Therefore upon that consideration and to make his name glorious, he employ'd all his cares to procure a Peace, or at least a Truce betwixt all Christian Princes, that so they might make War upon the Infidels with their united Force. *Francis* would yield to nothing but a Truce, and that a very short one, this did not suite with the Popes designs. So that not being able to overcome him by his Exhortations, nor by the threats of the *English*, nor upon the consideration that he made himself odious to all *Christendom*, he would needs bring him to it by Force, and thus of a Common Father he became a Partial and open Enemy.

1523.

Prompted with this Spirit he acted so powerfully with the *Venetians* that he broke them off from his Alliance, and made a League with them, the Emperor and the King of *England* to thrust him out of *Italy*. The King had therefore all the great powers of *Christendom* against him: nevertheless his passion to recover *Milan* did so over-rule his mind, that he was resolved to go thither in Person at the Head of his best Men, had not the Conspiracy of the Duke of *Bourbon* which he happened to discover kept him back; And though this did strangely embarrass him, yet he sent *Bonniwet* thither with an Army.

For divers years past *Madame* had sought all opportunities of doing some displeasure to *Charles de Bourbon*, and the Chancellor and Admiral employed themselves most willingly to gratifie both her passion and their own. For *Bonniwet* imagin'd if he could ruin him, he should have the Connestables Sword, and the other had a secret grudge against him for having denied his Family some Favour in *Luxevigne*. It did not satisfy *Madame* that she had deprived him of the Chief Functions of his Office, and hindred his Marriage with *Renec* the Kings Sister; she had process against him likewise in Parliament to strip him of the Duchy of *Bourbon*, and the other great Estate of *Susanna*, his Wife, who Died without Children in the year 1521. The Succession whereof as she pretended did belong to her as the next Heiress.

1523.

Indeed she was Daughter of *Margaret* and *Philip* who was Lord of *Bresse*, and afterwards Duke of *Savoy*; and that *Margaret* who was Daughter of *Charles I.* Duke of *Bourbon*, and Sister to *Peter* who had the same Duchy after *John II.* his Brother, and was Father of this *Susanna*, above mentioned. As for *Charles de Bourbon*, he was Son of *Gilbert* Earl of *Montpensier*, who was Son of *Lewis*, Uncle of Duke *Peter*, and by consequence he was farther removed than she. But, besides that he made it appear by very ancient Titles, by Solemn Judgments and Decrees, and by many Examples, that the Lordship of *Bourbon* was a Feif Masculin; he shewed likewise how in his Contract of Marriage with *Susanna*, he was acknowledged the right Heir of that House, and as for the other Estate, there was a mutual donation between him and his Wife, by vertue whereof he enjoy'd it. 'Tis true that *Susanna* was then in minority, and not authorized by the Judge, but she was authorized sufficiently by the presence of King *Lewis XII.* the Cardinal d' *Amboise*, and four or five and twenty Princes, Bishops and Eminent Lords.

He believed his cause would have been very good in any other times, and against any other Party: But as soon as they Commenced this process, he imagin'd it was before resolved and concluded, and that he must Infallibly be cast before Judges who were all Creatures of *Madame's* or of the Chancellor. And this last Affront, which reduced him to extream inconveniences, blinded him so with rage and revenge,

1523.

venge, that without any consideration of what he was, and what he might come to be, he casts himself into the Emperor's Arms, having Treated with him by the assistance of the Lord de Beautien, Son of Adrian de Croy Count de Rieux. The King of England came into this Treaty. It imported; That all three were to share France betwixt them; That Bourbon should have the Ancient Kingdom of Arles with the Title of King; and as a Seal to this Alliance, the Emperor should give him his Sister Eleonor, who was the Widdow of Emanuel King of Portugal. Bourbon had a particular pretension of his own Head to Provence, because Rene Duke of Lorraine had yielded up the right he had to Anne of France the Mother of Susanna, and Anne by her Will and Testament had given it to him.

Now while the King was at St. Peter le Monstier on the Confines of Nivernois and Bourbonnois, two Normand Gentlemen Matignon and d'Argouges, Household-Servants belonging to the Connestable, discovered all their Masters correspondence to him. He would needs be satisfied from his own Mouth, saw him in the City of Moulins, and told him his whole mind. The Connestable owned that he had been Solicited by the Count de Rieux, but stiffly denied that he had given any ear to it. They would perhaps have laid hands on him if they durst: But indeed the attempt would have been dangerous, in the midst of his own Country; for he was mightily beloved by the People and the Nobility, and the King had but four thousand Foot with him, and five hundred Horse: so he only commanded him to follow the Court.

The Connestable taking his Litter under pretence of some indisposition, went easy Journeys. At la Palice he had news that a Decree was made the — of August, which put his Estate under Sequestration: thereupon he dispatches Hurant Bishop of Autun his Confident to the King, to beseech him to stop the execution of it, and to assure him that this favour would bind him for ever to his Service: but he was informed they had stopp'd the Bishop six Leagues from that place. Then flying from the King's indignation, he retired to his Castle of Chantelle where all his richest Goods were; And there having intelligence that four thousand men were coming to besiege him, he went forth by Torch-light. When he had Rode a little while he stole away from his own People, who followed Francis de Montagnac Tenzane thinking it had been their Master, and made his escape attended only by one Esquire named Pomperan, to the Franche-Compte. From thence he passed into Germany; then thorow the Valley of Trent to Mantua, and from that place to Genoa to conferr about the Affairs of the War with Charles de Lanoy Vice-Roy of Naples, who had the general Command of the Armies after the Death of Prosper Colonna, which happened about the end of this year 1523.

1523.

In France, Conspiracies with Strangers against the State never do any mischief when once they are discovered; this bred a great deal of astonishment, but produced no present evil. This great Prince, so Wealthy, so greatly Allied, and so much esteemed by the Sons of War, was but a single banished man when out of France: No body followed him, excepting his domestick Servants, and five or six of his particular Friends: So that the Emperor who at his first Arrival, had given him his choice either to stay there to command his Army, or to go into Spain to compleat his Marriage, when he perceived that his revolt effected nothing, feared he should have only a proscribed Person for his Brother in Law, and perswaded him it were better he should stay in Italy.

We need not doubt but he had formed divers designs in several Provinces of France: but no Commotions appearing, the King, either out of Policy or good nature, did not make strict inquiry who were his Accomplices. There were not above seven or eight taken into Custody, amongst others St. Vallier la Vauguyon, and Emard de Prie. St. Vallier was Tried, and Condemned to lose his Head: but being in the Greve, the place of Execution on the Scaffold, instead of the mortal stroke, he received his pardon. It was said that the King sent it not to him, till he had robb'd his Daughter Diana, as then but Fourteen years of Age, of the most precious Jewel she had; a very easy exchange for those that value Honour less then Life, or make it consist in the Sun-shine of a Favour rather envied then innocent.

It was now almost a year that the Lord de Lude had bravely defended Fontarabia against the Spaniards Assaults; He was so distressed by Famine that it was time to throw in Provisions; the Marechal de Chastillon who was ordered to do it, Died

Died by the way. La Palice happily performed it, and having drawn out the Lord de Lude, and the Garrison who had suffered great Fatigues, he put in all Fresh-men, and for Governor Frauget a Captain of Fifty men at Arms. * Or compleat Horse Men.

About the end of the Spring, an Army of twenty four thousand Spaniards came and fell into Guyenne by two or three several ways, and afterwards joyned all in one Body before Bayonne, to besiege it. The City being weak, their fears were great: however Lautrec getting in amongst them revived their Hearts and cheered them; so that they drew off after three days battering it. However they did not lose their labour, for bending all their Force against Fontarabia, Frauget tamely surrendered it upon their first Assault; for punishment whereof he was degraded of his Nobility on a Scaffold in the City of Lyons; Cowardize not being worthy of death, but of Infamy.

1523.

Neither the Emperor nor the King of England did use that diligence they ought in so great a design, as that of tearing all France in pieces. The Emperor did not furnish Bourbon with those Forces he had promis'd to seize upon the Duchy of Burgundy, but only twelve thousand Foot; who having no Horse were easily beaten off from the Frontiers of Champagne by the Earl of Guise, who was Governor there.

The English did not land till the Month of September, the Duke of Norfolk being their General: Their Army and that of the Count de Bure made up together near forty thousand men. Lewis de la Tremouille to whom the King had committed the Guard of that Frontier, having but few men could only Garrison the Towns. They left Terouanne, which they had design'd to attaque, on the left hand, and taking their March between that City and Monstreuil, came before Hesdin. Knowing the Valiant Pomdormy was got into it, they went farther on, pass'd the Somme at Bray, took Roze and Montdidier, and brought a terror even upon Paris, which was again revived by the coming in of Charles Duke of Vendosme, with some Horse. After all they withdrew again upon the first frosty weather: yet not all, above one third of the English leaving their bones there to pay their Charges.

When they were entring Picardy Bonniwet pass'd the Mountains. The Emperor, the Pope and the Venetians had declar'd against the King as we have said, nevertheless this great League having but few Forces, Bonniwet soon Conquer'd all the Milanais to the Tesin. Prosper Colonne did not imagin that the King having so many Irons in the Fire in France, should have thoughts of sending an Army into Italy: He was much amazed when they inform'd him that Bonniwet was come over the Hills. He appeared at the River Tesin with those few men he had to obstruct his getting over: But it being Foordable in many place, by reason of the great Drowths, he soon had notice that the French were on the other side, and retreated with his handful of men.

It was said that if Bonniwet had used that diligence which was requisite, he might have overtaken and cut them all in pieces: Or at least if he had not amused himself three or four days at Pavia, he had made himself Master of Milan. This delay gave Prosper time to provide: So that Bonniwet lost his time in Besieging it, Winter came, the Plague crept into his Army, and that of the Confederates encreased. He was therefore fain to give ground in his turn, and retire to Biagras, six Leagues on this side of Milan. He chose that Post because he might safely wait there for a new re-inforcement, having the whole Country behind at his own disposal.

During these Transactions Pope Adrian died the fourteenth of September, and the Cardinal Julius de Medicis cousin German of Leo X. and Son of Julian, but born out of Wedlock, was elected by the contrivance and other devices and ways usual in the Conclaves. He took the name of Clement VII.

This year began the Chastisement of those who professed the new Reformation Preach'd by Luther. The Protestants reckon for first Martyrs (for so they call them) one John le Clerc, native of Meaux a Wool-comber, and two Augustin Monks of the Country of Brabant le Clerc was Whipt and Brandmark'd on the Shoulder with a Flower de Luce at Meaux, for having said that the Pope was Antichrist; and was afterwards Burnt at Mets for having beaten down some Images. The two Monks suffer'd the like death at Brussels; Luther Sung their Triumphs, much gladder to be their Panegyrist than their fellow Sufferers.

Bos-

1524.

Bonnivet Subsisted near upon two months in his Post near *Biagras*: But when the Enemy had surprized *Vercel* upon him which cut off his Provisions; and forc'd *Biagras*, he was constrained to retire towards *Turin*. *Charles de Bourbon* Chief of their Army followed him in the Rear. *Bonnivet* having a Wound in his Arm, got away before for fear of falling into his hands, and hastening forwards in a Litter, left the charge and care of the retreat to *Bayard* and to *Vendenesse* Brother of *La Palice*. They acquitted themselves generously, but both of them were Slain by Musquet Shot.

It is said that *Bayard* finding himself so wounded in the *Reynes* that he could sit no longer on Horseback, caused his men to set him on the ground with his Face turned towards the Enemies, and that *Bourbon* finding him in this posture and condition, and telling him that he very much bemoaned and pittied him; he answer'd, That it was rather himself was to be pittied, for having taken up Arms against *France*, which had given him Birth, and had so tenderly bred him. That he should remember that of all those that had born Arms against their Country, their ends had been Tragical and their memory Shameful.

The rest of the Army being not pursued, retired towards the *Alpes*, the *Swiss* returned to their own Country by the Valley d'*Aoste*, the *French* by *Turin*. Near *Suse* they met *Claude* Duke of *Longueville* with four hundred men at Arms, and heard they were making new Levies of *Swiss* to come and joyn them. And thus it was that King *Francis* never sending his Supplies in time, and always in small Parties, was at vast expences, and did not do his business throughly. After the departure of the *French* Forces the Confederates easily regained those places they yet held, the Castle of *Novara* Surrendered to *Sforza*, *Loda* to the Duke of *Urbino*, and *Alexandria* to *Ferdinand d'Avalos* Marquis of *Pescara*.

It is observed that in this War of Italy they began to make use of such great and ponderous Musquets, that two men were fain to carry them one after the other; they loaded them with round Pibbles, and fired them lying upon a Rest. These were the Ruin and Destruction of the Men at Arms, who before this, feared nothing but the Canon.

Notwithstanding all this ill Success, *Madame* did so well manage and prepare the Kings mind in favour of *Bonnivet*, that he laid all the blame upon the blind Baggage Fortune, and received him into as great Favour as he had been before; Thus this Favorite governing him almost absolutely, inclined and perswaded him to raise a huge Army and to go in Person to carry on this War, imagining that if he succeeded the Honour would be attributed to his Councils, if not, then the Kings disgrace would wipe out the Stains of his former Misfortunes.

Clement the VII. in the beginning of his Pope-ship, had sent Legates to the Emperour, the King and the King of *England*, to bring them to a Peace, or at least to a Truce. The King would have a Truce for two years, the Emperour a Peace for ever, the King of *England* neither a Peace nor a Truce, because *Thomas Woolsey* Cardinal Bishop of *York*, had put it into his head, that by the correspondence and means of *Charles de Bourbon*, he might be able to make good the pretensions of his Ancestors to the Kingdom of *France*.

With this prospect he made a new Treaty with the Emperour, wherein it was said; That *Bourbon* entering into *France* with his Forces of *Italy*, the King of *England* should furnish him with one hundred thousand Crowns a month, from the first of *July*, to the last day of *December*; unless he rather chose to land there himself there with a good Army; In which case the Governours of the Low-Countries should furnish him with what Artillery was necessary and four thousand Foot; That at the same time the Emperour with his Spanish Forces should make an Irupition into *Guyenne*; That the Pope and the Princes of *Italy* should be invited to contribute towards the expences: That *Bourbon* should be restored to all his Lands, and that he should have the Kingdom of *Arles*, but that he should own the *English* to be King of *France*. He absolutely refused this last condition as the Pope and the *Venetians* to contribute any thing; As to the remainder the Treaty held good.

For immediately *Bourbon* having drawn together all the Forces the Emperour had in *Italy*, entered into *Provence* with thirteen hundred Foot, and three thousand Horse. His design was not to Stop there, he intended, after he had taken *La*

Tour

Tour, or the Tower, of the Port of *Toulon*, the City of *Aix* and some others, to go directly to *Lyons*, from thence into *Berry*, imagining the Nobility of his own Countries, * would flock to him and increase his Army, that the People very much oppressed with new Impositions, would cast themselves into his Arms, and that by thus taking off the payment of Taxes and Subsidies, he should deprive the King of the chief and true Sinews of War: But the Emperours Council, who aimed at their Masters ends, not at *Bourbons*, obliged him in despite of his former project, to besiege *Marseilles*.

He there found a strong Garrison and men well resolv'd; his Attaques did not advance much in six weeks time. In the interim the King had leasure to set his Army on Foot, which he had not designed to raise till the following Spring, and to send part of them into *Provence*, under the Conduct of *La Palice*. He seized upon *Avignon*, scoffing at the Enemy, who had neglected this City, and from thence when he heard the King was Marching with the other part of the Army, he advanced to *Salon de Craux*. *Bourbons* was ruin'd by the length of the Siege, and the want of pay; for the *English* had paid him but for one month, and the Emperour could not Supply him with those *German* Recruits he had promised him; wherefore having notice that the King was parting from *Avignon* to come and Assault him, he re-imbarqued part of his Cannon, and retired in great haste.

The least success carried King *Francis* much further then either prudence or the uncertainty of events could warrant: Being informed that *Milan* was wholly destitute of Forces, and withal knowing that the Estates of *Castille* had refused money to the Emperour, that the Confederate Estates of *Italy* would not aid him, and that the King of *England* had raised no Souldiers, although it were now the month of *October*: he resolv'd to follow *Bourbon* by long Marches, and perswaded himself that if he could but either reach him, or get before him, nothing could be able to hinder him from regaining that *Dutchy*.

The most knowing of his Officers approved not this resolution. They considered it was upon the coming in of *Winter*, for mid-*October* was past, that they left *France* exposed to the Incursions of the *English*, the *Flemmings*, and the *Spaniards*, and the concealed Practices of *Bourbon*. Many did likewise think it an ill Omen to this undertaking, that he was clad in Mourning for his Wife, who died the twenty eighth of *July*: But he stop't all their mouths, by saying openly that they did not please him by speaking against it; and knowing that his Mother was hastning from *Avignon* to dissuade him, he avoided meeting her, but left her the Regency of the Kingdom.

The advantage both of the one and the other Army consisted in their diligence, it was who should be the nimbler. The King arrived at *Vercel* at the same time the Enemies got to *Alba*, whence they got in two days to *Parma*, having marched six and thirty miles in one day. They had resolv'd to keep *Milan*, and were Encamped at *Binasque*: But upon the approach of his Van-Guard, they abandoned that City to retire towards *Loda*. His old Commanders were of opinion he should not leave off pursuing them, for they were put to their last Shifts, and shewed themselves half conquered, throwing away their Arms as they marched, and if these were but dispers'd, there had not one place been left them but *Pavia* and *Cremona*, with the Castle of *Milan*, which wanting Provisions, would have Surrendered in a short time. *Bonnivets* advice was contrary, and carried it; The King left *La Trimonille* with six thousand men in *Milan* to Besiege the Castle, and went to lay Siege before *Pavia* the 27th. day of *October*.

The Revolution of these Affairs in *Milan* appeared much greater then they were at *Rome*: Pope *Clement* began to treat a new Confederation with the King in Secret, and in the mean time propounded a Truce to both the Princes. The Emperour who was then in *Spain*, having heard his Envoy, to whom the Regent had given passage through *Provence* and *Languedoc*, did not reject it; for he saw the King of *England*, instead of lending him money, demanded that again which he had advanced; and the *Venetians* fearing the encrease of his Power or the Kings Forces, denyed to renew their Alliance with him: But the King flatly refused it, as if it must have robb'd him of an assured Conquest. He thought himself already so certain of *Milan*, that he made a Detachment of ten thousand Foot, and six hundred men at Arms, with some Horse of his own Army, under the Conduct of *John Stuard* Duke of *Albany*, to go and Conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*; and soon after he sent again four thousand more to *Savonna*, commanded by the Marquis de *Salusses*, to make War upon those of *Genoa*.

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There

1524.

* The Countries of Forez, Beaujolais, Bourbonnais, La Marche, and Auvergne, were his Lands.

1524.

There is great likely-hood, though the *Italians* deny it, that it was upon the Solicitation of Pope *Clement*, not that he would have had *Francis* hold that Kingdom and the *Milanois* together (for that were to have placed the Holy See between two Barrs) but because he hoped to procure some great matters for himself, by the help of the *French* Forces. Perhaps the King fancied that *Lanoy* who was the *Vice-Roy*, would quit all other Interests to preserve that, and that he would draw all his men out of *Milan* to follow the Duke of *Albany*, but he not only did not fear that so small an Army could take a Kingdom where there were so many strong places, but he ceased from all apprehensions concerning *Pavia*, and refused to hear any more of a Truce.

At two months end the Siege was found to be no more advanc'd then the first day: The Garrison was strong, the attacks feeble and languishing, there was often want of Powder and always want of Order. In the mean time *Charles de Bourbon* returned from *Germany* with a Supply, of ten thousand Foot and a thousand Horse from the *French-Compte*, and joyned *Lanoy's* Army near *Loda*. These made up together seventeen thousand Foot, seven hundred men at Arms, and as many light Horse, besides the *Francomtois*. With these they resolved to try all manner of ways to put some relief into *Pavia*, which however was in no danger yet, unless it were from their own Garrison, who were ready to Mutiny for want of Pay.

1525.

There was between *Pavia* and *Milan*, almost in the mid-way, a little place called *Castle Saint Angelo*, which would have cut off their Provision, had they left it behind them. *Bonnivet* having confided so important a place to an *Italian*, he wanting either courage or fidelity, quitted the Town as soon as they began to Batter it, and retreated into the Castle, which he Surrendered the same night.

After the taking of so important a Post, the wisest Captains were of opinion, the King should raise the Siege and retire to *Birasque*. They remonstrated to him that the Army of the Enemy being not paid, would disperse within fifteen days, that his own was a third part weaker then they made him believe, that two thousand men who were coming to him by *Savona* were cut off by the way, that the three thousand *Italians* of *John de Medicis* Disbanded themselves since their Commander in Chief being wounded upon an Assault, was carried out of the Camp, that six thousand *Grisons* had left him upon pretence of going back to defend their own Country, where *James de Medequin* a *Milanese*, Captain of the *Castle de Muz*, had purposely, and perhaps by their own Agreement, surprized *Chiavenna*, which is as it were the Key. All these Arguments and Reasons were too weak to draw him from thence: *Bonnivets* obstinacy, and the shame he fancied it would be to quit his design, after he had with so many Magnificent Speeches proclaimed that he would take the place or die before it, obliged him to stay there, and as we may say bound him Hands and Feet to deliver him up to his ill fortune.

There was not above two hundred paces distance betwixt the two Armies. The Enemies could keep theirs together no longer for want of pay, and withal they observed there was nothing but confusion in the Kings, and that the flatteries of the Favorites sway'd more then the Councils of the oldest Captains; this made them take the resolution to go and present the King Battle, who was lodged in the Castle of *Mirabel* in the midst of *Pavia* Park, and if he refused it, to enter into the Town, draw forth the Garrison that could hold out no longer, and leave a new one in their room.

The night of the 23d. or 24th. of *February*, they drew near the Park Wall, and having thrown down about threescore fadom of it, marched directly to *Mirabel*, this being a little before the break of day. Although the Kings Guns were planted in a place of advantage; yet could they do but little Execution during the obscurity; but when it grew light they began to thunder upon their Rear, inasmuch as it broke their Ranks, and made them run into a Hollow way. The King observing this disorder from his Camp which lay high, was transported with joy, at the same instant, word was brought him that the Squadrons of the Duke of *Alenfon* and *Philip de Chabot-Brion* had defeated a great body of *Spaniards* and taken four Pieces of Canon; Then believing they were half routed, he imprudently went out of his Camp, where they durst never have set upon him, and goes on to charge them.

He

1525.

He fell upon them with so much Impetuosity, that at the very first he broke in amongst their Horse, and with his own hand slew *Fernand Castriot* Marquis of *Saint Angelo*: but the *Arquebusers* they had mixed with their Horse, put his to a Stop. Then comes *Bourbon* and *Lanoy* who rallied their own and gave a furious charge. The Duke of *Alenfon*, who cover'd the *Swisse* with four hundred men at Arms, betook himself to flight and retired to *Lyons*, where some days after he died with grief and shame. The *Swisse* lying open, made but a poor Fight, and then withdrew, the *Lansquenets*, or *German* Foot, who were but three or four thousand, fought to the last moment, and were all cut in pieces. All the Storm fell then upon the King; His Horse being kill'd under him, he defended himself on Foot some time without being known. But meeting and knowing *Pamperan*, he surrendred himself to him.

The Baggage and Cannon were taken, eight thousand of his men killed upon the place, amongst others *Lewis de la Trimouille*, the *Mareschal de la Palice*, *Francis* Earl of *Lambesc* Brother to the Duke of *Lorraine*, *Aubigny*, *Sansseverin*, and *Bonnivet*, this last too late, as it was said, for the good of *France*, and divers other Lords of Note. Together with the King were taken the *Mareschal de Lesclapart*, *René* Bastard of *Savoy*, these two died of their Wounds, *Henry d'Albret* King of *Navarre*, *Francis* de *Bourbon* Earl of *Saint Pol*, the *Mareschal de Montmorency*, *Florenge*, *Brion*, *Lorges*, *Rocheport*, *Montejum*, *Montpesat*, *Langcy*, *Curton*, and a great number besides.

Upon the noise of this event the Garrison that was in *Milan*, forsook it immediately and all the *Dutchy* fell to the Imperialists. The next day after the battle, *Lanoy* fearing the Souldiers might Seize upon the Kings Person to secure their Pay, conveyed him to the Castle of *Pisqueton* and Committed the Guard of him to Captain *Alarcon*.

One cannot well conceive the divers effects the news of this great event produced all over Europe; It caused infinite joy in the Court of *Spain*, jealousy in that of *England*, an universal affliction to *France*, together with a marvellous consternation; which was not much less amongst the *Italians*, who with all their great wisdom and politicks saw themselves exposed as a prey to the Conquerour. The *French*, besides the particular sorrow every one resented for the loss of some Kindred or dear Friend, did likewise participate in the common Calamity, and apprehended lest *France*, having none to defend her; now they had lost their King, the Flower of their Nobility, and best Souldiers, should be Invaded by the Emperours Forces, *Bourbons*, and the King of *England*. The *Venetians* very wise in Adversity did endeavour their utmost with the Pope to form a League against this Torrent. They were of opinion to raise ten thousand *Swisse* immediately, to joyn a good body of Horse with them, to exhort the King of *England* for his own interest to come into a League with them, and to inform and instruct *Madame* in all these points who would not fail to contribute her utmost Cares.

The Pope consented to all, and had given order for a Courier to go into *England*: but the *Spaniards* having gotten the wind of it, gave him such great assurance he should have whatever conditions he desired of the Emperour; that as he was very irresolute, and besides feared to be put to expences, and never knew how to time his business, he recalled his Courier, changed his mind, and made a League with the Emperour. The Treaty made, he obliged the Duke of *Albany*, whom till then he had amused in *Tuscany*, to Disband all the *Italian* Troops he had, and Ship all the *French* at *Cornet Port*, to send them back to their own Country, lending him some Gallies for that very purpose, those the *Regent* had sent not being sufficient to Transport them.

The Emperour having received the News of *Pavia* with great Moderation, in so much as he would not suffer them to make Bonfires, saying there was greater reason to Mourn for such Victories over Christian Princes then rejoyce, it gave some reason to hope that he would make the same use of the advantage he had over his Prisoner in moderation towards him. And indeed, when he propounded to his Council after what manner he should Treat him: His Confessor pleaded that he ought to release him generously and without conditions, because it would be a most Christian-like Act, worthy of a great Emperour, famous to all Posterity, which would make the King really his inferior, and become ever obliged to him, and would tie him more Strictly then any Treaty they could make with him. But *Fredric* Duke of *Alva*, and after him all the rest of the Council, being of opinion

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he was not to be set free till they had so weakned him, that he should be hereafter unable to give them any further trouble, and that the abatement of his Power would be the re-establishment of the ancient Empire over Europe, the Emperour declared that he was of their mind.

He therefore sent the Lord de *Beaurien* into *Italy* to propose to the King, who was yet in the Castle of *Pisqueton*, the conditions he desired for his release: That he should renounce to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the *Dutchy* of *Milan*; That he should surrender up to him the *Dutchy* of *Burgundy* which was the Patrimony of his Ancestors; That he should give *Provence*, *Dauphiné* and *Lyonnois* to the Duke of *Bourbon*, to be joyned with his other Lands, and make them an independant Kingdom; That he should Satisfie the King of *Englands* demands. To which *Francis* replyed, That a perpetual Imprisonment would be less severe to him then those conditions; That they were not in his Power, because they shock'd the Fundamental Laws of *France*, to which he was Subjected; but that he offer'd to take in Marriage *Eleonora* the Emperours Sister, to hold *Burgundy* in Dower and Hereditary for the Children that should be Born of that Marriage, to restore the Duke of *Burbon* to all his Lands, and to give him his Sister *Margaret*, Widow of the Duke of *Alençon*, to satisfie the *English* in Money; to pay a Ransom such as King *John* had paid, and to lend him a Land Army and a Fleet whenever he would go into *Italy* to receive the Imperial Crown.

If the *Regent* mother to the King was troubled with grief, she was much more so with Fear; She apprehended to lose the *Regency*, which *Paris* and the Parliament, very ill satisfied with her conduct, would have put into the hands of *Charles de Bourbon* Duke of *Vendosme*: But that Prince, either out of discretion, or fear, which in this circumstance made it vertue and merit, seeing his Family already too hateful in the Kings Eyes, refused to take it upon him. He went himself to the *Regent* at *Lyons*, where she had called an Assembly of *Notables* to get them to confirm her Authority.

As for the King of *England* he at first expressed a great deal of joy for the Kings being taken, and dispatched one to the Emperour, to perswade him to enter into *Guyenne*, assuring him that at the same time he would make an Irruption towards *Normandy*, and proffered to send his Daughter that he might Marry her, according to some Propositions that had passed between them. But on the other side he sent to the Queen *Regent* of *France*, to let her understand he was not unwilling to unite himself with *France*, for the deliverance of their King. And that which inclined him to it was not so much the neglect the Emperour shewed in leaving his Daughter, and seeking the Daughter of the King of *Portugal*, as the Impreciations of the Cardinal *Woolsey* his grand Governour, who was enraged for that the Emperour since he had overcome his difficulties, cared no more for him, nor wrote any more to him with his own hand, nor Subscribed himself *Your Son and Cousin*, as he had done before.

The Jealousie and the Evil Dispositions, that Cardinal infused in his Masters mind against the Emperour, were one of the first helps towards the saving of *France*. For the King of *England* who had equipp'd a Fleet to land in *Normandy*, dismissed it without demanding his Expences of the *Regent*, and made a League with her to preserve the Crown of *France* entire, so that the King could not dismember it to gain his freedom; and he promised to assist him with men, and to lend him moneys when ever need required.

The King had been now above two months in the Castle of *Pisqueton*, and neither *Lanoy* nor the Council of *Spain* could yet resolve upon the place where they might safely keep him. For the Kings Gallies were at Sea which hindred them from carrying him to *Spain*: And if they kept him in those Countries it was to be feared their half mutinous Souldiers, should seize upon him, and let him escape. They would willingly have had him to the Kingdom of *Naples*: but having not many men, they apprehended the Pope or the *Venetians* might attempt to rescue him on the way.

Amidst these Difficulties *Lanoy* found an expedient, which was to make him consent or think it best to go into *Spain*: To this purpose he endeavours to perswade him that if he did but discourse with the Emperour they would soon agree together, and that in case they could not, he would bring him back into *Italy*. The King who ardently desired it, believed it, and not only commanded the *French* Gallies that were cruising to let him pass: but likewise so ordered it that the *Regent* lent six to the *Vice-Roy*, who pretending to sail towards *Naples*, transported

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ported him into *Spain*, this was about the middle of the Month of *June*. He was lodged in the Castle of *Madrid* far from the Sea and the Frontiers, with the Liberty of going forth to take the Air when ever he pleased, but always surrounded with Guards, and mounted upon a Mule.

He had thought that upon his arrival he should see the Emperour: but notice was given him that it would not be convenient, till they had first agreed upon all Articles; and that those might be treated upon he gave leave to the *Marschal de Montmorency* to return into *France*, and permission to *Margaret* the Kings Sister to go into *Spain*. In the mean while he granted a Truce till the end of *December*, for fear, said he, lest some new difficulties should arise: but in effect to Suspend any Enterprises of the *Italian Potentates*, and their League which should have put *Milan* into very great danger, had they bestirred themselves well in this juncture.

And truly this translation broke all those measures the Pope and the *Venetians* would have taken with the *Regent*, and put them into an extream Consternation. It did no less allarm *Bourbon* and *Pescara*, having been done without Communicating of it to them. They wrote very sharply to the Emperour concerning it, and with Invectives against *Lanoy*, whom they accused of cowardise and pride together, for having, said they, by his timidity like to have made them lose the Battle, of which notwithstanding he pretended to claim the whole honour. Besides *Bourbon* apprehending with great reason lest the two Kings, if they conferred together, should agree to his prejudice, did not so much look after the affairs of *Milan*, as his own, and had no patience till the Gallies that carried the King were returned, that he might go aboard and hasten to find the Emperour.

The intentions of the *Italian* Princes, in driving the *French* out of *Milan*, was not to introduce the *Spaniards* there, but to restore *Francis Sforza*; and yet the Emperour carried himself as absolute Master, and the unfortunate *Sforza* was, to speak properly, no more then the Treasurer who paid the Souldiers at the expence of his poor People. *Jeremy Moron* who was his Chancellour and his principal Counsellour, fought therefore to set his Master and his Countrey at Liberty; the Pope and the *Venetians* proffered to contribute towards it; all these together imagined they might make advantage of *Pescara's* discontent, and propounded to make him King of *Naples*, the opportunity being favorable whilst *Lanoy* was in *Spain*, and all the Forces almost Disbanded. The Pope who was Sovereign Lord of that Fief, joyes in this business and approves of it. *Pescara* pretended to give Ear, but acted the Scrupulous and the man of Honour, doubting whether he might serve the Sovereign Lord, which was the Pope, to the prejudice of the Lord the present Occupier, which was the Emperour. To resolve this, they were fain to consult, under feigned names, all the most eminent Lawyers of those times. At last he seems to yeild, and to treat a League with the Pope, the *Regent* and the *Venetians*, for this enterprife.

When he had found out the whole intrigue he discover'd it to the Emperour and confirmed his relation of it, by the confession even of *Moron*, who imprudently surrendered himself into his own Hands: He afterwards redeemed his Life for twenty thousand Crowns. Thereupon *Pescara* took an occasion to deprive the unhappy *Sforza* of his *Dutchy*; he gained all his strongest places by a wile, and then shut him up in the Castle of *Milan* with a circumvallation. But he dyed at the beginning of *December*, before he could reap the Fruit of his perfidiousness. He was a man had neither Soul nor Heart, of a quick and piercing Wit; but Crafty, Malicious, and who instead of Honour was stored with nought but Arrogance.

The *Regent* laboured incessantly for the Liberty of her Son, *Margaret* Dutcheß of *Alençon* being arrived in *Spain* in the month of *September*, propounded the Marriage of the King with *Eleonora* Sister to the Emperour: But that Princess had been promised to *Bourbon*, who earnestly demanded her, and thwarted the whole Treaty with his interests, which were difficult to be adjusted. So that *Margaret* was forced to return without effecting any thing, leaving however *Francis de Tournon* then Bishop of *Embrun*, *Gabriel de Gramont* Bishop of *Tarbes*, who were since Cardinals, and *John de Selve* First President of *Parliament*, to continue the Negotiation.

This Princess had scattered so much money in those Countries, that she gained some of the Emperours Council, and most of the Kings Guards, with whom she had

1525. had formed a contrivance for his escape. The Emperour having some hint of it, and at the same time received the news of *Moron's* design, in which the *Regent* had some hand, caused him to be more closely confined then before. The King conceived so much grief for this hard usage, and for that in the six months time he had now been in *Spain*, he could not once come to see him, that he fell very Sick. Then the Emperour fearing he might lose his advantages together with his Prisoner, made his Interest his Civility, and gave him a visit. It was very short, but full of tender Expressions, Consolations, and hopes of sudden Liberty; So that the King took courage and comfort, and by little and little recovered his health.)

(When this danger was over, the Emperour was not over hasty to perform those Promises he had made.) Twice was he upon the point of Marrying his Sister *Eleonora* to *Charles de Bourbon*: Notwithstanding he was advised to keep her still in reserve to make an Alliance with the King if it were needful, and indeed he was obliged to do so when he left feared it. For having information of a great League, and very great Forces raising by all the Potentates of *Italy*, the King of *England* and the *Regent*, he considered the Marquis of *Pescare* was dead, *Milan* ready to revolt, his Forces dissipated or in Mutiny, no Commanders for his Service in those Countries; and that therefore the Confederates might turn him out of all there before he could put things in order. These Motives made him condescend to a Peace, and to set his Prisoner at Liberty, but in such a manner as according to common opinion, was neither just, nor Honourable, nor Advantageous.

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That the King should marry *Eleonora* with two Hundred Thousand Crowns for her Dowry, and should marry the Daughter of that Princess to the Dauphin when she came to Age; That he should be conducted to *Fontarabia* and set at Liberty the Tenth of *March*, and that his two Sons or at least the Eldest, or in lieu of the Second, twelve Lords should enter into Hostage for security of what he promised. Which was amongst other things; to pay the Emperour Twenty Hundred Thousand Crowns in Gold for the Ransome of his Person; To yield to him the Dutchy of *Burgundy* with the Cities of *Noyers*, and *Chastel-Chinon*, the County of *Charolois*, the Vicounty d' *Aussonne*, and the *Prevosté* of *Saint Lawrence* in all entire Sovereignty: Moreover the homage of the Counties of *Artois* and *Flanders*, and his pretensions to the Estates of *Naples*, *Milan*, *Genoa*, *Ast*, *Tournay*, *L'isle* and *Hesdin*; To get *Henry d' Albret* to renounce the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and if he could not oblige him to it, not to assist him; To restore within Forty dayes the Duke of *Bourbon* and all those that had follow'd him, to their Lands. As likewise to give *Philibert de Chaalon* his Liberty, and his Principality of *Orenge*, and to *Michael Antony* his Marquisate of *Saluces*; To afford no assistance to the Duke of *Guelders*, and to procure that his Cities upon his death, should return to the Emperour; To pay the Arrears of the King of *England's* Pension, which amounted to Five Hundred Thousand Crowns. To lend the Emperour when he should go to take the Imperial Crown in *Italy*, twelve Gallies and four great Vessels, and to pay him Two Hundred Thousand Crowns instead of the Land Army he had promised him.

Moreover the King engaged upon his Faith, that if he could not procure the full execution of all these Articles, he would voluntarily return to his Prison, and disengage his Promises at the price of his own Person. Whatever promises he made, the wisest Spaniards, nay even those of the Emperours own Council, unless such as had a particular hand in the contrivance and management of this Treaty, never believed that he intended to perform it, and prefaged that their Prince after all, would reap no other benefit but the reproaches of all Christian Princes, and an immortal War with *France*. And indeed his Chancellor *Gatinare* absolutely refused to Sign it, and protested he would not so much abuse that Office the Emperour had bestowed upon him, to the prejudice even of the Emperour himself.

When after his refusal the Emperour had signed the Treaty with his own Hand, he visited the King at *Madrid*; and from that day till the time of his departure, they shewed

shewed to each other all the marks and tokens of a sincere and cordial affection. They went in the same Coach to Visit the *Infanta Eleonora*, whom *Francis* betrothed that very day, Eat together, discoursed in private of their Affairs, and were often in publick observed to laugh and discourse familiarly.

The Eighteenth of *March*, *Lanoy* and *Alarcon* with Fifty Horse, brought the King near *Fontarabia* to the brink of the River which parts *France* from *Spain*. The same day *Lautrec* Governor of *Guyenne* brought the Kings two Sons, the Eldest being scarce eight Years old, to the hither Shoar. A great Boat lay at Anchor in the middle of the River. At the same time the Spaniards put the King into a small Bark, and the French the Kings Sons into another, and at the same time they exchanged them, making them pass over the great Boat, whence they received them into their little Barks on the further side. So soon as the King was got to Land on this side, he mounted a Turkish Horse and spur'd away, as if he had feared some surprize, to *Saint John de Luz*, where he found his Mother and his Sister.

(At his getting out of his Prison which had confin'd him Thirteen Months, he fell into the Captivity of a fair Lady, *Anne de Pisse-leu*, whom his Mother brought purposely thither to divert him after his tedious Melancholy.) He afterwards honoured her with the Title of Dutchess d' *Estampes*.

As soon as he was in *France*, he began highly to complain of the Inhumanity of the Emperour, and say; That promises made under Imprisonment are Null; That a Vassal is Criminal who forces his Lord to give him his Oath; That the Laws of the Land would not permit him to dismember any part of it. He spake thus to the Ambassadors that were about him, he wrote likewise to the Pope, the King of *England* and the *Venetians*. The Assembly of Notables he called at *Cognac* said the same, and the Estates of *Burgundy* did absolutely refuse to change their Lord, though in appearance he pressed them to it, as much as he could.

Then the Emperour trembling with Rage and Shame, perceived that his evil Council with his own greediness had deceived him: and hearing that all *Italy* was but ill disposed towards him, he sent away *Bourbon* with his Gallies giving him Money, and the Government of *Milan*, to which he joyned the hopes of adding the Title of that Dutchy, when he should have utterly dispoliated *Sforza*, if he could convict him of the Crime of Felony.

He likewise sent *Hugh de Moncado* to the Pope to endeavour to satisfy or rather amuse him, and commanded him to pass thorough *France* with order to go no farther if the King would give him up *Burgundy*. Ever since the Treaty of *Madrid*, there had been a League in hand with the King of *England* and the Princes of *Italy*, which sometimes was laid aside and then again revived: when the King was informed by *Moncado* that the Emperour was absolutely resolved to have the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, and no other condition in exchange, he was constrained to conclude it, for fear they should comply with the Emperour.

It was proclaimed the Twenty Eight of *June* at *Cognac*, between the King, the Pope, the *Venetians*, the *Florentins*, and *Sforza*, to procure the Release of the Kings Children, restore the Kingdom of *Naples* to the Holy-See, and maintain *Sforza* in the Dutchy of *Milan*, the King reserving nothing to himself in *Italy* but the City of *Genoa*. *Lanoy* who had followed the King to sollicite the execution of the Treaty of *Madrid*, seeing the quite contrary took his leave and retired, having first summon'd him to return to his Imprisonment according to his Parole given.

All seemed to favour the Confederates, the People of *Milan* were revolted upon the cruel and proud avarice of the Spaniards, their Troops were all shattered and reduced almost to nothing, and the Marquess *du Guast* had not sufficient authority to restrain them. But of all the Members of this League, there were none but the *Venetians* that did in part perform their Obligation; the Pope proceeded slowly and ambiguously, *Sforza* suffer'd himself to be amused by the Spaniards Artifices, and the King aiming at nothing but to disengage his Children, did not carry things on Vigorously. Besides he hardly ever acted any thing but by fits: the pleasures of Women and Hunting made him forget all business; He never gave any Orders but when it was out of Season, and when he had begun to repair the fault at a double expence, he would let all fall again and give over in a moment.

Thus his Army conducted by the Marquess *de Salusses*, could not get thither till *September*, and his Gallies from *Marseilles* did not joyn early enough with *Doria's*

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Doria's to regain the City of *Genoa*, and prevent *Bourbons* Landing. But which was the worst, *Francis de la Rovere* Duke of *Urbino* General of the *Venetian* Forces out of certain jealousies for the future, and old resentments of time past against the House of the *Medicis*, who had otherwise deprived him of his Dutchy, and who still reserved some pretensions, would not by any means advance the *Popes* Affairs too much.

He might with ease have relieved the Castle of *Milan*, the *Burghers* would have Seconded his Design and driven out the *Spaniards* had they been assisted, but he left them exposed to the violence of their cruel *hostes*, who miserably sacrificed them, and tormented them so grievously, that many to escape out of their hands gave themselves a voluntary death. Afterwards those People that belonged to the *Pope* and *Sforzas* men pressed him so earnestly, that he could not refuse to approach *Milan*, and either besiege the City, or force the Circumvallation about the Castle: But *Charles de Bourbon* being got in with Eight Hundred men only, he decamped by Night, and obliged the other Commanders to follow him; in so much as *Sforza* reduced at last to the extremest Famine, Surrendered the Castle the Twenty Third of July to *Charles de Bourbon*, not renouncing to the Dutchy however, and reserving a certain Revenue to himself, and the liberty of going to the Emperor to make out his own Justification.

In all the rest of this War the Duke of *Urbino* behaved himself after the same manner, he by his Malicious delays retarded the reduction of *Cremona* which had Capitulated, made them lose the opportunity of forcing *Milan* after he had received a re-inforcement of Fourteen Thousand *Swiss*, and Five or Six Thousand *French* whom the *Marquess de Salusses* brought him, and that of taking *Genoa*, for which *Andre Doria* required but Fifteen Hundred men, which he would never send him.

The *Columnes* Enemies of *Pope Clement*, and incited by the Imperialists had taken up Arms against him, he had raised men likewise to defend himself, then suffering himself to be lulld asleep by a deceitful Peace, he disbanded them. About the end of *October* they got into *Rome* with Three or Four Thousand Men gathered together: the Cardinal *Pompey Colonna* having conspired to kill him and invade the Holy-See, which had been Executed, if he had not timely made his Escape into the Castle Saint *Angelo*. Having miscarried in this, they plundered his Palace and even Saint *Peters* Church, then besieged him in the Castle. *Hugh de Moncado* who was apparently the contriver, or abettor of this Conspiracy, became the mediator for an Accommodation. Which doing he constrained *Clement* to Treat with them, to renounce the League for Four Months, and to withdraw his Forces. Five Weeks after, that is to say about the end of *November*, he being ashamed of his base Cowardliness, excommunicated the *Columnas*, and degraded the Cardinal *Pompey*. In the mean while *Lanoy* who returned from *Spain* had time to bring Soldiers from *Naples*.

Towards Hungary there happened a great and mischievous business to the House of Austria; They would fain have made the World believe that *Francis* had occasioned it, and that it was he had drawn the Infidels into those Countries. *Solyman* falling upon that Kingdom, the young King *Lewis* was forced by the General of his Army (he was named *Paul Tomore* a man of Quality, and one who having a long time born Arms, was turned Monk of the Order of *Cordeliers*, and then promoted to the Archbishoprick of *Colacse* in the Upper Hungary) to give him Battle. It was upon the Twenty Ninth of August in the Plains of *Mohacs*, where he was overcome and drowned in the Neighbouring Marishes. All the Flower of his Nobility were Slain there, and afterwards the whole Country over-run by the Turks, and drenched with the blood of near Three Hundred Thousand of his poor Subjects.

That was but the beginning of the Calamities of that unhappy Kingdom, *Ferdinand* the Emperors Brother founding himself upon the Right and Title of *Anne* his Wife Sister of King *Lewis* (who had likewise Married his, named *Mary*) and upon certain Contracts made by his Predecessors with the Kings *Mathias* and *Ladisslaus*, prevailed to be Crowned King by part of the Hungarians, and *John de Zapols* Vaivod of *Transilvania* Earl of *Scepus* was elected by the other Cabal. This being the weaker had recourse to the protection of the Turk: which occasioned a long series of misfortunes and desolations in Hungary, equally plagued and rent in pieces by the Barbarians, and those that said they were their Kings.

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Amidst the uncertainties of the Emperors Affairs concerning *Milan*, he had proffer'd a Ten Months Truce to the Confederates; whilst they were trotting backwards and forwards to *Rome*, *Venice* and *France* about this same, he received news that his Fleet was safely arrived in *Italy*, and that Fourteen Thousand *Lansquenets* *, which *George* Baron of *Fronsberg* had raised at his expence (this was the third time he had done him the like Service) were entred into *Milan*. ^{* Germains Foot.} By this means his Affairs being in a good posture, he spake no more of an Accommodation.

The *Pope* had broken the Treaty made with the Vice-Roy of *Naples*; and the Confederates to make a diversion Assaulted that Kingdom by Sea and Land. The Count de *Vaudemont*, who had his pretensions to it, as being descended from *René* Duke of *Lorraine*, who had the Rights and Title of the House of *Anjou*, commanded the Sea Forces, and *Rance de Cere* the Land Army for the King. The *Popes* irresolution and covetousness ruined all their Progress in that Country: for it hindred the providing of those things that were necessary for their subsistence; and on the other hand the King failed in furnishing almost every thing that he had promised. Thus the Land Army wasted for want of provisions, and all the Fleet gained upon the Coast was soon lost again.

Upon this, the *Pope* had Information that *Charles de Bourbon* was marching towards *Rome*: he was so terrified that he made a Truce of Eight Months with *Lanoy* Vice-Roy of *Naples*, without knowing whether *Bourbon*, who depended not upon *Lanoy*, would accept of it.

He had made account that the Army of the League which was in *Milan*, would hold him still in play, or if he should march out that the others would follow him every where: but that Prince not knowing how to satisfy the grievous out-cries and complaints of the People whom he had eaten to the very bones, nor the Mutinies of the Soldiers, who were every moment ready to fall upon him, in this extremity and despair of all things resolved to go forth and seek out a Subsistence for them. He therefore passed the *Po* the Twenty Ninth of *January*, leaving *Antonio de Leve* at *Milan* with Eight Thousand Men for the defence of the Dutchy.

There were some believed his design was to seize upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, that to this end he held correspondence with the King, that by private Agents he was reconciled to him, and that from *France* they were to furnish him with a certain Sum every Month to maintain his Army: but that the said Money not coming, and their heat and insolence increasing daily, he was constrain'd to promise them the plunder of *Florence* or *Rome*.

There is great probability it was a thing of meer necessity, and that the Duke of *Urbino* contributed more than a little towards it, having an aking Tooth to be revenged of the *Pope* who still gave the Title of Dutchess of *Urbino* to his Niece *Catharine*, and the *Florentines* who detained from him *Montfeltra* and some other Lands which *Pope Leo X.* had taken from him, and engaged to them. Indeed, it was said that Duke had promised *Bourbon* not to oppose his March if he went that way, and *Guichardin* assures us that if the *Pope* would but have restored *Montfeltra* to him, it would have obliged that Duke to serve him after another-guise manner then he did.

Now *Bourbon* having sojourned forty days in the Neighbourhood of *Piacenza*, was encouraged, say some, by the Duke of *Ferrara*, who turned two Months before to the Emperors Party, to March directly to *Florence* or to *Rome*. The *Pope* was so fickle, and so easie to believe what he desired, that although he knew he was entred into *Romagnia*: nevertheless he dismissed his Forces, and relied upon the assurances *Lanoy* (perhaps deceived himself by *Bourbon*) gave him, that the said Prince would go no farther.

He soon found the contrary, for *Bourbon* being entred into *Tuscany*, and not daring to attack *Florence*, by reason all the Confederates Forces were about it, resolved to go and fall upon *Rome*. Upon the noise of his March, the *Pope* leaves all things intirely to the Conduct of *Rance de Cere*, who not having time to raise good and able men, pickt up Five or Six Thousand amongst the *Estafiers* or *Lacqueys*, and *Grooms* belonging to the Cardinals, such rascals as were much more likely to affright then defend a City.

Wherefore the Fifth of *May*, *Bourbon* who had encamped himself in a Meadow near *Rome*, sent to demand passage thorow the City, and receiving no other answer but a denial, the next morning he went head-long and made an Assault at

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a breach which was in the Wall of the Burrough Saint *Peter*. He was twice beaten off, the third time a Musket shot laid him dead on the Earth: but his Soldiers after two hours dispute, forced the Burrough. About Evening they pass'd the Bridge over the *Tiber*, and entred into the City, mad with revenge, and the desire of plunder. The Pope instead of retiring into some place of Safety, as he might have done, shuts himself up in his Castle Saint *Angelo* with Thirteen of his Cardinals.)

Whatever can be imagined of Barbarity, Impieties, Sacriledge, Cruel and Horrid acts, excepting Fire, were committed upon the sacking of this great City. It lasted two whole Months, during which time, the *Spaniards*, who say they are such good and sound Catholics, did much out-do the *Germans*, who openly professed they were of *Luthers* Sect, and sworn Enemies of the Papacy.

Although the King of *England* had been one of the warmest Promoters of the League against the Emperor: nevertheless because it was not concluded in his Island, as he desired it might, he had not hitherto contributed any thing towards it, but remained neuter. Now Cardinal *Woolsey* having suffer'd himself to be enticed by King *Francis*, under whose protection he hoped to shelter himself against the general hatred of the *English*, in case his Master should happen to die, propounded a Marriage between the King, or his second Son, and his Masters Daughter, and contrived to conclude on which of the two she should be bestowed, there should be an Inter-view betwixt *Boulogne* and *Calais*.

Upon this assurance a new Confederation was made between them towards the latter end of *April*. Wherein it was agreed, That the King of *England* should renounce all claim to the Crown of *France*, upon the payment to him, of Fifty Thousand Crowns Pension Yearly; That in the following Month of *July*, they should commence the War in *Italy*, the *English* with Nine Thousand Foot Soldiers, the *French* with Fifteen Thousand, and Horse and Artillery proportionable; That they should make known this League to the Emperor, and Summon him to deliver up the Children of *France*, and enter into the Peace of *Italy*; If not, within one Month afterwards they should declare a War against him.

After this Confederation the News of the Popes being taken coming, the King made another with the *Venetians* the Fifteenth of *May*; That they should jointly maintain Ten Thousand *Swiss*, and pay them alternatively by the Month; That the King should send Ten Thousand Foot under the Conduct of *Peter de Navarre*, and that the *Venetians* should entertain the like number of *Italian* Infantry.

The Imperial Army was near Thirty Thousand Men, *Hugh de Moncado* and *Dugast* having brought thither all the Forces from *Naples*. Had they found a General fit to employ or Command so great a Body, they might have given Law to all *Italy*: but these were nothing but Mutiny and Confusion, and they were so fleshed with the City of *Rome*, it was impossible to get them out thence. The Vice-Roy and the Marquis *Dugast* fearing lest the Foot Soldiers should fall upon them, fled away by Night: the Prince of *Orange* remained and had the Title of General, but no Power; the Army would take Orders from none but themselves.

So that the Duke of *Urbino* had a fair opportunity to come and deliver the Pope; and yet he made so many delays, pretending sometimes one excuse, then another, Advancing, Retreating, ranging about, that at length the Pope reduced to extremity Surrendered himself the sixth day of *June*; and because it was upon conditions impossible for him to perform, amongst others to pay down four hundred thousand Ducats ready money, and to deliver up Places which were not in his disposal, he remained a Prisoner six whole months and in great misery under the custody of Captain *Alarcon* a *Spaniard*, who formerly had the custody of King *Francis*.

During all this his Estates being guarded only by the People, for as much as they were interested, the *Venetians* his Allies Seized upon *Ravenna* and *Cervino*, with the Salt-Pits; *Sigismund Malatesta* on *Rimini*, the Duke of *Ferrara* upon *Reggio* and *Modena*; and the City of *Florence* which was almost brought under the Yoke of the *Medicis*, threw it off and returned to their Popular State of Government.

The Debaucheries of the Soldiers, the Nastiness of the *Germans*, and the excessive heats of the Weather, had Engendered a Plague in *Rome*, so that those Robbers dying in heaps, part of them went into the Field to take the Air. The Confederates

Confederates Army diminished apace likewise, and were retired towards *Orvietta*, from whence they went to the Lake of *Perugia*, otherwhile named *Trasimene*.

In the mean time the Holy Father was in great danger, as well because the Plague was got into the Castle Saint *Angelo*, and had taken off some of his nearest Household Servants, as because the *Spanish* Captains would carry him to *Cajeta* with his thirteen Cardinals, and from thence he apprehended to be transferred into *Spain*. The Emperor desired it most passionately, and indeed they had conveyed him thither, if the Prelates and *Spanish* Lords had not made him know they thought it contrary to Christian Piety, thus to detain in Prison and like a Slave mis-use and treat the Head of all Christendom. I cannot imagine, after all, how they could be reconciled with, or judge of the proceedings of their Prince, who commanded publick Processions to be made in *Spain* to ask of God the deliverance of the Pope, as if himself had been two different Persons, that is, in *Italy* a Barbarous Persecutor, and in *Spain* a Zealous Servant to the Holy Sec.

The Union between the Kings of *France* and *England* becoming more strict, and the Emperor having refused to Surrender the Pope and the Children of *France*, they were resolved to carry the War into *Italy* with all their Forces. The King of *England* was to furnish thirty thousand Crowns in Gold per month for the payment of ten thousand *Lansquenets*, very good men commanded by *Lewis de Lorrain*, Count de *Vaudemont*; and Cardinal *Woolsey* being come to confer with the King at *Boulogne*, brought over three hundred thousand Crowns to lend him, if he had any need of them.

The seventeenth of *September* the King having called an Assembly of the most Notable Persons of the three Estates of the Kingdom, for their Advice what he should do touching the deliverance of his Children, offered to return to Prison, if they judged he were so obliged to do, rather then act or undertake any thing prejudicial to the State. The twentieth of that Month each of the three Orders separately, answered, That his person was the Kingdoms, not his; That *Burgundy* was a Member of the Crown, whereof he was but Usurfructuary; That therefore he could not dispose either of the one nor of the other. But withal (which was the true Motive for calling this Assembly) they offered him two Millions of Gold for the Ransom of his Children, and assured him that if it must come to a War, they would spare neither their Lives nor Fortunes.

Lautrec had been named General of the Armies for the League according to the desire of the King of *England*, but against his own will, fore-seeing by experience of times past, that when once they had engaged him in that employment and he gon afar off from them, they would furnish him with nothing either in time, or in quantity sufficient. He passed the Mountains in the beginning of the Month of *August* with part of the Army. And till the remainder were come he Besieged the Castle of *Bosco* in the *Alexandrian* Countrey, where a thousand men were in Garrison, which he forced to Surrender at discretion. From thence he went before *Alexandria* which he likewise constrained to Capitulate; then to *Pavia* which not Submitting in due time, was taken by Assault and Saccaged, and the Governour made Prisoner. This was *Lewis de Barbiana*, who was named Earl of *Beljoyense*.

At the same time *André Doria* a *Genoise*, but General of the *French* Gallies, and *Cesar Fregosa* with *French* Forces brought *Genoa* under the King's Obedience; and *Alphonso* Duke of *Ferrara* forsaking the Emperours Alliance took that of *France*. He was absolutely fixed by the Honour the King did him, promising *Renee* Sister of the late Queen *Claudia* to his Son *Hercules*, who notwithstanding did not Marry him till ten months afterwards, which was in *July* 1528.

They did not omit in the mean time to Treat about a Peace with the Emperor. The Ambassadors of *France*, *England*, *Venice* and *Sforza*, were at *Burgos* for that purpose: Not being able to incline him to reason, they took their leaves, and immediately afterwards the *Heralds* from the two Kings declared War against him. The Emperor having sent those Ambassadors twenty Leagues distance from the Court set Guards upon them, then some while after he released them and caused them to be conducted to *Bayonne*. The King treated his Ambassador in the same manner, he confin'd him to the Prison of the *Chaflelet*, and let him out a few days afterwards.

Now the Emperor in his reply to the Kings Herald, amongst other things said the King had broke his Faith, and besides he bragged how two years before

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he told the *French* Ambassador, that it were more expedient and brave to decide their quarrels man to man in single combat, then to trouble all Christendom, and Spill the Blood of so many poor Innocents not concerned in their disputes. The Herauld having acquainted him thereof, he would justifie and clear himself of these two reproaches of Perfidie and Cowardice by a publick Act, and such a one as should appear most eminently to the eyes of all Europe.

He caused therefore a Scaffold to be set up in the great Hall of the Palace, where sitting in his Royal Robes, attended by his Princes, and in presence of all those Ambassadors that were then about his Court, he sent for him that belonged to *Spain* (this was *Nicholas Perrenot de Granvelle* a Native of mean extract in *Franche Comté*, but a man of Brain) and caused a Cartel, or challenge to be read before him which gave the Emperour the Lie, and demanded he should assign the place for Combat, and that he would bring the Weapons thither. The Ambassador excusing himself from carrying this Challenge, he sent a Herauld to acquaint the Emperour with it, and the King of *England* at the same time sent him the like defiance by a Messenger of his own.

Some while after the Emperour sent back a Herauld to the King with his answer. The King placed himself in the same posture to receive it: but being informed he would appoint no place, till after the King should have diengaged his word and his Children, he commanded him not to speak: And thus all those challenges proved nothing but fine Theatrical Shows.

It had been agreed between the Kings of *France* and *England*, that this latter should attaque the Emperour in the Low-Countries: But his Subjects having an aversion for a War against the *Flemmings*, because it destroyed their Commerce, he rather chose to lend the King thirty thousand Crowns per Month, and treated a Truce for all Merchants trading between the Low-Countries, *France* and *England*, to have free liberty for a year.

Upon the News of *Lautrec's* marching into *Italy*, the Emperour had sent an Order to set the Pope at Liberty, but first to endeavour the tying him to strict and harsh Conditions. The Treaty for his freedom being concluded with *Moncado*, whom the Emperour had by provision made Vice-Roy of *Naples*, in the room of *Lanoy* who was lately dead, he would not trust himself there till the next day, but that very night slipped away disguised like a Merchant, having before caused his Hostages to evade who would have run a great risque.

Lautrec had regained almost the whole *Milanois*, and might in a short time have mastered *Milan*, if the Kings express orders had not enjoyned him to give up all the Places to *Sforza*, and to go to *Rome* to deliver the Holy Father. When he was entering upon *Romagnia* he heard that he was escaped, and that the Imperial Army upon the report of his March had quitted *Rome* to go and defend the Kingdom of *Naples*. The Plague had devoured above two thirds of that Sacrilegious Army, and it was observed that within the compass of one year there were not two hundred remaining, but which in divers manners had felt the resentments of Divine Vengeance.

He pursued these Robbers by long Marches, and having overtaken them at *Abbruzzo* presented Battle to them. They dislodged in the night with great disorder and retired into *Naples*. It was believed that if he had followed them in at their heels he might have expected good success from their Fears: but he amused himself in taking of other Places, and then, when he had missed of so fair an opportunity, he laid Siege to *Naples*.

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The Confederates at the same time when he entred that Kingdom, were to have fallen upon *Sicilia* with their Fleet, which was got together at *Leghorn*. But they were disabled by a Tempest which so grievously shattered the twelve Gallies equipped by the *Venetians* that they were forced to put in at *Corfu* to Refit. *Rance de Cere* and *Andrea Doria* with the Kings Ships, made a descent at *Sardinia*, put the Vice-Roy of that Island to a rout, though he had double their Number, and entred pell-mell with him into the City of *Sassary*, which they Plundered.

This Success was the occasion of great Misfortunes: For the Souldiers overglutted with Eating, died most part of the Disenterie; The King Plunged over Head and Ears in Pleasures became more negligent in sending Supplies to *Lautrec*: And *Andrea Doria* having some disputes with *Rance de Cere*, it hap'ned that this last finding more favour then the other at Court, the thoughts thereof Aggravated all those other little discontents he had formerly met with from the *French*.

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He had in his mind, as it appeared afterwards, a great desire of restoring his Country to its Liberty: To this end he offered the King two hundred thousand Gold Crowns, to let him have the Government of it, not to hold it, but that he might make a Regulation, and he made earnest Applications that the *French* should give up the City of *Savonna* to that State, because that being the better Port would ruin *Genoa*, and make the City become Desert: But the King absolutely denied him both the one and the other. Being therefore Malecontented in his Soul at this refusal, and for their not paying him the Prince of *Orange's* Ransom, he carried his Gallies back to *Genoa*, under colour of having been so weather-beaten, that they stood in need of reparations.

The *French* Army lay Encamped before *Naples* from mid-April, *Lautrec* thinking to have it by Famine, and for that purpose was so pressing with *Andrea Doria*, that he sent him the Kings eight Gallies, and eight more which were his own; all under the Command of his Brother *Philippine*. Upon their Arrival they took three great Vessels laden with Corn, which they were conveying into the City. It was believed that if the *Venetian* Forces had come in time, and had not employed themselves, as they did, to recover some Cities in the *Golf* for their Seigneu-ry, which they had lost in the time of *Lewis XII. Philippine* and they together might have so effectually blocked up the Port that no Provisions should have been carried in to *Naples*, which began to feel some want.

The *Spaniards* did not however get much by the bargain in making such haste to engage *Philippine*, before the *Venetians* came to joyn him. *Hugh de Moncado* had put a thousand Select *Arquebusers* on Board their Fleet thinking to do great things: Notwithstanding *Philippine* gained the Victory, *Moncado* the Vice-Roy of *Sicilia* was there Slain with above twelve hundred of their Bravest Men.

This great Success much heightning the hopes of *Lautrec*, did much increase his Negligence, many things were already wanting in his Army, first water to drink, the Enemies having Poisoned that little which was good: In the second place Forage for their Horses; from whence followed another inconvenience, for having sent his Horse to all the Neighbouring Towns; those belonging to the Enemies were then strongest, and fetched divers little Convoyes into *Naples*, and likewise cut off his Provisions. Besides this they sent the Plague into his Army, by some People who carried Cloaths thither which were Infected; and to all these was added the Manifest Defection of *Andrea Doria*, and all those of his House.

Lautrec foreseeing that his discontent would burst out with some great execution, dispatched *William de Bellay Langeay* to the King to let him know that his Affairs absolutely required he should give all satisfaction and content to a man that was so necessary. *Langeay* passed through *Genoa*, heard the complaints and demands of *Doria*, and reported them to the King. He had been pacified, would they have restored *Savonna* to the *Genoese*: but the Marechal de *Montmorency* who was in favour, being interested there, for the Imposts that were paid in the Port of *Savonna* belonged to him: The Chancellour who flattered him, when the business was brought before the Council, rejected the Proposition as Extravagant, treated *Doria* as a Proud and Insolent Person, and brought it to a resolution of Seizing upon him.

The order for it was given to *Barbeseux* of the Family de la *Roche-Foucaud* with the Title of Admiral in the *Levant Seas*, and the Command of fifteen Gallies, and some Vessels, whereon they Embarqued five or six thousand men for the Siege of *Naples*. But the business was not carried so secretly but he had some hint of it, he retires from *Savonna* where he then was to *Genoa*. *Barbeseux* went to confer with him, and told him what Commands he had. *Doria* answer'd, That he had taken good care he should not put them in Execution, and promised to give up the Kings Gallies: but he caused them to be Stolen away basely by *Antony Doria*, and withdrawing to *Portofin* perfected his Treaty with the Emperour with conditions very advantageous.

Barbeseux was constrained by this change to remain some while in the River of *Genoa*, and to leave near three thousand of his men to bridle that City. He was again stopt almost three weeks by the Pope to besiege *Civita-Vecchia*, and in the mean while *Philippine* having received orders from his Brother, quitted the *French*, and before he went away put some Provisions into *Naples*, which he could not have done if *Barbeseux* had been there.

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The Supplies he put on Shore were but eight or nine hundred men, Commanded by *Peter de Navarre*. Two thirds of *Lautrec's* Army were already destroy'd by Sicknefs, which no more sparing the Chief Commanders than it did the private Souldiers, had carried off the Count de *Vaudemont*, *Charles Bastard* Brother to the King of *Navarre*, and many other Persons of Note. It had some days before Seized likewise upon *Lautrec*; his Officers advised him to retire to *Capona*, and made it appear that *Naples* would fall of its self, having no other places on the Land that could Support it: But he had Vow'd either to take it, or die in the Attempt. His Stubbornness made the last a truth: For his Distemper increasing, put an end to his Life and his Enterprize the sixteenth day of the Month of August.

* Or *Malfy*.

After his Death the Marquess de *Salusses* took the Command of those Languishing Forces, and continued the Siege for some days, not with any hopes of taking the City, but to wait for *Rance de Cere* and the Prince of *Malse*, * that he might be able to make his Retreat to *Capona*. That City being gained by the Enemy, he retired into *Aversa*; They pursued him without Intermission, and having defeated a Party of his men upon their Retreat, and got a great many Illustrious Prisoners, amongst others *Peter de Navarre*, they blocked both him and all his up in that place. Being wounded with a Culverin Shot in the Knee, he Capitulated, promising on his part to do what lay in his Power to procure the Surrender of such Places as the French held in that Country, by which means he obtained Life and Liberty for the Garrison to retire, but not for himself; For he remained a Prisoner of War and died soon after; as did likewise fifteen or twenty Eminent Lords, and above four hundred Officers or Gentlemen. The Prince of *Malse* who had taken part with France and *Rance de Cere* a Roman Barron, kept *Barletta* and some other Maritime Places till the Treaty of *Cambray*.

A little before the Death of *Lautrec*, the Duke of *Brunswick* had undertaken to bring twelve thousand *Lansquenets* and six hundred Horse to the relief of *Naples*. And the King had given five hundred men of Arms, as many Light-Horse, and six thousand Foot to the Count de *Saint Pol* to oppose him in his Passage. The Count being informed, that *Brunswick* for want of Pay, was returned back again, staid in the *Dutchy of Milan*, and having joyned the Confederates Army regained some Places: but most of his Troops Disbanding for the same cause as *Brunswick's*, he did no great Exploits.

In the mean time *Andrea Doria* knowing the French Garrison in *Genoa* being reduced to a small number, had Quartered themselves in the Castle by reason of the Plague which had almost Depopulated the whole City, approached with his Gallies, and Landing only about six hundred men, made himself Master of the place. The French Navy fearing to be shut up in the Harbour, left it in all haste, and retired to *Savonna*. The Castle held out some Months, and was not Surrendered till the following year.

When *Andrea Doria*, by his Treaty with the Emperour had obtained the sole Authority in *Genoa*, he made use of it very generously to restore it to its Liberty; And without attempting or designing to make himself Sovereign of his Native Countrey, as the Medicis did in theirs, Established a form of Government, almost the very same as it is yet to this day. He thought such an act of eminent Vertue (above the Power and reach of time or Fortune to destroy) was a much safer way to gain Immortal Fame, than with injustice to acquire a petty Sovereignty, which every little accident might have overthrown, and which he could not have maintained without continual trouble and hazard.

The Lutherans and the Sacramentaries gained upon the minds of those that were lovers of Novelty, by their Writings and Emissaries who crept into the Universities and amongst the curious. The Chancellour *Duprat* lately made Cardinal and Arch-Bishop of Sens, assembled a Provincial Council of his seven Suffragans in the Augustin Convent at Paris, where he made divers excellent Decrees to stop the progress of those Opinions, and to reform the Clergy, whose dissolute behaviour had given rise to those Scandals. The year after, *Lewis Berquin* of Artois for Preaching Luther's Errors, was burnt in Paris the two and twentieth of March.

This very year 1528. were sowed the first Seeds of Englands Schism; The Cardinal *Woolsey* to be revenged of the Emperour who had deluded him and despised him, as likewise to oblige King Francis who flattered his ambition and his avarice, had persuaded his Master that his Marriage with Catherine of Arragon was not good, it being against the

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the Law of God that a Woman should marry the two Brothers, for when Henry took her she was then Widow of his eldest Brother Arthur; that therefore the Pope must declare it null, and that afterwards he might marry with Margaret the Kings Sister, Widow of the Duke of Alençon. In effect the Irons were put into the Fire, and the Pope, as things then stood betwixt him and the Emperour, hearkned most willingly to it, and commissioned two Cardinals, *Campejus* and *Woolsey* to be judges of the matter upon the place. He also sent a Bull to *Campejus* which dissolved the Marriage, with order nevertheless not to deliver it, nor to let it be seen but as a Secret: But finding the Emperours Affairs succeeded better then his own, and that he would make him repent it, he sent to *Campejus* to Burn it, and to wira-draw the business. After which Catherine refusing to own those two Cardinals for Judges, and appealing to the Holy See, before whom the Ambassadors from the Emperour and the Arch-Duke Ferdinand protested likewise a Nullity of all that they could judge, his Holiness removed and brought it before himself; which enraged the King of England beyond expression.

Mean while *Woolsey* repented he had carried it on so far, because he perceived now that Henry who so earnestly desired the Divorce, had no inclination to marry Margaret of France, but a Damselle of the Queens his Wife, with whom he was Furiously in Love. She was called *Anne Bullen*, was Imbued with the opinions of Luther; yet withal too gallant, and one that could Sing and Dance too well to be wise or staid. Henry observing therefore that he retarded the business instead of helping it forward with dispatch, let him fall into disfavour; and immediately every one turned their backs upon him. This proud Cardinal who used ordinarily to say the King * and I, saw himself forsaken of all his Friends, displaced from his Office of Chancellour, then Banished to his Bishoprick, afterwards made a Prisoner, persecuted all manner of ways, and reduced to the extremest misery. In fine, the following year as they were bringing him from York to London to answer to such Treasons as were laid to his Charge, he dyed, as it hath ever been desired those proud Ministers may die and fall, who abuse the Authority of their Masters.

After the ruine of the French Army in the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Spaniards reduced all the Towns and Places at their ease. In *Milanois* the Confederates Army commanded by the Duke of *Urbino* regained *Pavia*, which *Dugast* had taken: but the Count de *Saint Pol* was surprized at *Landriana* by *Antonio de Leva* who marched out of *Milan*, not above five Leagues from it. In the midst of this danger his *Lansquenets* proved Turn-Coats, his Italians abandoned him, he was overcome and made Prisoner. All his Horse and his Van-guard made their escape to *Pavia*.

After this Defeat there was a kind of tacit Truce between the Princes. All would have a Peace, the King out of desire to get home his Children, the Pope upon the consideration of his many former miseries and sufferings, and the Emperour because he had obtained what he desired.

About the Month of June it was first concluded at *Barcelona* between the Pope and the Emperour, very advantageous to the first, because the other had a most eager desire to go and receive the Imperial Crown at Rome. The principal Conditions were that the Emperour should give his Bastard Daughter to *Alexander de Medicis*, That he should re-establish that Family in *Florence* with the same Power and Authority it had before they were driven from thence; and that he should procure those Cities and Places to be restored which belonged to the Church. On the other hand the Pope received him as Homager for the Kingdom of *Naples* upon the presenting him annually with a white Horse, and gave him power of nomination to the four and twenty Cathedral Churches which were in controversy; with this he also granted him a fourth part of the Fruits and Revenues of the Church, as well in his own Lands, as in those of the Arch-Duke *Ferdinand*, to be employ'd in making a War against the Turks.

In the following Month of July, *Margaret* Aunt to the Emperour and *Louisa* Mother of the King, meeting at *Cambray* to Treat of a Peace between the two Crowns, did conclude it likewise in presence of the Ambassadors from the Pope, the King of England, and the Venetians; It was published the Fifth day of August. The Articles were almost the same as those at *Madrid*, excepting that the King retained the *Dutchy of Burgundy*, to which the Emperour reserved his Rights and Actions to be pursued by fair and friendly methods and proceedings. It was likewise agreed he should revoke the Sentence of Condemnation pronounced against *Bourbon*, and that he should restore all his Goods moveable and immoveables

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Although the King of England was discontented that it had been concluded without his knowledge: nevertheless standing in need of the King for the vacating of his Marriage, he forgave him the 500000 Crowns, and gratified his Son Henry whose God-Father he was, with the redemption of the Flower de Luce. In return the King so order'd it that the Doctors of his Universities and those of Italy held favourable Consultations touching the Divorce.

Whilst the Treaty was on Foot, the Emperor leaving Spain Landed at Genoa the 12th of August with a great Fleet which carried Ten Thousand Men, and at the same time Felix of Wirtembergh entred by Land upon Milanois with a like number. The Potentates of Italy did all bow down to this Power, and the Pope himself came to Bologna to receive him. But the Emperor informed of Solymans irruption in Hungary, durst not use all his Power to oppress them; but on the contrary yielding to their Intreaties, he resettled Francis Sforza in the Duchy of Milan, and agreed with all the other, from whom he drew vast Sums of Money.

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There were none but the poor Florentines who remained exposed to the resentments of the Pope, because they refused to submit themselves to the Medicis, who were but private Citizens no more then the rest. The Emperor lent him his Forces to Besiege their City, who having defended themselves for Eleven Months, in vain imploring the help of France and their ancient Confederates, Surrendered upon Composition the Fifth of August in the following Year, and were reduced under the Dominion of the Medicis, although by the Treaty it was said that the Pope should Establish no Government that should be contrary to their Liberty.

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During these troubles between the two greatest Powers of Christendom, Solymans snatched away the best part of Hungary. The pretended King John had called him to his aid, making himself his Subject and his Tributary: but the Tyrant instead of putting him into possession of the Kingdom, took for himself the Cities of the five Churches, Alba Royal where were the Sepulchers of their Kings, Buda, Strigonium, and Altemburgh. After these Conquests he laid Siege to Vienna: but in a Months time the scarcity of Provisions and the approach of Winter made him dislodge. He raised his Siege the Fourteenth of October after he had lost near Threescore Thousand men, and took his March towards Constantinople, threatening to return the next year with a much greater force.

Those that adher'd to the doctrine of Luther acquired this year the Surname of Protestants, because there having been a Decree made by the Arch-duke Ferdinand and other Catholick Princes in the Diet of Spire in favour of the ancient Religion, and to hinder the progress of theirs, they protested against it, and appealed to the Emperor, and to a General or National Council.

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The following year appeared their Confession of Faith, which is called the Ausburgh Confession, because they presented it to the Emperor in the Assembly which was held in that City, to endeavour to pacifie and allay the differences in Religion. Luther had composed it in Seventeen Articles, Melancton explained and enlarged them.

The Affairs of Hungary and Germany not permitting the Emperor to be long absent, the Pope gave him the Imperial Crown at Bologna with the same Ceremonies as if he had been at Rome. The Emperor affected to pitch upon the Twenty fourth day of February for this great Ceremony, as being his Birth-day, and the day likewise of the taking of King Francis at Pavia. Having sojourned there till the Two and Twentieth of March, he returned into Germany, and before he left Italy erected the Marquilate of Mantoua

Mantoua to a Dutchy, in favour of Frederic Gonzague, who merited a greater Title, if his Territory could have born it. 1530.

They had much adoe in France to make up the Twelve Hundred Thousand Crowns promised by the Treaty of Cambray, for the Release of the Kings Children. The Marechal de Montmorency carried them to Endaya, and the first day of June exchanged them for the two Princes, in the same place, and in the same manner as they did the Father. The King went to meet them as far as Verin, which is a Nunnery in the Launds of Bourdeaux near the Mount de Marfan.

In the same place he Married Eleonora the Emperors Sister who had sent her to him with his Sons. The year following in the Month of March she was Crowned at Saint Denis, and the City of Paris graced her with a Magnificent Entry. This Princess aged thirty Years and rather ill-favour'd then handfom, never possessed the heart of her Husband: but that she might be consider'd, gained the respects of the Marechal de Montmorency who at that time governed the King and the Kingdom.

The Catholicks and Protestants had agreed in the Assembly at Ausburgh to call a Council that might put an end to their differences, and the Emperor had given his assent, because he would make use of this Proposition to awe the Pope. In effect he was so alarmed at it, that he wrote to the Kings of France and England, that he would do all they would desire, provided they hindred the Council. In the mean time the Catholicks of Germany finding their Religion endanger'd, made a League amongst themselves in the Month of November. Which gave occasion to the Protestants to frame one likewise at Smalcald about the end of the following Month.

The first effect of the Catholicks League, was that by their help the Emperor got his Brother Ferdinand to be Elected King of the Romans, who was already so of Hungary and Bohemia (it was upon the Fifth of January in the Diet of Colen) without having any regard to the oppositions of John Duke of Saxony, and the Remonstrances of other Protestant Princes; who being yet more alarmed upon this Election, sent to the Kings of France and England to implore their Assistance. They willingly granted it, and Entred with them into a League, but only to defend their Lands, and the Rights and Liberties of the Empire. The English promised to furnish them with Fifty Thousand Crowns monthly, if they were Assaulted, and the French deposited an Hundred Thousand Crowns in the hands of the Bavarian Princes to Levy Men in case they found reason for it, or were necessitated thereto.

During the calmes of Peace, to the Love for Ladies he joyned the Love of Learning. The good King Lewis XII. had caused him to be bred in the Colledge of Navarre; and although he had made but a very small progress in the Latine Tongue: nevertheless the little smattering he had gave him a great Gusto for the Sciences: especially Astronomy, Physick, Natural History, and Law. He kept near him the ablest men in all the Kingdom, who studied to make handsome and Methodical discourses to him upon all those parts of Learning, most commonly whilst he sat at Dinner, sometimes in his Walks or in his Closet; and he improved so well by those entertainments, that he became as knowing as the greatest Masters.

In acknowledgement of those Inestimable benefits, he raised many of them to Offices, and showed Presents and Pensions upon the rest. Nor did they advance his Affairs a little by their Services, and render his Name Illustrious to the Eyes of all Nations by their Works; so that in spite of Fortune he gained most Renown, though his rival flourish'd with more Success. He instituted the Royal (or Regis) Professors at Paris for the Sciences and for the Tongues. He had likewise a design to Build a Colledge and to settle a Fund of Fifty Thousand Crowns Revenue for the breeding and maintenance of Six Hundred Gentlemen. He got together a huge number of Manuscripts of Ancient Authors, which make up that precious Library, which is the rarest Treasure of our Monarchs of France. In a word, he merited the glorious Surname of the Father, or Patron, and restorer of Learning.

The long and tedious Wars, and his Imprisonment, had accustomed the Nobility to all sorts of Violence and Crimes: He caused the Grand-Jours, or Sessions to be held at Poitiers (this is an extraordinary Tribunal of Judges Commissioned

1531. sioned for a certain time and chosen out of those belonging to the Parliament) to punish the most guilty. There were others held during his Reign, at *Rion* in *Auvergne* in the Year 1545.

Towards the end of *July* there was a Hairy Comet observed in the Heavens, which was visible all the Month of *August*. The vulgar imagined it foretold the death of *Louisa* of *Savoy*, the Kings Mother, who might justly boast she brought him twice into the World, once when he was born, and again when by her care she deliver'd him from his Captivity. She died at *Greze* in *Gastinois* the two and twentieth of *September*, as she was Travelling to her Castle of *Remorantin* in *Berry*, after a long fit of Sickness she had endured at *Fontainebleau*.

From the end of the Year 1528. to the beginning of the Year 1534. the wrath of Heaven was so great against France that there was a perpetual irregularity in the Seasons, or to speak truth Summer alone usurped the place of the other three; insomuch as in five years space there had not been two days Frost together. These tedious heats enervated, as we may say, and decay'd Nature, making her impotent: she brought nothing to maturity. The Trees put forth their Blossoms immediately upon their Fruit, Corn did not multiply in the Fields, and for want of Winter there were such multitudes of Vermin and Insects that fed upon it at its first tender sprouting up, that the Harvest yielded not enough for Seed against the next Season for Sowing. This scarcity caused a general Famine, then came a Disease which they named Trufs-Galant; after that a dreadful Plague, so that these three destroyed above a fourth part of the People.)

1532. Anno 1532. The King made a Journey into *Bretagne*, and there after the deliberation, which he procured with no small trouble, of the Estates of the Country Assembled at *Vannes*, he United that Province to the Crown, and would needs have his Son Crowned Duke at *Rennes*, and bear their Arms with those of *France* and *Dauphine*. The Patent for this Union bears date at *Nantes* in the Month of *August* of this Year 1532.

During the six years of Peace, the Emperor labour'd in Settling and Composing his Affairs in *Germany*, which were much embroiled by the different Sects; in opposing the designs of *Solyman*; and more yet in contriving ways and means to ruine the Affairs or at least blast the reputation of King *Francis*. This year he went to the Diet at *Ratisbon*, where at the request of the Princes of the Empire, he reformed the Imperial Chamber, and obtained of them and the Cities a very great Supply against the *Turk*, who was making ready to fall upon *Hungary* with innumerable Forces by Land, and upon *Italy* with a powerful Fleet by Sea.

He made use of this occasion to demand of the King that he would lend him Money, and his * Gentdarmierie. He answer'd, as touching the Money, that he was no Banker, and for his Horse-men, that they were the strength of his State, and that he lent them no more than he would his Sword, but would fight at the head of them that he might have his share in the Honour or in the Danger.

But because the Imperialists proclaim'd it was a shame that both he and the King of *England*, should stand idle, or with their Hands in their Pockets amidst the danger that threatned all Christendom, they made a League whereby they engaged betwixt them to set Four-score Thousand Men on Foot, with an Equipage suitable and convenient to Attack the common Enemy; and the King in particular proffer'd to defend *Italy*, which the Emperor had denuded of all his Forces, in case the *Turkish* Navy should land there.

The year was much advanc'd when *Solyman* appeared upon the Frontiers of *Hungary* with Two Hundred Thousand Men. *Germany* notwithstanding their Divisions made a greater effort then ever; They oppos'd him with an Army of Ninety Thousand Foot, and Thirty Thousand Horse all modelled Troops. The Emperor was at their Head, and this was his first Expedition, which gave him a gusto for the Trade ever afterwards. One Battle would have decided the Fate of either Empire, and made one sole Master of the Universe: But neither the one nor the other durst run the hazard of so great an Event, there were only some Combats between detached Bodies. *Solyman* withdrew first, *Charles V.* afterwards in so great hast that he staid not to drive the pretended King *John* out of *Hungary*, as he might have done. Before his return into *Spain*, he went to *Bologna* where he confer'd a second time with the Pope.

The

The Union appeared very strickt between King *Francis* and King *Henry*. These Princes desiring to confer with each other about their Affaires, met in the Month of *October* at *Saint Joquevert*, between *Boulogne* and *Calais*, according as they had appointed the foregoing year. *Henry* came to *Boulogne* to visit *Francis*, who returned him his Visit at *Calais*. Both of them were much dissatisfied with the Pope particularly *Henry*, because he refused to appoint him Judges upon the place to take Cognizance in the matter of Divorce. They treated therefore a League defensive with and against all, and projected to demand of the Pope, one his Assistance to recover the Dutchy of *Milan*, the other a Bull for the dissolving of his Marriage, otherwise they would withdraw their Kingdoms from his Obedience till a General Council, the only Name whereof as they well knew, made him even tremble. But the news they received of *Solyman*'s retreat, somewhat allayed those Propositions, and delivered *Italy* from that approaching War they had threatned it withal.

The Pope and Emperor saw each other at *Bologna* with the same Demonstrations of Amitie, as the first time, but with much different Sentiments. The Emperor pressed him to call a Council, because he had promised the *Germans* one, to renew a Confederation with all the Princes of *Italy*, for their common defence against the *French*, and to bestow his Niece *Catherine* * upon *Francis Sforza*. * He called her so, though she were only the Daughter of Laurence Son of Peter his Cousin German.

As to the first, the Pope not finding himself Irreproachable, but much hated of the *Italian* Princes, because he had oppressed the City of *Florence*, which was the place of his Nativity, could not be induced to grant it, but replied in general terms that he must Communicate the thing first to the other Princes of Christendom. As to the second he gave his consent, and made a League for some Months. For the third, he excused himself, because he had hopes of Marrying his Niece with the Kings second Son, a party much more Advantageous then *Sforza* could be. The Cardinal de *Tournon*, and de *Gramont* were then upon the Negotiation with him about this Alliance. The Emperor could not believe the King would so much Debase and Vilifie the Noblest Blood in the World; He was much amazed when the two Cardinals shewed him the Powers they had for it. Then went he away very ill satisfied with his Holiness, though to appease him he promised to give him content in what he demanded against the King of *England*, and Embarking at *Genoa* about the end of *February*, he passed into *Spain*.

Henry made most Vehement instances to *Francis*, that he would Impetrate of the Pope, he might have Judges appointed on the Place. The two Cardinals whom we have mentioned, being arrived at *Bologna*, the fourth of *January* in the year 1533. obtained of his Holiness that he would defer the Judgement of that business, till the King and he should have seen one another at the place appointed for that Meeting. They had agreed upon the City of *Nice*: but the Duke of *Savoy* making too many Difficulties, the Pope consented, not without much Repugnance, that it should be at *Marseilles*, and that they should come there in the Month of *October*.

The Amorous Impatience of *Henry* could not attend till then, he caused his Marriage with *Catherine* to be Dissolved by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and Espoused *Anne Bullen* in the presence of four or five Witnesses only. He was Emboldened thereto by the three *Thomas*es who governed him, these were *Cranmer* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, *Cromwel* Lord Chamberlain and Privy-Seal, and *Andley* Lord High Chancellor. The thing being done he gave notice of it to King *Francis*, intreating his assistance for what he demanded of the Pope, and to keep the business Secret.

It could not be kept so Private, but that in one Months time both the Pope and the Emperor were made acquainted with it. Both of them were Netled and Incensed to the greatest Extremity, in-so-much as the Pope Pronounced the Sentence of Excommunication against *Henry*; and nevertheless he refrained from Publishing it upon the Kings request; who on the one hand being obliged to *Henry*, and on the other desiring to be firmly united to the Pope, sought out some way for an Accommodation. However he promised nothing to King *Henry*, saving that he would do him all the good Offices he could without prejudice either to his Religion or his Conscience. And indeed the Pope desired that he would not press him in that concern beyond his Duty and the rules of Justice.

1533.

In the mean time *Anne Bullen* was deliver'd of a Daughter who was named *Elizabeth*. This was in the Month of *September* of this year 1533.

The tenth of *October* the Pope arrived at *Marseilles* in the Kings Gallies, who took him in at the Port of *Pisa*. Some days before *John Stuard Duke of Albany* had brought thither *Catherine de Medicis*, whose Maternal Aunt he had Married; *John de Bellay Bishop of Paris* and afterwards Cardinal, Harangued his Holiness in most Elegant Latin. The next day after he had made his Entrance into the City, the King made his, with his Queen. The Nuptials between *Henry* and *Catherine* were Celebrated the seven and twentieth of the Month, with as great Joy as Magnificence. The Pope and the King spent several days together, being Lodged in two Houses just opposit, the Street betwixt them, but joyned by a Timber Gallery, so that they went to each other unseen, and could treat of their Affairs with the greatest Privacy.

Upon this occasion the King did not forget his usual Magnificence, but rather Surpassed it very much. He Loaded with exquisite Presents and great Pensions all those Cardinals that were with his Holiness: But he made the Beauty of his mind and Eloquence out-shine the luster of his Gifts, and that whole Court was satisfied, that if there were a richer Prince in the World, yet there could not be any one that made a more generous use of his Riches, nor that accompanied his favours with so much wit and so much kindness as he.

The two and twentieth of *November* the Pope and he parted very well pleased with all their Negotiations, excepting that the King had extorted from the Pope four Cardinals Hats for four Relations of his Favorites: these were *John le Veneur Bishop of Lisieux* Grand Almoner of *France*, *Claude de Guiry* Paternal Uncle to the Wife of *de Brion*, *Odet de Coligny* but thirteen years of Age, Son of *Montmorency's* Sister, and *Philip de la Chambre* Brother by the Mother to *John Duke of Albany*. This last took the name of Cardinal of *Boulogne*, he being descended from that House by his Mother.

* He was call'd
Duke of Orle-
ans.

As to the rest there was no new League made between the Pope and the King, contrary to the expectation of the whole World. The Pope promised only to do all he could in favour of Prince *Henry* * his second Son to obtain the *Dutchy* of *Milan* of the Emperor for him: And as to the business of the King of *England*, the King could not prevail with the Pope to revoke the Excommunication, but only that he would not Publish it till he had first tryed by all manner of perswasions to bring that Prince again to reason. To this intent he forthwith dispatched *John du Bellay Bishop of Paris* into *England*, to exhort him not to depart from the Communion of the *Roman Church*.

This wise and able Prelate having obliged King *Henry* to promise him that point, provided the Pope on his part would forbear publishing the Excommunication, went Post to *Rome* to carry this good News, and demand time, to reclaim and fix that inconstant and stubborn Spirit. The Imperialists could not prevent him from procuring it, but they caused it to be limited to a much shorter space then was requisite. *Du Bellay* therefore sent back a Courier into *England*, with order to return by such a certain time; Now the day being come, but not the Courier, the Imperialists pressed the business so hotly, that although he represented that the Frosts and Snows and other Inconveniencies of the Season and Way might hinder and retard him, and desired another respite only for six days: Yet the Pope refused it, and doing in one Meeting what he ought not to have done but in three, he Pronounced the Sentence and caused it to be affixed in the usual places.

Two days after the Courier arrived, bringing very ample Powers, by which King *Henry* Submitted himself to the Judgement of the Holy See, provided certain Cardinals whom he suspected abstained from being his Judges, and that they would send Commissioners to *Cambray* to take Information, and hear those proofs he would offer. The Holy Father perceived then the Fault he had committed by his Precipitating a thing of that Importance, and could well have desired to find out some remedy: But the time was past, his fatal hand had given the blow, which made so desperate a Wound as wholly cut off *England* from the Communion of the Church of *Rome*. For *Henry* transported with fury that he had posted him up at *Rome*, withdrew himself absolutely from all obedience to the Pope, declared himself Head of the *Anglican Church*, and persecuted severely all those that opposed this change.

It

It is observed that if the Pope had deferr'd the Judgement but ten Months, death would have disengag'd him from all these Intricacies, and cut this knot, by taking *Catherine* out of this World, as it did in *January* following.

The Kings constancy for the *Catholic* Faith, was then like to be sorely shaken by two strong Temptations; the one was the King of *Englands* Summons Solliciting him to break with the Pope to preserve the strict Colligation that was between them: the other the Induction of his dear Sister *Margaret*, who would needs have perswaded him to call in *Philip Melancthon*, and give him Audience concerning the means he had to propound for accommodating the differences in Religion. But, as to the first he replied in Substance to the King of *England*, *A Friend even to the Alter*: And for the second the Cardinal de *Tournon* put by that dangerous blow, and fortified the Kings mind so well, that he would never after give the least Ear to any of those Reformers, but in time did also wean his Sister from that Fondness she had, and hankering after Novelties.

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and 34.

Each day Accumulated more and more cause of Quarrel and War between the King and the Emperor. This last had great Jealousie of the Enter-view at *Marseille*, and the Marriage there Solemnized; He likewise thought himself highly affronted for that the King was entered into the League of the *German Princes* Confederated at *Smalcalde*; and he was no less so for his assisting of the *Dukes of Wirtemberg* in the Diet of *Ausburgh* where their cause against his Brother *Ferdinand* was Judged, who detained their Lands; as also for that *William Langey* by his Contrivances and his Perswasive and Powerful Eloquence, broke the League of *Swaben*, which had lasted for seventy years to the great advantage of the House of *Austria*.

King *Francis* on his part complained of a very Bloody and cruel injury. He had in the number of his Esquires a Gentleman of *Milan* named *Francis de Merveille*, who had gained much wealth in his Service: And knowing that he would be willing to make some shew of it in his native Country, he sent him to *Milan* in quality of Secret Ambassador: *Merveille* was so vain as not to conceal his Employment, the Emperor knew of it and made complaint to *Sforza* with Threats, who promised to give him Satisfaction. Now it happened either by chance, or otherwise, that some People of that Country made a Quarrel with *Merveille*, and some body was killed in the Fray. The Duke fails not to lay hold of this opportunity to content the Emperor, and under colour of Justice, but without any form, causes his head to be cut off by night and in the Prison: This hap'ned a little before the Kings journey to *Marseille*.

In pursuance of the Kings League with the Confederates of *Smalcalde*, *Philip Landgrave of Hesse*, Espoused the Quarrel of the *Dukes of Wirtemberg* (who that he might have Money to prosecute the same, engaged *Montbelliard* to the King) and declared War against *Ferdinand*; over whose Army having gained a Notable Victory, he re-Established them in their County, and obliged *Ferdinand* to allow all Liberty to the Protestants (the Sacramentaries and Anabaptists not Comprised;) Upon which condition they acknowledged him King of the Romans.

The Landgrave had promised *Francis* to go into *Italy*, which however he did not; and this King with the Design of renewing a War, set up a Militia in all his Provinces, which he distributed in seven Bodies of Six Thousand Men each, they were named *Legions*. This institution lasted not long, it would have rendered the People too Powerful, and the Government too weak.

The twenty fourth of *September* died Pope *Clement*. Two days after the Cardinals being assembled in Conclave elected *Alexander Farnese* named *Paul III*.

At this time *John Calvin* or *Calvin*, aged twenty four, or five years, began to expose his Doctrine, more conformable to that of the Sacramentaries, than to that of *Luther*, and which went much farther, for it did not only touch upon the inward belief, but overthrew all the Exterior and the Ceremonies. He was a Native of *Noyon*, Son of *Gerard*, who was the Bishops Secretary; A Man very studious, of a sharp and penetrating Wit, a Melancholly and Sickly Temper, an angry and passionate humour, no very smooth Tongue, but an Eloquent and Fluent pen, and who was oft reproached that he covered a Violent ambition, and extream obstinacy, with the Vail of great Modesty and Humility.

He

1534.

He took the first Impression of those new Doctrines when he was Studying the Law at Bourges, from a certain German named Melchior Volmar who taught the Greek Tongue, and was entertained by Margaret Queen of Navarre, Sister of King Francis; A very generous Princess, who having a great love for Learning, had suffered her reason to be prevailed upon by these Broachers of Novelties. (It is held that he laid the first foundation of his Sect at Poitiers, and there instituted the form of the Lords Supper or Manducation, that from thence he sent three of his Companions into divers Parts to sow his Dogmatism, and that himself retired to Nerac to Gerard de Roussel, and James le Feure of Estaples, who were there sheltered under the protection of Queen Margaret, and had already established secretly in that little Court, a form of a Church almost the same as he intended to bring forth into the World.

He stayed but a few Months at Nerac, and passed into Italy to see Renée de France Dutchess of Ferrara, who was imbued with the same opinions as Margaret. Then when Geneva had expelled her Bishop and the Catholick Religion, he there established the Seat of his residence; And from thence he sent his Disciples to Preach his Doctrine over all France and the Low-Countries, exposing them to all sorts of dangers and deaths, which he kept himself far enough off from the fire of Persecution, and hazarded nothing but his Paper and Ink.

This same year 1534. and the following was acted that Bloody and Horrible Tragedy of the Anabaptists in the City of Munster. Those Phanatics thinking to Establish their Whimsies by subverting the Lawful Power, had chosen for their King a Taylor named John of Leyden. Their Bishop besieged them, and reduced them to extremity of Famine, But whilst they resolved obstinately to Perish, rather than yield, he was let into the Town by one of that Mock-Monarchs Camerades, took him and the chief Ministers of his fury, and having led them some time about the Neighbouring Countries as objects of Derision, put them to death with exquisite Torments.

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About the end of the year 1534. The Sacramentarians published some Libels and posted up Papers against the Divine Mystery of the Holy Sacrament of the Altar. King Francis in the beginning of the Year 1535. for reparation of these Injuries, caused a general Procession to be made at Paris, whereat he assisted with great Devotion holding a Torch in his hand, together with the Queen and his Children, afterwards making diligent search for the Authors of that Scandal, he committed half a dozen to the Flames, who were burnt in several places, but for every one he put to death there sprang up hundreds of others out of their Ashes.

These proceedings could not be pleasing to the Protestant Princes his good Friends. Wherefore the Emperor failed not to stir them up to a resentment against him, to accuse him of Cruelty for burning their Brethren, and impiety since at the same time he thus severely handled those that professed a new Reformation of Christianity, he had Turkish Ambassadors in his Court. And indeed he had much ado to justify himself towards them, and in all this whole year could obtain nothing from them.

The Death of Merville was either a pretence or a real cause for a War against Sforza, that he might get footing once more in Milan: Charles Duke of Savoy denying him passage thorough his Country, drew that Tempest upon his own head, unless it were perhaps the Kings design first to attack him, for he had many other causes of resentment against him. He complained that Beatrice of Portugal his Wife and Sister to the Emperor, inclined him to consider the Emperor his Brother in Law, more than him who was his Nephew; That he had dared to take the Investiture of the County of Ast from that Prince, which was the Patrimony of the House of Orleans. That for pledge of his Faith he had given him Lewis Prince of Piedmont his Eldest Son, and in the mean time had refused to accept his Nephew of him, the Order of Saint Michael and an established Company with Twelve Thousand Crowns Pension; As likewise to let the Pope have the use of the City of Nice for the interview that was at Marseille; That he had possessed some Lands of the Marquisate of Saluzzes which were a Fief mouvant of Dauphine; That he refused him the Homage of Foucigny; That he rejoiced in his Letters to the Emperor at his being taken Prisoner at Pavia; That he had lent the Duke of Bourbon Money since his revolt.

But above all these there was the right of Convenience, which led the King to seize upon those Territories to facilitate his Conquest of Milan, and to prevent his exchanging them with the Emperor for others higher up in Italy; For the

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the Dukes Enemies reported that the bargain was in hand. And therefore he underhand demanded the giving up his Places of Montmeillan, Veilland, Chivras and Vercel, for which he offered Lands in France, and to compleat the Marriage of his Daughter Margarine with Lewis Eldest Son of the Duke, accordingly as they had agreed eight years before.

Now though all these were great occasions of Offence to the King, yet he took no other to quarrel with him, but that which he would have taken formerly in the Year 1518. which was that he should do him Justice concerning the Succession of Louisa his Mother who was Sister of that Duke and the late Philibert his Predecessor. During the Life of that Princess he pursued this business by no other wayes but by Treaty; and it may well be believed he would have it sleep still, if the reasons we have hinted had not engaged him to awaken it now again.

He therefore sent William Poyet President of the Parliament of Paris, to the Duke to make his demand for a free Passage and his Rights. As for the Passage, the Duke, at least in outward appearance, shewed himself very ready to grant it, and to furnish him with Provisions paying for them; And for the other point, he proffered to make an amicable Agreement, and to leave the Kings and his own Pretensions to Arbitrators. Which the King taking for a denial declared War against him in the Month of February of the year 1535.

He had already begun to make him feel his Indignation, by giving Orders underhand to the Officers and Magistrates of Dauphine, to make Incursions upon his Countries, by obliging the Holy Father to Suppress the Bishoprick of Bourges which had been newly Established in his Favour, and by assisting those of Geneva against him. The Inhabitants of that City pretending to hold of the Empire, had a long time sought to free themselves from the Jurisdiction of the Bishop; and for this purpose had twice or thrice helped themselves by the Protection of the Cantons of Bearne, and Eriburgh, who had made them their fellow Citizens. In fine they absolutely Revolted, and Expelled their Bishop; his name was Peter de la Baulme.

The Duke having besieged them, the King sent several small Supplies, but who were all defeated: and yet the apprehension he had of the Beranois made him raise the Siege. Immediately the City, chiefly at the Instigation of two Sacramentarian Ministers, i. e. Farel and Viret, changed their Religion and Government, and put themselves into the same State almost as they remain in to this day. The Bishop transported his See to Ancy.

After these Flashes of Lightning the mighty Thunder-clap broke forth: The Admirable Brion entered his Countries with the Army raised to fall upon Milan. At the very report and Noise of his March all the Places of Bress, and those of Savoy on this side Mount Cenis, opened their Gates to the French without any opposition. The Duke was wholly unprovided of Forces; he could do no other till the return of the Emperor but only temporise, and in the mean time defend himself by Submissions and Respects, which are but feeble Arms against a Potent and an Angry Prince, when he intends to make Advantage of his Wrath.

The eight of July of this year 1535. Anthony Duprat Cardinal Arch-Bishop of Lens Legate in France, and Chancellor, died in his Castle of Nantouillet; Much Tormented with Remorse of Conscience, as his Sighs and Speeches made manifest, for having observed no other Guide or Law (he that was himself so great a Lawyer) but his own Interest and the Passion of his Sovereign. It was he that took away the Elections to Benefices, and the Priviledges of many Churches, that introduced the Sale of Offices in Courts of Judicature, that taught them boldly to lay all sorts of Impositions in France, that divided and distinguished the Kings Interest from the good of the Subjects, and who established this Maxime so false and so contrary to Natural Liberty: Qu'il n'est point de terre Sans Seigneur, i. e. That there is no Land, without its Lord. The Office of Chancellor was given to Antony du Bourg, who was likewise a Native of Auvergne and President in Parliament.

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As to the Emperor, he having foreseen that Clouds and Storms were gathering together from all Quarters against him by the King, the King of England, the Princes of Italy, and those of Germany, that he might have some pretence to Arm himself Powerfully, he gave out that he was going to make War upon the Famous Chairadin

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Chairadin Surnamed *Barbarossa*, who Infested all the Coasts of his Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicilia*.

That *Pirate* was a Native of *Metelin*, he had a Brother named *Horne*, their Father a *Christian Renegade* and Poor. From their Youth these two Brothers had used Piracy, having but one *Brigantine* between them both, then Increasing in Vessels, in Men and Money, they passed into *Mauritania*, where engaging themselves in a War that was made betwixt two Brothers for the Kingdom of *Algiers*, under pretence of Assisting the one, they made themselves Masters of both the City and Country. *Horne* being the Eldest bore the Title of King, and Conquered *Circella* and *Bugia* likewise, and Dispossessed the King of *Tremisen*: but in the conclusion he was Vanquished, and Slain in the Rout by the People of that Country, joynd with the *Spaniards* with whom that King was allied.

Chairadin Barbarossa his Brother Succeeded him, and became very formidable in the *Levant Seas*, in-so-much that *Sultan Solyman* gave him the Command of his Naval Forces. There were two Brothers at *Tunis* Sons of King *Mahomet* who disputed for the Crown, *Araxide* and *Muley-Affan*, this last although the younger had taken the Scepter by his Fathers appointment: the other to avoid his Cruelty, fled to *Constantinople* and Implored the Protection of the Grand Seigneur. *Barbarossa* taking advantage of this occasion, appears before *Tunis*, pretending he had brought him back to restore him, though, indeed, he left him in Prison at *Constantinople*. By this wile he so deceived the People that he was received into the City and drove *Muley-Affan* thence. This man had recourse to the protection of *Charles V.* who undertook to re-establish him.

Charles landed therefore in *Africk* with an Army of above Fifty Thousand Men, took the Fort of *Goletta* which he kept for himself, settled *Muley-Affan* in *Tunis*, beat *Barbarossa* at Land, gave him chase by Sea, and delivered Twenty Thousand Christian Slaves; then upon the fourteenth of *August* he Weighed Anchor and set Sail for *Sicily*, where in few days he Arrived. Having sojourned there near three Months, he passed to *Naples* about the end of *November*.

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From thence he wrote to his Brother-in-Law the Duke of *Savoy*, to comfort him for the losses he had sustained by the *French*, and of his eldest Son *Lewis*, who died in *Spain*. These words were but a weak support against those evils which increased upon him every day. For the *Bernois* having declared War in *January* 1536. drove out the Bishop of *Lausanne*, Seized upon that City, the Country of *Vund, Gex, Genevois* and *Chablais*, as far as the *Drance*, the *Valesans* on their side Invaded the rest of *Chablais* from that River all above; Those of *Friburgh* got Possession of the County of *Romont*; and the *French* Army Marched at the same time to enter into *Piedmont*. *John de Medequin* Captain of the Cattle of *Muz*, afterwards Marquess of *Marignan*, and some other of the Emperors Commanders whom the Duke had sent to Guard the *Pas* of *Suze* came there too late. *Antonio de Leva* having visited *Turin* and found it was not yet Tenable, was not of opinion that the Duke should venture to wait for the *French* there. He went out therefore on the twenty seventh of *March* with his Wife and his Son, and having Embarked his richest Goods and Artillery on the *Po*, retired to *Vercel*; *Turin* Surrendered the third of *April*.

Whilst the Emperor was yet in *Sicily*, he had News of the death of Duke *Francis Sforza*, which hapned in the Month of *October*, not leaving any Children by his Wife, who was the Daughter of *Elizabeth* his Sister and *Christiervne*

* II. King of *Denmark*. Now the *Dutchy* of *Milan* being under the Power of the Emperor, knowing the great Passion the King had for so excellent a *Dutchy* he made use of it as a Lure, to amuse, and lead him in a Slip, if we may so express it, all the rest of his Life.

Gravelle his Chancellour had told *Vely* the Kings Ambassadour, that his Master would not dispose of that *Dutchy* till he had received Information from him, how he intended to demean himself in these three particulars; the first was in the War against the *Turk*, the second the reduction of all the Christian Princes to the *Catholic Religion*, and the third the settling of a Firm Peace throughout all Christendom. He added that the Emperors desire was rather to bestow that *Dutchy* upon the Kings third, then upon his second Son, and demanded that the second might accompany him to the Siege of *Algiers*.

These two last Conditions did not please the King; Upon the other three Heads, he made such Replies as ought to have Satisfied the Emperor. He demanded the *Dutchy* for *Henry* Duke of *Orleans* his second Son, and offer'd to give

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four hundred thousand Crowns of Gold for the Investiture. On this Foot he sent to *Vely* that he should press the Emperors Resolution: But that Prince gave only general Words, and in the mean time put his Affairs in good Order, for he made the Marriage between his Bastard and *Alexander de Medicis* who was one likewise, and Confirmed him in the Government of *Florence*; He made a new Confederation with the *Venetians*, induced thereto by the Fame of his Victories in *Africa*, and by the persuasions of the Duke of *Urbino* General of their Armies. He sent to his Sister *Mary* Widow, Queen of *Hungary*, to whom he had given the Government of the *Low-Countries* after the death of *Margaret* Widow of *Savoy* his Aunt, as likewise to those with whom he had left that of *Spain*, to make the greatest Levys of Men and Moneys they possibly could: and himself on his part labour'd to get store of Money in *Sicily* and *Naples*, and to encrease those Forces he brought out of *Africa*.

Now with promising hopes he led on *Vely* and the Kings Envoys even to *Rome*. In the Month of *April* he made his Triumphant entrance, and Sojourned there thirteen days. There it was they Discovered his ill intentions and inclinations towards the King, for after the Pope and he had conferred together about their Affairs, he prayed him to Assemble his Cardinals, and before them with Hat in hand, he made a long harangue full of Invectives, Complaints, and Menaces against King *Francis*; and would needs give them an account of all Transactions between them from the time of *Lewis XII.* he accused him of having ever broke the Peace, failed in his word, disturbed *Italy* and *Germany*, and unjustly dispossessed the Duke of *Savoy*. He concluded by saying, That of three things the King must chuse one; Either to take the *Dutchy* of *Milan* for his third Son upon certain conditions, whereof one was, that he should restore the Duke of *Savoy* to his Lands; or to accept of a Single combat between them Personally with what ever Weapons he pleased, upon some Bridge, in an Island, or a Boat, upon condition that the Victor should employ his Forces according to the appointment of his Holiness, to reduce the *Heretiques* and oppose the *Infidels*: Or to resolve upon a War that should be so Bloody as to ruin one of the two.

The King slighted these proud boasts, but replied to the Accusations by an Apologetic Letter which he addressed to the Pope and Cardinals, and which in very modest terms, but very Pithy and Energetical, clearly satisfied every point the Emperor had touched upon, and retorted all the blame upon himself.

In the interim divers overtures were made between the Pope, the Emperor and the Ambassadors, to prevent these two Princes from coming to an absolute rupture. The Admiral *de Brion* had conquer'd all *Piedmont* to the *Douere*, and found himself in a posture and condition to have conquer'd all the rest, for they were terrified, and *Antonio de Leva* who had taken the field and joynd the Duke at *Vercel*, had not as yet got all his Forces ready. Notwithstanding the King upon what *Vely* wrote to him, that the Emperor (this was before his Harangue) had given him notice by *Gravelle* he would give up *Milan* to his second Son, sent the Cardinal of *Lorraine* into *Italy* to conclude that business which he presumed was in much forwardness.

The Cardinal left order in the name of the King that *Brion* should not pass the *Douere*, and also promised *Antonio de Leva* that he should not pass the *Sesia*; and though he was informed by *Vely*, whom he met at *Sienna*, whither he followed the Emperor, of what had fallen out since at *Rome*, he forbore not, being a confident man, and one that thought nothing difficult, to speak again of it to the Emperor, and to put him in mind of his former promise. The Emperor owned that he had given his word for it, but that the King having continued to prosecute his War against the Duke of *Savoy*, he was no longer obliged to perform it.

After this reply the Cardinal sent the King word he ought to provide well for his own defence: Nevertheless the Pope who ardently desired to reconcile the two Kings, would not give over, but represented to each of them the Strength of the other much greater then indeed they were, thereby to incline them to a Peace. Wherefore the King not willing to begin the Rupture, commanded *Brion* to undertake nothing, but withdraw his Forces into *Dauphine*, after he had well provided and Garrisoned the Places, unless *Antonio de Leva* did pass over the *Sesia*.

On the contrary the Emperor not only prepared himself for War, but likewise endeavoured to stir up all the World against *Francis*. He dispatched an

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Envoy

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*This King was put out of his Kingdom and could not recover it.

1536. Envoy into *England* to desire the Amity of King *Henry*, and protest that all his resentment was buried in Queen *Catherines* Grave, who died this year in the Month of *January*. And although *Henry* had answered but very coldly, he notwithstanding promised himself and grounded his hopes upon the inconstancy of his humour, that if he once saw *France* invaded he would not forbear attempting somewhat upon the score of his ancient pretensions.

He had likewise made use of all sorts of Calumnies and false reports concerning the *Germans*, to render the King very Odious. He made them believe they were mortally hated in *France*, that they were persecuted, that they burnt them alive, and that the King not only endeavoured to kindle Discords amongst them, that so whilst they were grappling and pulling one another by the Ears, *Solyman* his faithful allie might invade the Empire of *Germany*: But that he likewise maintained * Rascals hired on purpose to set Fire on their Borroughs and Towns.

* These were perhaps beggars or poor Soldiers to get Plunder.

In effect this year there were a sort of People, not known by whom, nor for what they were set on, who burnt several, as well in *France* as *Germany*, and especially the City of *Troyes*. *William du Bellay-Langey* a man of Quality and a good Souldier, but whose Eloquence did much greater service then his Valour, composed an excellent Treatise in *Latin* and *High-Dutch*, which was scattered over all those Countries; and as well by that means as by the testimony of *Dutch* Merchants, who affirmed they had been kindly used in *France*, he disabused them, but not without much ado.

After the Emperor at the head of two great Armies had made *Solyman* first retire, and then forced *Barbareffa* to fly, he breathed nothing but War. His Flatterers, who corrupt the minds of the wisest Princes by their excessive praise, promised him no less then the Empire of all Europe, the Poets and Panegyrist's assured him of it, and the Diviners and Astrologers, no less confident or impudent in their Lying Prognosticks, had so boldly foretold it should certainly come to pass, that it had made Impression in feeble minds, and Credulous Spirits.

Amongst whom the *Marquess de Salusses* was one, who thinking to prevent destiny, that the Emperor might seem to be obliged to him for doing that Voluntarily which he fancied necessity must at last bring him to, went over secretly into his service: But being as Treacherous as Shallow-brain'd, he remained yet a while amongst the *French* to ruin their Affairs. Some have said, that the hopes they gave him, that the Emperor would adjudge the Marquissat of *Montferrat* to be his, which was *Litispendente* between him, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Duke of *Mantoua*, tempted him to that Infamous baseness.

The Duke of *Savoy* expected that the Emperor would employ his Forces to restore him; and he already began to think his Affairs seemed to mend. For *John de Medequin* *Marquess de Merignan*, and *Antonio de Leva*, besieged *Turin*, and the King had sent to his Generals to abandon all their Conquests in those Countries, excepting *Turin*, *Fossan* and *Cony*. It was ordered in a Council of War that *Fossan* should be Fortified. The *Marquess de Salusses* who had the charge of it, far from hastning the work, retarded it all he could. He diverted the Pioneers, Provisions, Powder and Ball; Then when he perceived his Treason began to be discover'd, he retired to his Castle of *Ravel*, fathering his retreat upon the disobedience of the *French* Officers.

From thence he gave Intelligence of the poor condition of the place to *Antonio de Leva*, who leaving Ten Thousand Foot and some Horse before *Turin*, under the Command of *James de Scaleng*, came and laid Siege to it; and yet the purchase came not so cheap as he imagin'd, for after he had to his own cost try'd the Valour of the besieged, he agreed they should hold the place a Month, at the end whereof they were to Surrender if not relieved.

In expectation of the day for this Surrender *Leva* would needs try, but in vain, to attempt *Roques-Parvieres*, & *Chasteau-dausin*. Some dayes before this the Emperor Arrived at *Savillan*, where the *Marquess* having quite thrown off his Masque, went and waited upon him; he made him his Lieutenant on the other side the Mountains.

There it was that the Emperor, of his own head, and contrary to the Advice of his Eldest Officers, amongst others *Antonio de Leva*, who fell down upon his knees before him to dissuade him from it, resolved to enter into *Provence*. He had little less then Ten Thousand Horse, and above Forty Thousand Foot of the best

best Soldiers of those times. The Five and Twentieth of *July* the Feast of Saint *James* the Apostle Patron of *Spain*, and the same day of the year whereon he Landed at *Tunis*, this great Army passed over the River of *Var* which divides *France* from *Savoy*, and lodg'd at Saint *Lawrence's* the first Burrough of *Provence*. A short while after it was followed by a Fleet commanded by *Andreas Doria*, which furnished them with Ammunition and Provisions.

The Emperor Vaunted he was the Legitimate Lord of *Provence*, as well by the Cession he said he had of *Charles de Bourbon*, as by other Rights and Titles. He thought to find some Correspondents there (at least he pretended he had) the People amazed and surprized, and places so weak, that he should easily make himself Master of them, or oblige the King, if he appeared to defend them, to give him battle.

But the King would by no means hazard that in his own Country: he fortified those places which were capable to resist, as *Arles*, *Marseilles*, *Tarascon*, and *Beauncaire*, drew the Inhabitants out of those places that were defenceless, as out of *Aix* and *Antibes*, caused all things to be spoiled thorough the whole Country, burnt the Mills, beat down the Ovens and spoiled the Corn, Wine, and such Forrage as they could not carry off.

That done, he divided his Army in two Bodies; The one he lodged within a Camp well intrenched, and which within Fifteen dayes was made defensible. The Situation was chosen near *Cavaillon* in a large Meadow between the *Rhosne* and the *Durance*, and the general Command thereof he gave to the *Mareschal de Montmorency*. With the other Body himself lodged at *Valence* above *Avignon*, to second the first, and give a second Battle, if there were occasion.

After the Emperor had sacked the City of *Aix*, it was in his Council resolved to Attaque *Marseille*. The Siege was begun the Twenty Fifth of *August*. His Van-guard Marching thither met near *Brignoles* a Party of Five or Six Hundred Men, who m *Montejan* and *Boissy* Knights of the Order had caused to advance somewhat too desperately, thinking to surprize the Enemy. They were all cut off and their two Chiefs made Prisoners. This was all the exploits that vast Army did, excepting the forcing a few Countrey Fellows in a Tower, who were hanged.

The News of this Accident carried to the King at *Valence*, was followed with another which was worse, I mean the loss of *Guise*, of which we shall soon make mention: but the sorrow both for the one and the other was Stiffled by a third incomparably more sensible; which was the death of *Francis* his Eldest Son, a brave and generous Prince Nineteen Years of Age, who falling sick at *Valence*, and yet making them Convey him by Water to his Father, died at *Tournon* the 12th day of *August*.

The Count *Sebastian de Montecuculy a Ferrarese* was accused for having given him Poison in a Cup of fresh-water as he was playing at Tennis in *Valence*. This *Italian* being taken upon suspicion and put to the wrack confessed the Crime; and declared, whether convinced by his Conscience, or forced by the extremity of Torture, that *Antonio de Leva* and *Ferdinand de Gonzague* had wrought upon him to commit it, not without reflection upon the Emperor himself indirectly: but the Imperialists with great indignation retorted this, so base an action, upon *Catherine de Medicis*, saying she would needs have this Eldest Son to be removed out of the World before her Husband that she might be Queen of *France*. However it were, the King being at *Lyons* caused Process to be made against *Montecuculy*, who was drawn in pieces by four wild Horses. *Henry* his second Son took the Title of *Dausin*, and left that of Duke of *Orleans* to his other Brother *Charles* who before was Duke of *Angoulesme*.

There were Seven Thousand Men in *Marseilles*, and thirteen Gallies in that Port, who made the Emperor sensible upon two or three Attempts, that there was nothing to be expected but blows. In like manner *Arles* was found to be well Fortified in those places where his Maps had represented it weakest. Mean while Provisions failed him, the Peasants and Mountainiers, fell upon all such as stray'd never so little from the Camp, the King sent out Parties that cut off their Forrage, and took those Convoys of bread and biscuit which they sent him from *Toulon*, his *Germans* surfeited and burst themselves with Grapes and other Fruits: so that want, turmoiles, and sickness diminished them above one third in a Months time, and laid *Antonio de Leva*, the bravest Commander they had; in his Grave, who died languishing thorough Grief. On the contrary the Kings

1536. increased every day, there being come to him above Twenty Thousand *Swiss* and Six Thousand *Germans*.

At the same time that he entered into *Provence*, the Count de *Nassau* entered *Picardy* with an Army of Thirty Thousand Men. The City of *Guise* was carried by Assault, the Castle that might have held, tamely Surrendered, for which the Commanders were branded with infamy. But *Peronne* besieged the Tenth of *August*, maintained very furious Assaults and dreadful Batteries, by the Valour of the Marechal de *Florenes*, the Count de *Dammartin*, and a great number of the Neighbouring Gentry. When it was ready to fall, the Duke of *Guise* supplied them with Men, and Ammunition which he convey'd to them over the *Marlhes*. After this the Besiegers having again made two furious Assaults, in which they left their Scaling Ladders and a great many of their bravest Men in the Ditches, retired the Tenth day of *September*, which was the very fame, or the next day after the Emperor pack'd up his Bag and Baggage and marched out of *Provence*.

The Siege of *Peronne*, the taking whereof seemed near at hand, did strangely Allarme the *Bourgeois* of *Paris*. The great care, and courage of the Cardinal du *Bellay* their Bishop, and to whom the King had given the Title of Lieutenant-General of their City and the Isle of *France*, dispell'd the apprehensions they had both of the Enemies and a Famine: For he caused all the Corn and Wine within Six Leagues round to be brought thither, which so stored them that they had plenty sufficient to furnish that vast multitude, and above Thirty Thousand Soldiers for a whole Year together. Which demonstrates that *Paris*, if not surprized, is not so easily famished as some might Imagine. In retribution the *Parisians* offer'd him a store of Brass Guns, and to maintain Ten Thousand Soldiers as long as the Enemies remained upon the Frontiers.

Never was there a more Melancholly Spectacle then the retreat of the Emperors Army, miserably shatter'd without being able to come to any Battle. The Roads from *Aix* even to *Frejus* were all strewed with Armes, Horses, Baggage, dead Corps, and men dying. *Montmorency* was mightily blamed for not pursuing them. Those that excuse him say, that at that very juncture the King received news of the extream danger *Peronne* was in, which obliged him to draw out a great part of his Forces to go and Succour them. However Four or Five days after he had Information that the Enemies were returning into *Flanders*, and the thing being taken into deliberation the second time, the Emperor making some days stay at *Frejus*, it was concluded to be the safer and more prudent method, not to force the Lyon that was running off to turn head, and make them feel the effects of desperation.

His retreat over the *Alpes* was difficult and Bloody, the *Dansins* Light Horse harcelling him perpetually in his March. He at length Arrived at *Genoa* the second of *October*, and his Army pass'd thence into *Milanois* commanded by the Marquess du *Guaft*. Governor of those Countries; who en passant put Garrisons into the rest of the places belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*. Thus that unfortunate Prince saw his Estates shared betwixt his Enemy and his Friend, having scarce any thing left for himself but the City and Castle of *Nice* where he made his residence.

After the Emperor had remained at *Genoa* about Fifteen dayes, he went on Board his Galleys the Eighteenth of *November* and failed towards *Spain*. He was no more fortunate at Sea, then he had been on Land; a furious Tempest overtook his Fleet, and sunk Six of his Galleys and a couple of great Ships, the one carrying his Plate, the other his Horses: after all which, without doubt, he was fitter for Consolations, then Panegyricks.

The fear they had conceived in *Italy*, lest he should Conquer *France*, had as soon as he was gone, armed several petty Princes and Lords, whom the great States, that durst not openly declare, maintained and encouraged underhand.

The King gave them Guy Count de *Rangon* to be their General; their place of Rendezvous was *Mirandola*. They set ten thousand men on Foot, with whom they attempted *Genoa*: a Supply of Eight Hundred Arriving during the time of their Assault made the business miscarry. As they were marching towards *Ast* the *Spaniards* raised the Siege of *Turin*, and suffer'd them to take *Carignan*, *Raconis*, *Carmagnola*, and most of the Marquisate of *Salusses*.

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On the other hand the Count de *Saint Pol* with Six Thousand *Lansquenets* whom the King drew out of his Army, ruined the Country of *Tarentaise*, and regained *Chamberry* which the Inhabitants of that Valley had surprized: but *Burie* whom the King had made Governor beyond the Mountains in place of *Brion*, was hemm'd in and taken with Twelve Hundred men, by the Marquess du *Guaft*, in *Casal* which he had just surprized. *Humieres* was sent to Command in his stead with a Re-inforcement of ten thousand *Lansquenets*, of whom *Christopher Duke of Wirtemberg* was General.

Upon the noise that the Emperor was going to swallow up all *France*, *James King of Scotland* remembring the ancient Alliances of his Nation and Predecessors, took Shipping with Sixteen Thousand men to come to his Assistance without the least Intreaty; The Wind beat him back three several times to his own Coasts: At length he got with some Vessels to *Diepe*, from whence he rode post to the King, but met him on this side *Lyons* upon his return. In acknowledgment of this so kind, and nobly free, assistance, the King could not refuse him *Magdelin* his Eldest Daughter; though that Prince had before betroathed a Daughter of the Duke of *Vendosmes*.

The Nuptials were celebrated at *Paris* the first day of the Year 1537. but she Died of a Heftick Feaver within the same year, and *James* Married *Mary* Daughter of *Claude Duke of Guise*, and Widow of *Lewis Duke of Longueville*. The King of *England* did not much like this double linking himself to *France* by two such Matches: which was one of the main causes that made him fall off from King *Francis*, and close again with the Emperor the more easily, for that *Catherine of Arragon* his repudiated Wife was dead, and he had caused *Anne Bullen* to be Beheaded, on the Green within the Tower for Adultery, whether true, or supposed.

Perhaps too he would have made him feel the Resentments of his Anger at that very time, had he not been involved in troubles at home, for some Nobles and some *English Prelates*, prompted with Zeal to prevent a Schisme, and withal apprehending some danger to their own Persons, after the example of his Chancellor Sir *Thomas Moor*, and *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter* whose Heads he had unjustly brought to the block; had made a Holy League and taken up Arms against him. And although he had disperſed their Forces or sent them home again by granting them conditions of advantage: nevertheless he feared they might break out afresh, and therefore was contriving underhand to surprize their Chiefs; who had just cause to repent, as it most frequently happens upon the like occasions, to men who dare not rather resolve to die with their Sword in hand.

There was so little Rain and such great heats during the whole Spring and Summer of the Year 1536. that it begot a prodigious drowth; most of the Wells and Springs were dried up, the Marshes and Ponds quite parched, and the waters of most great Rivers grown so shallow and weak as scarce able to drag along their Languishing Streams, being generally foodable in all places, and in many passable dry-foot.

The Kings Council thought it necessary to do something that might pull down the Emperors Vanity, and withal shew the Injustice and the Nullity of the Treaties of *Madrid* and *Cambray*. To this purpose the King sitting in his Seat of Justice in Parliament the Nineteenth of *January*, attended by the Princes and Pairs, after his having heard *James Capel* Attorney-General, who made it appear that the Provinces belonging to the Crown were Inalienable, that he could not give away the Sovereignty of *Flanders* and *Artois*, and that *Charles of Austria* (they gave him only that Name) being still a Vassal to the King for those Counties and for *Charolois*, had committed the Crime of Felony: It was Ordained, That he should be Summoned by a single Edict peremptory and once for all, at the nearest place of safe access, to answer the Attorney General upon his Conclusions, of the Forfeit, Reversion, and Re-union of those three Counties; and in the mean time, the King declared all the Vassals in those Countries acquit and discharged from their Oathes to him, from all Faith and Homage and enjoyned them to serve the King upon the Penalty of Forfeiture of their Fiefs, and to be Proclaimed Rebels, whereof publication to be made upon the Frontiers.

The Heralds went therefore to Summon *Charles* by posting up Papers and making Proclamation. He replied fuming with rage, that since they recalled him into *France* he would return thither with such powerful Justifications as would make

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make the Treaties to be duely observed; and in the mean while for Comparition, *Adrian de Crouy* Count de *Raux*, having drawn together the Commons of the Low-Countries, came and ranfacked the Frontiers of *Picardy*.

This proceeding of the Kings was variously spoken of; but none could approve of the Alliance he made with *Solyman* the Enemy of Christendom, as well to defend himself against the Emperor, as in hatred to the *Venetians*, with whom he was extreemly offended, for having despised his Amity and the offer he made to share *Milanois* with them.

One might nevertheless in some Measure excuse this League of a Christian King with an Infidel, not only by the example of the Kings of *Spain* Grand-Fathers of this Emperor, who had contracted the like with *Mahometan* Kings, but even by that of the Emperor himself, who had endeavour'd earnestly to do the same with *Solyman*; so that he was no less guilty in that particular, but less prevalent or skilful, or less fortunate then *Francis*.

The Kings attempts did not answer this grand Arrest, or Decree, of his Parliament. He took only *Hesdin* and *Saint Paul*, and having spent his first Fire, returned in the beginning of *May* to *Paris*, leaving his Army with the Count de *Saint Paul*, and order to Fortifie the City of the same name, where they put three Thousand Men in Garrison.

So soon as he was retired the Enemies being Assembled, forced that City, and received that of *Monstreuil* upon Composition: but they could gain nothing at *Terouenne*, the *Dauphin* and *Montmorency* having got their Troops together timely enough to Relieve it, as they did. During this Siege, a Conference was held at the Village of *Bomby*, at the solicitation of the two Queens *Eleonora of France* and *Mary of Hungary*, where the Deputies agreed upon a Cessation of all hostilities for three Months in the Low-Countries, that they might endeavour to bring about a Peace.

Some believed the King accepted of it to Transport all his Forces into *Italy*, pursuant to the Treaty made with the *Turks*, who at the same time were to fall upon the Kingdom of *Naples*. In effect the Emperor *Solyman* did himself lead an Army of One Hundred Thousand Men into *Albania*, from whence he sent *Luski-Bacha* and *Barbarossa* to Cruise upon those Coasts, and discover the Country, resolved to follow them as soon as they had gained any Port: but when he found that the King was making War in *Flanders*, he returned with great Indignation that he should break his word with him.

As for *Barbarossa*, having no certain News of the King, he was fallen upon the Island of *Corfu* belonging to the *Venetians*, where finding the Places too well provided, he ruined the open Country and carried Sixteen Thousand Souls into Captivity. The same Summer King *Ferdinand* received two great Foiles by the *Turks*, the one at *Belgrade* in *Hungary*, the other before a City in *Dalmatia*, where his two Armies besieging those two places were shamefully defeated.

In the Interim it hapned in *Piedmont*, as well by the little esteem the Soldiers had of *Humieres*, as the particular quarrels amongst the other Officers, and the Mutinies of the *Lanquenets*, the *French* Forces were dissipated: *Humieres* was retired into *Pignerol* to wait for Supplies from *France*, and had quitted the Field to *Du Guesst*, who had retaken several Towns, and almost the whole Country of *Salusses*. The Marquess whom we told you had so unworthily forsaken the *French* Party, was kill'd with a Cannon Bullet at the Siege of *Carmagnoles*. His death so enflamed the fury of the Soldiers that they forced the Place; and *Du Guesst* to revenge his death hanged the Captain.

The Love of Liberty, could not be so soon effaced out of the hearts of the *Florentines*. One that was of Kin to the new Duke *Alexander*, named *Laurence de Medicis*, slew him in his own Chamber whither he had allured him with the hopes of meeting a certain Lady for whom he had a great passion: but flying as soon as the blow was given, the Cardinal *Innocent Cibo* Son of a Sister to *Leo X.* who was then at *Florence*, and *Alexander Vitelli* Captain of the City Guards, set up a young man of the House of the *Medicis* in the place of *Alexander*, where he maintain'd himself in spite of *Strossy* and other Zealots for their Liberties. His name was *Cosmo*, and descended of one *Laurent* Brother of the Grand *Cosmo*. To gain the People he promised them at first that he would have from the City but Twelve Thousand Crowns for his Maintenance: but when he was well establish'd he raised it to Twelve Hundred Thousand. As

for

for *Laurence de Medicis*, after he had wandred in divers places, because *Cosmo* had set a price upon his head, he was at last stabbed at *Venice* by two Assassins. 1537.

Christierne III. King of *Denmark* introduced *Lutheranisme* into his Kingdom, and turned out the Bishops, but kept the Canons that he might have the bestowing of Prebends. He did the same in *Norway* which he had Conquer'd. Some years before King *Gustavus Ericson* had made a like change in *Sweden*.

The King being informed that his Affairs went on very ill in those Countries, that *du Guesst* besieged *Humieres* in *Pignerol*, and that before the years end he would drive the *French* quite out of *Piedmont*, resolved to prevent it, and in some measure satisfy *Solyman*, to go thither in Person. At *Lyons* being fallen sick of a slight Feaver, he gave order to the *Dauphin* and to the *Mareschal de Montmorency* to march before-hand with the Army. At first coming they forced the Pass of *Susa* guarded by ten thousand men, a famous exploit in War, drove *Du Guesst* to *Quiers*, and got several advantages which drew the King himself thither, with great hopes of recovering *Milanois*.

His Army was found to be above Forty Thousand Men, the *French* were in good Heart, the Enemy affrighted, and their Places ill provided: but it was the end of *October*, he apprehended the inconveniences of the Season, the length of some Siege, the Irruption of the *Flemmings*, and the uncertainty of accidents so fatally experimented before *Pavia*. So that making a specious pretence of the having given his word to the Queen of *Hungary* that he would not do any thing that should obstruct the Peace, he upon the mediation of the Pope and the *Venetians* granted a Truce of three Months for those Countries beyond the Mountains, and prolonged that with the Low-Countries for the like time. This was Proclaimed at *Carmagnoles* he present, the Eight and Twentieth of *November*. Both Princes got by it, to the loss of the unfortunate Duke of *Savoy*, because either of them remained in Possession of what they were seized on. The King made *Montejan* his Lieutenant-General in that Country, and *William du Bellay* Governor at *Turin*.

When he was come back into *France*, he honoured *Montmorency* who was a *Mareschal* and Grand-Maistre, with the Constables Sword the Tenth of *February*. He also raised *Annebaut* and *Montejan*, to the Offices of *Mareschals* of *France* which were vacant, the one by the promotion of *Montmorency* to that of Constable, the other by the death of the *Mareschal de Florenses* who ended his days soon after the Siege of *Saint Quentin*. These Offices were limited to the number of four only, which the Kingdom encreasing, have likewise been encreased to three or four times as many.

The same year the Chancellor *Anne du Bourg* lost his life by a strange accident. Being with the King who made his Entrance into *Laon*, there was so great a crowd of Horses, that he was thrust off from his Mule, and trod under foot, whereof he died. His Office was given to *Charles Poyet* Son of an Advocate of *Angiers*, and then a President in Parliament.

There was a second Conference at *Locate* to Treat of a final Peace. The Deputies could agree to nothing but a prolongation of the Truce for six Months: but the Pope who ardently desired to reconcile the two Princes, fearing lest their Division should hinder the effects of a great League, which he, the Emperor, and the *Venetians* had concluded at the beginning of the Year against the *Turks*, dispatched two Legates to them, and solicited them so earnestly, that both of them resolved to meet at *Nice*, and to accept of those Offices of Mediation which he proffer'd.

He came the first thither about the end of *May*, the Emperor almost at the same time to the Port of *Villa-Franca*, and *Francis* with the Queen his Wife to *Villa-Nuova* some days after. The Duke found himself mightily perplex'd, the Pope desired to Lodge in the Castle, and that the Garrison might be drawn out, the Emperor would have had it so: but the King advised the Duke underhand to beware of it, for that he would else disoblige him. He followed the Kings Counsel, and went to visit him the third day of the Month, the Emperor took some jealousy upon it: and yet for fear of losing him, Treated him the better in all appearance.

The Pope therefore Lodged in the Town, the Emperor held Conference with him in a Tent under the Castle, the King saluted him apart, but the Princes saw not each other. Was it that the Pope desiring to treat under Hatches the Marriage

1538. Marriage of his Nephew *Octavian Farnese* with *Margaret* the Emperors Bastard, and that of his Niece *Victoria* with *Anthony* Eldest Son of *Charles* Duke of *Vendosme*, kept them thus assunder, fearing lest the one should discover what he was negotiating with the other, or else perhaps it was that the Emperor apprehending if he saw the King he must be obliged to promise him in express words the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the Pope knowing it might possibly let the King understand it was only to amuse him. What ever it were, this Conference produced nothing but a prolongation of the Truce for Nine years: but the Emperor promised the King to see him at *Aigues-Mortes* in *Languedoc* before he returned to *Spain*.

It was Queen *Eleonora* who procured this Enter-view. The Emperor came and Dined in the Kings-House, the next day the King went to Visit the Emperor in his Galley where he was entertained in like manner. The subject of their entertainment was not known: but they were observed to embrace so closely, and shew such Signes of Amity for two dayes they were together, that the most sharp-sighted were deceived, and imagined it was in good earnest.

Three Months after the King was grievously Tormented with a troublesome Ulcer, which hapned in that part the Physicians name the *Sutura*, or Seame between the Testicles. This, they said, was the effect of some ill adventure he had with the beautiful *Ferromiere* one of his Mistresses. This Womans Husband enrag'd at that abuse which the Courtiers reckon only a piece of Gallantry, contrives to go to some leud place and Infect himself, that he might spoil her and Convey his revenge thus to his Rival. The unhappy Woman died, the Husband recover'd by timely Remedies, the King had all the bad Symptomes, and his Physicians treating him rather according to his Quality then his Distemper, he had some Relicks remaining upon him all his Life, the Malignity whereof did much discompose the sweetness of his disposition, and made him Melancholy, suspicious and hard to be pleased; but to say truth, more exact, sparing, and sticking closer to his business.

1539. The remainder of this Year he made several excellent Edicts, amongst others, That the Curates should keep a Register of all Christnings, and that hereafter all Decrees and other Acts of Justice, should be no more drawn up in Latine, but in French.

If the Emperor continued to heap his marks of Affection on the King, it was but to hinder him from embracing the Protection of the *Ghentois*. They were revolted because of some new Imposts which Queen *Mary* Governess of the Low-Countries had laid upon them, particularly upon Wines, and had Massacred some of her Officers; after which expecting no pardon, they went on to that Degree, that this Year they sent Deputies to the King to Intreat he would receive them as their Sovereign Lord; and they promised, provided only that he would own them, to hazard Fifty Thousand Men in Battle against the Emperor. But this same King that had with so great formality newly confiscated *Flanders* and *Artois*, not only accepted not of their submission for fear of violating the Truce, but also by an excess of generosity gave the Emperor notice of it.

The Rebellion growing in strength day by day, it was to be apprehended that all *Flanders* would follow the example of *Ghent*, and that the King of *England* might accept what the *French* had refused. Nothing but the presence of the Emperor was capable of allaying this furious heat: but the danger was too eminent to pass thorough *Germany* where it would have been in the power of the Protestant Princes to have stopp'd him; and it was no less to have gone by Sea. He intreated the King therefore to allow him passage thorow *France*, and to obtain it he began to Lure him with the Dutchy of *Milan*. In the Council every one was for granting him passage, but not without having a writing under his hand, and good Securities. The Constable de *Montmorency*, by what motive it is not known, was not of that opinion, and argued that he ought not to be fetter'd by any Conditions; This Sentiment appearing full of generosity highly pleased the King, who was the most generous Prince in the World, and it was followed.

The two Sons of *France* and the Constable went as far as *Bayonne* to meet the Emperor, and offer'd to go into *Spain* as Hostages, which he refused. The King himself, though indisposed, went to *Chastelleraud*, where they embraced, caused him to be received in every City with the same honour, and suffer'd him

to

to exercise the same Authority as himself; For he held the Chapter of his Order upon *Saint Andrews* day at *Bourdeaux*, he granted Pardons, and emptied the Prisons in many places.

1539. He made his entrance into *Paris* the first day of *January*, the Parliament went in a Body to compliment him, the Sheriffs bare the Canopy of State over his head, the two Sons of *France* being on either side: the Constable marched before with his Sword drawn in his hand, he released all Prisoners, and the City presented him with a Silver Figure of *Hercules* as bigg as the Life. At his leaving of *Paris* the King accompanied him to *Saint Quintin*, and his two Sons to *Valenciennes*. He promised to go and visit him in *Flanders*; and moreover granted him free passage for a Thousand of his Italian Forces which he ordered to come into *Flanders*, and furnish'd them with Provisions.

The City of *Ghent* unfortunately abandoned by the King their Sovereign Lord, to the wrath of *Charles*, was so severely Chastised, that she had reason to repent the having given him birth. His Army being entred as it had been by Assault, he caused Five and Twenty or Thirty of the Principal Burghers to be Executed, proscribed a far greater number, Confiscated all their publick Buildings, took away their Artillery, their Arms, and their Priviledges, Condemned them to above Twelve Hundred Thousand Crowns Fine; and that they might never rise again, built a Citadel and left a strong Garrison to awe them, which of the greatest City in *Europe* hath made a vast Solitude, or Wilderness.

Hitherto the Emperor had amused the King, so that out of the highest complaisance, he remained upon the Frontiers of *Picardy* whil't he oppressed the *Ghentois*; but when he had nothing more to fear, he began to falter, and apply Conditions and Restrictions to his promise. The King finding he objected some difficulties on behalf of the Princes of *Italy*, because in effect they desired a Duke of *Milan* of their own Nation, consented he should keep that Dutchy, provided he would give the Low-Countries, and the Counties of *Burgundy* and *Charolois* in Dowry to his Daughter, who should Marry the Duke of *Orleans*. The Emperor demanded that before any thing else were done he should restore the Duke of *Savoy* to all his Lands, that he should declare himself a Friend to his Friends, and Enemy to his Enemies.

Then the King finding himself deceived, entred into so great suspicion of the fidelity of all those that governed him, that he resolved to get out of their Nets and Snares: and then some who observed him to be of this humour, failed not to give him a secret account of and advice against their proceedings.

The first that Suffer'd by it was the Admiral de *Brion*: Three men had at that time engrossed all the Kings favour, the Constable, the Cardinal de *Lorraine*, and *Brion*. The first was so Powerful that all addressed themselves to him, Governours, Ambassadors, Cities, the Parliament it self who called him Monseigneur, i. e. My Lord. The second was beloved by the King for his generosity, and for the credit he had at *Rome*, he was the only man in *France* who treated the Constable (from * high to low, and) as a great Prince treats a Gentleman: The third had rendred himself very agreeable, and moreover was favoured by the Ladies, particularly by the Dutchesse d'*Estampes*, who put him in a way to have got the Start of both the other in a short time. These, though they hated one another, yet both united to set him beside the Cushion, and contrived a secret Accusation against him for having ill managed the Kings Affairs in *Piedmont*.

He, instead of justifying himself by humble and submissive Language, spake arrogantly to the King, and said his Innocency feared no examinations, or Scrutiny. He therefore sent him Prisoner to the *Bois de Vincennes*, and appointed four and twenty Commissaries chosen out of several Parliaments to make his process: they set about it at *Melan*, the Court being at *Fountainbleau*. The Chancellour *Poyet* was pleas'd and hugg'd himself at it, and would needs preside out of an interestted complaisance: He chose rather to do mischief then not make himself a necessary instrument. So that he behaved himself more like a party then his Judge, every foot interposing Orders and even threats from the King, to bias and bring the proceedings to what he aimed at. So that *Brion*, though he were not found guilty but of some small Exactions upon the Fishermens Boats, was degraded of his Offices, and declared unworthy to hold any for the future, condemn'd to pay a fine of seventy thousand Crowns, and shut up in the *Bastille*.

* He wrote to him Monsieur the Constable when others styled him Monseigneur.

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Some months after, the intercession of *Anne de Pisseu* Dutcheſs d'*Eſtampes* his near Kinfwoman, obtained an Order from the King that his Proceſs ſhould be reviewed by the Parliament of *Paris*; Who by a Decree of the fourteenth of *March* 1542. declared him abſolv'd of the crimes *de peculat*, or purloining the Kings Treafure, and exaction, by conſequence quit of his Fine, or Amercement; But as his courage was haughty, the affront received * ſtung him ſo deep, that he was never well afterward, but dyed of grief in the year 1543. *Annebaut* had his Office of Admiral.

* His deſire
was a Balloon
with theſe
words, con-
cuſſus Surgo.

1541.

The following year *Poyet* had his turn, *John de Bary la Renaudie* a Gentleman of *Perigord*, had a great proceſs againſt *du Tillet* a Clerk of the Parliament: the buſineſs had been before ſeveral Parliaments: this time *la Renaudie* demanded an Order of *Evoation*, to remove it to another Court, the Dutcheſs d'*Eſtampes* preſſed the Chancellour to Seal it, and interpoſed the Kings Authority: but whether he thought it not juſt, or otherwiſe, he reſuſed it. The King took it very ill he had not obey'd his Orders, and the Dutcheſs Animated him ſo highly and raiſed ſo many complaints againſt him on all hands, that he ſent him Priſoner to the *Baſtille* the ſecond day of *Auguſt*, and Ordered that they ſhould make proceſs againſt him.

For this purpoſe there were taken out of divers Parliaments a certain number of Judges, whom himſelf approved of: The proceedings very long and often Interrupted laſted till the year 1545. when by Sentence of the three and twentieth of *April*, he was deprived of the Office of Chancellour; declared diſabled of holding any Office Royal, condemned to pay a hundred thouſand *Livers* Fine, and to be confin'd five whole years in ſuch place as it ſhould pleaſe the King. The Judgment was pronounced in the Audience of the Grand-Chamber the Doors being ſet open, he preſent and bare-headed. This done he was ſhut up in the great Tower of *Bourges*, from whence he could not get out till he had given up almoſt all he had for his Fine. At laſt he dyed in the City of *Paris*, oppreſſed with poverty, Ignominy, and old Age; So unhappy that even in this his Lamentable condition he was not pittied.

When he was Imprifoned the King gave the Seals to *Francis de Montolon* Preſident in parliament, a Perſon of rare probity, a virtue hereditary in his Family.

The Conſtables favour did not laſt long after the loſs of *Poyet*; the King forbid him the Court in the year 1542. and would never recal him ſo long as he lived. In the time of this his retirement he built the caſtle of *Eſconan*.

Common fame attributes the cauſe of his diſgrace to the Council, he gave for the Emperours paſſing through *France*, which proved not ſo much to the Kings advantage as was imagined. Perhaps the Cardinal of *Lorrain* and the reſt of his Enemies made uſe of that reproach to give his Maſter an ill opinion of him: Or perhaps the King conceived ſome jealouſie at his ſticking ſo cloſe to the Dauphin who by embracing the intereſts of that young Prince, oppoſed the raiſing of the Duke of *Orleans*, and by ſecret Combinations, hindred the Emperour from giving him his Daughter with the Dutchy of *Milan*; which he could not do without holding Correſpondence with Strangers: and indeed it was ſaid, that he in Clandefline manner Suffered the Courtiers of that Prince to travel thorough *France*. Whatever it were, the King began to think it dangerous to have men of too great parts in the Adminiſtration of Affairs, and therefore committed them to the Cardinal de *Turnon* and the Admiral *Annebaut*, Perſons of no Extraordinary Genius or Sagacity, but of affections leſs Interreſted and wholly devoted to him.

1540.
and 41.

Whiſt the Emperour was at *Ghent*, *Martin* Duke of *Cleve* came to demand the inveſtiture of the Dutchy of *Guelders*. You muſt know that *Charles* laſt Duke of *Guelders* dyed *Anno* 1537. and *William* Duke of *Cleve* and *Antony* of *Lorraine*, as kindred of the Deſunct, had pretenſions to that Dutchy; The *Lorrainer* was the neareſt, being the Son of a Daughter of that Houſe, notwithstanding the Eſtates of the Countries called in *William* to be their Mainburgh, he ſurvived but one year, and *Martin* his Son took the Adminiſtration. Now the Emperour who deſired to joyn this piece to the Low-Countries, having denyed him the inveſtiture, he came into *France* and put himſelf under the Kings protection; who made him Marry *Jane* Daughter of *Henry d'Albret* King of *Navarre*.

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The Nuptials were celebrated the year following at *Chafterland*, with ſuch Profuſion as coſt the poor People dear, by encreaſing the *Gabelle*, and therefore was called the *Salted Nuptials*. But the Bride being but eleven years of Age, the Marriage was not conſummed, and the Fathers and Mothers never having conſented, cauſed it to be diſſolved.

The years 1540. and 1541. were ſpent almoſt in nothing but intrigues and Negotiations. After the truce of *Nice* the King of *England* beſtir'd himſelf mightily, he feared leſt by the mediation of the Pope, the two Kings ſhould agree together to fall upon him. He might the Juſtlier apprehend it, becauſe his cruelty had drawn the hatred of moſt of his own Subjects upon him. For he had Invaded and broken open the Monasteries, even thoſe of the Nuns: which much incenſed their Parents who were forced to maintain them; he had taken away all Abbey-Lands, Aboliſhed the order of *Malta*, and cauſed the Memory of *St. Thomas of Canterbury* to be Condemned, and his Sacred Bones and Reliques to be Burnt. Having therefore reaſon to fear, he courted the Emperour and the King divers ways; He offered the firſt to Marry his Niece Widow of *Sforza* Duke of *Milan*: to the other he propounded to aſſiſt him in the recovery of that Dutchy, and promiſed to declare whenever he ſhould deſire it. Another while he proffered the Emperour to give his Eldeſt Daughter, ſhe was named *Mary*, to the Brother of the King of *Portugal*: but he would not Marry her as Legitimate, for would he have beſtowed her as ſuch, the King would willingly have taken her for his ſecond Son.

As for the Emperour, he employed all his intrigues to three ends, the one was to recover the good Will of the Proteſtant Princes, another to make the *Turk* believe there was a good and perfect Correſpondence between him, the King of *France*, and the King of *England*, and the third to amuſe the King with new offers he made to give the Low-Countries, under the Title of the Kingdom of *Belgica*, to *Charles* Duke of *Orleans* whom he called his God-Son. The King gave no Faith to this Propoſition, and replied, that he did not demand his Hereditary Countries, but ſhould be contented to have his own again.

But *Solyman* was ſo alarmed at this pretended Union of the three Kings, that he flew out againſt *Francis*, called him Ingrateful and Fickle-pated, and had like to put *Rincon* his Ambaſſador to death.

If the Emperour had his hands full of buſineſs with the Proteſtants of *Germany*, his Brother *Ferdinand* had yet a harder task with the *Turks* in *Hungary*. *John* Earl of *Sepus* had agreed with *Ferdinand* *Anno* 1536. upon condition that the part he then was poſſeſſed of in the Kingdom, ſhould be his during Life with the Title of King, and that after his death it ſhould be re-united to the other: but contrary to his word he Married with *Jane* Daughter of *Sigiſmond* King of *Poland*, and had a Son by her when he died. After his Deceafe, which hap'ned in the year 1540. *Ferdinand* would Seize upon that part, the Widow to maintain her Son had recourſe to the *Turk*; thus broke out that Flame of War again which compleated the ruin of *Hungary*. For in the year 1541. *Roquandolf* General for *Ferdinand*, loſt a great Battle near *Buda*, againſt the *Baſhaw Mahomet*; Then *Solyman* himſelf coming with a dreadful Army, Seized Treacherouſly upon the Widow and the Orphan, and the City of *Buda* which they held.

It was believed that if the Emperour had immediately joyned his Forces with his Brothers, he might have ſaved *Hungary*, but he was labouring an Accommodation with the Proteſtants: to whom, after ſeveral Conferences he granted a ſecond Interim, and Reciprocally having given them very ill Impreſſions of King *Francis*, he obtained all he deſired from them. For the Diet promiſed him great Supplies againſt the *Turks*, declared the Duke of *Cleve* an Enemy to the Empire, engaged to contribute to the Reſtauration of the Duke of *Savoy*, and forbid all Subjects belonging to the Empire from Liſting themſelves in the Kings Service.

With all this, inſtead of Marching towards *Hungary* to make head againſt *Solyman*, he carries the War into *Africa* againſt the Pirat *Barbaroffa*, which many interpreted a flight, rather than an attaque. He Landed and laid Siege to *Algiers* the two and twentieth of *October*. But the Winds, the Storms, and the Rains, as if they had Conſpired with the Infidels, defeated him in his Enterprize, and made a War ten times more cruel and deſtructive to him, than Mankind could have done. The Tempeſt funk or forced aground an Hundred Ships and Fifteen Gallies, and caſt all his Marriners either into the Gulfe of the Seas, or

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1541. into the hands of the *Barbarians*, who Murther'd them without mercy, the rest in danger to perish thorough hunger, their Victuallers being either sunk, or scatter'd at too great a distance, or their Provisions utterly spoil'd; in a word, so hardly were they handled; that no History affords an example of any Fleet or Army so rudely Treated, or that suffered so terrible a defeat as this same. Of four and twenty Thousand men that were on Ship-board, he brought not Ten Thousand back into *Spain*, who were besides half dead of hunger and other Miseries they had undergone.

1541 and 42. Together with this favourable opportunity the King had another just cause of rupture, which was the Murther of his two Ambassadors, *Cesar Fregosa* and *Antony de Rincon*, committed by the *Spaniards*. He was sending the first to *Constantinople* to preserve his Amity with *Solyman*, with whom the Emperor made use of all the Contrivances imaginable to bring him to a disgust of the King: the other to *Venice* to endeavour to unlink that Signeury from him, and persuade them to enter into a League with *France*. Both these were points very prejudicial to the Imperialists: the Marquess *Du Guast* a man without Faith, knowing these two Ambassadors were coming in a Barque down the River *Po*, to go to *Venice*, caused them to be watched by some *Spanish* Soldiers; who concealing themselves in small Boats close under the Shoar, kill'd both of them, took their Water-men, and some of their Servants, whom *Du Guast* shut up in a Prison at *Pavia*: but most of their Train who were in another Barque ran aground, and made their escape.

Languey Governor of *Piedmont* was informed of this Assassinate by them, and this was fully confirmed by the Testimony of the Water-men, whom he craftily got out of Prison, and even by some of those very men *Du Guast* had employ'd in the act. All Christian Princes were informed of it, and had it in horror. The King demanded reparation of the Emperor, who declined and answer'd only by Recriminations. This was a most just and necessary cause for a Rupture; besides it was well known the *Spaniards* had Murthered many other of the Kings Subjects and *Envoyez* in divers places, and daily practised Corruptions and Intelligences to Surprize some place or other. So that since a War could not be more dangerous nor destructive, neither more expensive to the King, then such a bloody and insidious Peace, he resolv'd to declare it against the Emperor, if he did not give satisfaction within a time limited.

And yet whilst he was on his Voyage to *Algiers*, he had so much generosity as not to undertake any thing against him: but the year following he sent to defie him in out-rageous terms and with bloody reproaches, having before-hand commanded publick Prayers, and a general Procession to be made, to appease the wrath of God and implore his assistance.

After the death of *Rincon*, *Paulinus Iscalin*, afterwards called the Baron de la *Garde*, then but a Captain of a Company of Foot, a man of Fortune, but of great Wit and Courage, went on the behalf of the King to *Solyman*, to desire him to send his Fleet upon the Coast of *Provence*, and oblige the *Venetians* to enter into the League they had made against *Charles V.* *Paulin* at his return did solicit the Senate of *Venice*, from whom not being able to obtain any thing, he went a second time to *Constantinople*, and pressed so earnestly, that he had an Audience of *Solyman* himself; who made answer that the year was too far spent, but the year after he would not fail to fulfil the desires of the King his Brother.

In pursuance of the Declaration of War, the King to attacke his Enemy in five several places, set five Armies on Foot, one about *Luxembourg* Commanded by the Duke of *Orleans* his second Son, under the conduct of *Claude* Duke of *Guise*; One about *Perpignian*, by the *Dauphine*, to whom he gave *Annebaut* and *Anthony Desprez-Montpejar* for Council; Another led by *Longueval* and *Martin Van Rosse* Marechal of *Guelders* into *Brabant*; A fourth wherewith *Charles* Duke of *Vendosme* was to scour the Frontiers of *Flanders*; And a fifth in *Piedmont*, whither it Marched under the Marechal *Annebaut*. This having been kept there above two Months Idle, had Orders to come into *Roussillon* to Strengthen the *Dauphins*, which consisted of Five and Forty Thousand Men, and all the Flower of the *French* Nobility.

They had made the taking of *Perpignian* appear to the King a thing very easie to be effected, because in truth the Walls were nothing worth, the Towers did not flank it, and he imagin'd at least that if it were not presently gained, the Emperor would come to its Relief and venture a Battle: but the design having taken

taken Air, the Emperor furnished the Place so well with Men and Artillery, that it defended it self well enough, without any need of his coming. In the mean time there arose discords amongst the Officers, of the *French* Forces, a Flux got into the Army, and those rowling Torrents that pour down from the Mountains upon the first Autumnal Rains, threatned to overwhelm them all if they remained any longer. All these causes concurring the King sent to the *Dauphin* to decamp in the beginning of *October*; He obey'd unwillingly.

The Duke of *Orleans* succeeded better then his Brother, he signalized his first Campagne by the taking of *Danvilliers*, *Ivoy*, *Arlon*, *Montmedy*, and *Luxembourg* it self: but as if he had been gluttoned or tyred with his good Fortune, I cannot tell upon what motive he quitted his Army in the Month of *September*, and went to wait on his Father then at *Montpellier*. After his departure the Enemy regained *Luxembourg* and *Montmedy*: but the Duke of *Guise* having drawn some Forces together, took the last of those Places again from them.

The War broke out between the English and Scots, about their Limits or Borders. These at first gained a Battle, then lost a greater, after which James V. their King, fell sick and died the Thirteenth of December. The tuition of Mary his only Daughter by Mary of Lorraine, was in dispute between James Hamilton Earl of Arrain, who favored the English and the novel opinions, and David Beton Arch-bishop and Cardinal of Saint Andrews, who stood for the Catholick Faith, and for the French. This last said, the King by his Will had left it to Four Administrators, whereof he was one: but Hamilton seized upon the Pupil, and betroathed her to Edward the Son of King Henry. Nevertheless the Scots would not suffer she should be carried into England.

The Inhabitants of *Rochel*, of *Marennes*, and of the Islands, were revolted upon the endeavouring to settle the *Gabel* in those Countries. The King at his return from *Languedoc* passed that way to suppress that Commotion. About the end of *December* he entred with his Forces into *Rochel*, and caused great numbers of the Seditious Islanders to be brought before him bound and chained. After he had put them into an extream Consternation, he suffer'd himself to be overcome with Compassion: and from a Scaffold, where he was Surrounded by the *Grande*es of his Court, he heard, the most humble Request they made him by their Advocate, and which they seconded with doleful Cries for Mercy; and after he had laid open their faults in a discourse equally Tender, Majestick and Eloquent, he absolutely forgave them, caused all the Prisoners to be set at Liberty, and all the Soldiers to be sent out of the City: He would likewise that day needs be guarded and served at his Table by the *Bourgeois*. His incomprehensible goodness clothed them with shame and confusion, and left in their Hearts and Memories a mortal regret for having ever offended him. This was to chastise them indeed after a most Noble and Royal manner.

The Princes and Emperor of Germany had so often demanded a Council that in the Year 1536. Pope Paul III. had Indicted one at Mantoua for the Two and Twentieth of May the following Year. From that time he had Prorogued it to 1538. then to 1539. at *Vicenza*: but had yet suspended the Celebration for as long time as he should find fit. In the Year 1542. he was obliged by the vehement pursuit of the Emperor, who pressed him, because he was so earnestly pressed by the Princes of the Empire, to assigne one in the City of *Trent*, which he did by his Bull of the One and Twentieth of May. He believed this Consideration might serve to bring the two Kings to a Peace: but the War growing still hotter betwixt them, there came so few Bishops to *Trent*, that he was this year 1543. forced to recal the Legates he had sent thither, and refer the Celebration of the Council to a more pacifick opportunity.

In *France* and *Spain* they were making greater preparations for War than ever. The *Spaniards* furnished the Emperor with above four Millions of Gold; John King of Portugal who was Marrying his Daughter Mary to Philip his only Son, gave him very great Sums, and the King of England promised him no less.

This inconstant Prince, who could never long agree even with himself, being offended for that Francis would not renounce his obedience to the Pope, and for intermeddling too far about the Affairs of Scotland, had made a new League with

1543. with the Emperor, who did not in the least scruple to have a Prince in Alliance with him though he were under the blackest censures of the Church, a mortal Enemy to the Holy-See, and one that had used his Aunt so outrageously.

That he might be able to withstand so dreadful a Storm, the King laid an impost upon the walled Cities, for the Maintenance of Fifty Thousand men; which ended not with the War, as he had promised, nor was revoked till under the Reign of Francis II.

The Emperor going into Germany went by Sea to Italy, whither he also carried Ten Thousand Spaniards in some large Ships and Galleys. He could not upon the Popes earnest request, refuse to confer with him: They met at Busetta between Parma and Piacenza. The Holy Father endeavoured to persuade him to give up those two Cities to the Holy-See, and invest his Grandson Octavius Farnese with the Duchy of Milan, since the Italian Potentates would never consent that he should retain it for himself. The Emperor gave him only general words, and cut the Conference off very short, for fear of giving jealousy to the King of England, who was subject enough to misinterpretations.

That Muley-Affan whom he had restored to the Kingdom of Tunis, being hardly beset on all hands by the Turks who had taken from him divers of his places, came to Genoa to kiss his hand and crave some Assistance. Whilst he was absent, one of his Sons named Amida, usurped the Kingdom. The unfortunate Father having given him Battle with some Forces scraped together, was vanquished, and taken with two more of his Sons by the Rebel, who put out his Eyes, reproaching him for having served his own Brothers so. Afterwards this Parricide being driven out of his Kingdom by the Governor of Goletta, (where nevertheless he got the Mastery again some while after) Muley-Affan made his escape out of Prison, and took refuge amongst the Spaniards.

1544. In the Spring time, the King gave Command to Antony, become Duke of Vendosme by the Death of his Father Charles, to revictual Teronane. Then himself lead his greatest Forces towards the Low-Countries, where he thought to make a considerable Progress, while the Duke of Gueldres held the Emperors in play.

So that about the end of May, though he were indisposed, he put himself in the head of his Army, which was joyned with the Troops of Antony Duke of Vendosme. He roved for some Weeks all about the Country of Artois, and having often changed his Mind, sometimes to Fortifie L' Illiers and Saint Venant, another while to besiege Avenes, he fixed at last upon the Fortifying Landrecy on the other side of the Sambre. After he had given the necessary Orders, he came to encamp at Maroles, then to refresh and repose himself at Reims, where he had caused the Ladies to come to divert him.

Whilst he was at Maroles, the Dauphin employed part of the Army for the taking the Castle of Emery, which is on an Island in the Sambre, and the Town of Mauberge: but a while after he forsook them. The Duke of Orleans likewise entered into Luxembourg, regained all the Country which had been taken after his going away, and amongst other the Capital City which gives it the Name. The King was there in Person, visited the Place, and notwithstanding its vast Circumference, and odd Situation, would have it Fortified. Such as were knowing in the Trade were against the doing of it: but because it was like to be a work of great profit to him that should have the ordering of it, there was an Engenier that advised it, and undertooke it.

In the mean while the Emperor having passed out of Italy into Germany, came at first to attack the Duke of Cleve, and by the taking his City of Duren which he sacked, and perhaps by the Assistance of his own People whom he had corrupted, frightened him and all the rest of the Country so terribly, that he came and craved his Pardon, and promised to quit his Alliance with the French, and the Title of Duke of Guelders, satisfying himself with that of Administrator. Which was so suddenly done, that the Duke had not time to stay for the Assistance the King was sending to him.

Solyman did not fail of that help he had promised him, for by Land he fell upon Hungary, and took from Ferdinand the Cities of Strigonia and Alba: and by Sea he sent an Hundred and Thirty Galleys to the King, commanded by Barbarossa, who after he had filled the City of Ostia and the Coast along the Popes Territories with

with Terror and Amazement, without doing them any mischief, because the forementioned Paulin being with him, took them into the Kings protection, cast Anchor on the Coasts of Provence the Fifth of July. Francis de Bourbon Earl of Enghien, joyned him with two and twenty Galleys, and both of them in Conjunction besieged the City of Nice the fifth day of August.

The City having been Batter'd from the tenth of the Month to the twentieth, the Governor Andrea de Montfort abandoned it, and carried all into the Castle, which being Built upon a Rock and generously defended, feared neither Mines nor Guns. Besides the French had taken so little care to furnish themselves either with Ammunition or Provisions for the Mouth, that they soon found want of it, and were forced to borrow Powder and Ball of the Turks.

When Barbarossa therefore perceived that he lost his Reputation and Men before this Place, and that moreover Andrea Doria and the Duke were coming to Relieve it, he raised the Siege, and retired to the Coasts of Provence. He staid there all the Winter, not without committing many Barbarities upon the very French themselves, whom he held in scorn for their negligence and want of care, even to the Treating the Count d' Enghien by the name of Youth, and little pretty * Minion. In the Spring he asked leave of the King, (who wanted not much entreaty) to let him be gone, either being very little satisfied with the other.

The Siege being raised, Enghien brought back his Land Forces to this side the Var, and took post to find out the King, upon a report spread abroad that there would be a Battle to Relieve Landrecy. After his departure the Duke of Savoy and the Marquess Du Guesst employ'd their Army in taking Montdevin and in Fortifying Carignan. There was only a Garrison of Swiss in Montdevin, who Capitulated: but Du Guesst brutish and perfidiously put them all to the Edge of the Sword.

Boutieres had abandoned Carignan, and begun to demolish the Fortifications, Du Guesst seized upon the Place, Repaired it, and put in a Garrison of Four Thousand men, and three Thousand more at Quiers to assist them in Case of necessity. The King not being satisfied with the Conduct of Boutieres, who had forsaken a place, which Commanded a good part of the Country on the one side, and the Plain even to Suza, recalled him, and gave the Command of all beyond the Mountains to the Count d' Enghien.

When this Prince Arrived, Boutieres was besieging Yorce and was just upon the taking it: he was very unwilling another should bear away the Honour of a Conquest so near at hand, wherefore the Prince having sent to him for some of the Forces to Convoy him, he goes and meets him with the whole Army, chusing rather, if we may say so, to let the Prey escape, then that another should have the Quarry.

After the Emperor had subdued the Duke of Cleves, had received a body of twelve Thousand English, and re-inforced his Army to the number of fifty Thousand Fighting men, he came and laid Siege to Landrecy. The King had put Captain la Lande into the Place with two Hundred Horse, and three Thousand Foot, and had ordered the Lord Desse to assist him: but the Fortifications were new and apt to crumble and be beaten down, and the Frosts intermingled with cold showers did equally incommode the Besiegers and the Besieged, who stood in myre upto the Mid-Leg.

The Attacks were weak and faint: the Emperor thought to gain the Place by Famine. In effect they suffer'd much, but when they could scarce hold any longer after a brave resistance of two Months, the King went from la Fere upon the Oyse, and putting himself at the head of his Army, approached within two Leagues of the Besiegers. The Emperor believing he would give him Battle, drew his Forces from the further side of the Sambre, and joyned them with those on this side; so one side of the place remaining open and free, the King Relieved the Garrison and provided it with all things necessary, then having executed what he desired, he made his Retreat by Night very securely, and put his Army into Garrisons on the Frontiers.

Four or Five dayes after his departure, the Emperor likewise marched off: but not willing to loose all his time and pains, and to recompence his not taking Landrecy, he seized upon Cambray by Correspondence of the Bishop, who was of the House of Crony, put in a Garrison, as a bridle upon the Town, and Built a Citadel to curb them, which was Erected at the Citizens proper Charges,

1544.

* He was but 20 years old.

Charges, making them believe it was to preserve them from falling into the hands of the French.

1544.

In the Year 1544. Four great Eclipses were Visible in our Hemisphere, one of the Sun which hapned upon the Four and Twentieth of February, and the other three of the Moon. The first being in the same Month was not a Total one, but at the two others which were seen in July and November, the whole Disque of that great Luminary of the Night was quite obscured. During these frightful events in the Heavens, * Francis, the first Son of Henry the Dauphin, came into the World the Twentieth day of January.

* His device was inter Eclipses Exorior.

The beginning of this Year found William Earl of Fustemberg a German before Luxembourg, which he block'd up with Twelve Thousand of his Country-men; For, upon I cannot tell what discontent, whether real or affected, he had quitted the Service of France for that of the Emperor. The Prince of Melfy having order from the King, marched that way with his Forces, and with so brave a Resolution, that Fustemberg durst not stay for him, but retired. The Frosts were so excessive sharp, that it turned the Wines into Ice in the Vessels, which they were fain to cut with Axes, and the Lumps were sold by the pound.

In Piedmont the Count d'Enghien young, valiant, and who with an Army of well disciplin'd Men sought only an opportunity of Fighting, having taken all the Posts about Carignan, began his Blocade there the first day of February. The Marquess Du Gues, that he might put in some Supplies, thought to Seize upon Carmagnoles, the Count got thither before him, and left him no possibility of saving the Place but by hazarding a Battle. The Kings Council having given the Count leave to venture it, he observing that Du Gues was on his March to pass over the Po, prevented him and passed it first himself to meet him; Thus the two Armies came to engage nigh the Burrough of Cerizolles the Fourteenth of April which was upon the Easter Monday.

The Victory fell intirely to the French, they Slew two Thousand of the Enemies upon the Place, took their Artillery, their Baggage, great quantity of Ammunitions, four Thousand Prisoners, without the loss of any more then two Hundred men in all. The Lord de Bontieres who returned into Piedmont upon the rumour there would be a Battle, Termes, Montluc, and de Thais, had the greatest share in the honor of that day. The first Commanding the Van-guard, the second the Light-horse, the third the Forlorn-hope, and the last the French Bands, that is to say the Infantry.

The nobles of the Court, whom a desire of honour had brought thither in post haste, shewed that day very great feats of Valour. The next day some were Knighted in the Field of Battle; amongst others, Gilbert Coiffier * la Bussiere a Gentleman of Auvergne, who having bravely Fought in the first Ranks, received this honour from the hands of the Count d'Enghien, as likewise from Bontieres and de Thais. Which I mention that we may know the Customs of those times, and observe that Knight-hood might be Confer'd upon the same man, by several Persons one after another.

The Marquess wounded in the Knee escaped to Milan with Four Hundred Horse only. Amongst his Equipage were found several Chariots full of Shackles and Padlocks designed to have chained the French withal; so certainly did his pride make him confident of Victory.

The fruits of this days success were the City of Carignan, and all the Marquise of Montferrat, excepting Casal. Milan had followed it had the King but sent Supplies of Men and Money: but so far was it from this, that he recalled Two and Twenty Ensignes of Foot, who made up Twelve Thousand Men, of whom he stood in need for the defence of the Kingdom, being informed that the Emperor, who had made a League with the English, was drawing a vast Army together near the Rhine, and that both were to fall upon France at the same time.

And indeed the Kingdom found it self this year in great danger, these two potent Princes had divided it betwixt them, and had projected to joyn their Armies before Paris to sack that great City, and from thence ravage all to the Loire. They would have made up together Fourscore Thousand Foot, and two and twenty Thousand Horse. It is certain that if the Emperor had come directly to Paris he had found Francis all in disorder, for having promised him-

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self that Luxembourg would make a long resistance, he had not much hast'ned the coming of the Swiss. But the good Fortune of France had so disposed things, that being tempted by the facility he found in his March of taking Luxembourg, which Francis d'Angliure d'Estanges Surrendred very lightly, then afterwards the Castle of Commercy (the City was burnt) Ligny, and Brienne, he fixed upon the Siege of Saint Disier the three and twentieth of June.

Saint Disier, contrary to the expectation of all men, resisted six Weeks, by the Valour of that la Lande, who had before so generously defended Landrecy. That brave Captain was there slain upon the Rampart; the Count de Sancerre whom the King had joyned with him, took the Command as Chief. He finding himself at the end of his Ammunition, obtained a suspension of Armes for Twelve dayes, which being expired and no Assistance coming he Surrendred the Place.

From thence the Emperor sent notice to the King of England that he was Marching towards Paris, and Summon'd him to be there according to Agreement. But the King of England, by his Example, having resolved also to Conquer some Places, sent him for answer, that he would advance, as soon as he had taken Boulogne by the Sea Coast and Montreuil. He was then before Boulogne with twenty Thousand men, and the Duke of Norfolk his Lieutenant before Montreuil with ten Thousand English, and twelve Thousand Flemings whom the Counts of Bures and de Raux had brought thither. The Emperor not being able to make him remove from thence, desired at least he would allow him, (his Army being much weakened) to save his honour by a Truce; To which he consented: but for his own part refused to hear of such a thing. He had a mind to let them see that of himself he was able to make Conquests in France.

In the mean while the Emperor descended along the Marne, and entred so far into Champagne, that the Forces of the Dauphin watching him close, and cutting off his Provisions and Forrage on all Sides, he found himself in very great danger of Perishing with his whole Army. There were at that time two Parties at Court, one for the Dauphin, the other for the Duke of Orleans, This last saved him, Anne de Pisseleu the Kings Mistress, opposite to Diana de Poitiers who was for the Dauphin, loved the Duke of Orleans mightily, and studied his Interest to the prejudice of his Brothers, that he might be her support when the King chanced to fail her. This Woman, too Credulous, looking on the Emperor as already Father in Law to that Prince, revealed all the Secrets of the Kings Council to him, and it was she who brought it so to pass, by means of Nicholas de Bossu Longueval, that he made himself Master of Espernay and of Chateau-Thierry, where he met with Provisions in abundance, without which all had been lost.

Fear had like to have depopulated all Paris when it was known that he was in Chateau-Thierry, and that his flying Parties came as far as Meaux; some fled to Rouen, others to Orleans; all the Roads were throng'd with Carts loaden with House-hold Goods, Women and Children; and that which encreased the disorder was a many Herds of Rascals that Robb'd these poor People. The King sent Claude Duke of Guise to Paris to encourage them; and himself came thither soon after.

But the Emperor instead of approaching it, took to the left and went to Soissons. Being lodged in the Abby called Saint John de Vignes which is in the Suburbs, the propositions for a Peace were set on Foot. A Jacobin Monk of the Noble House of the Guzmans in Spain, mentioned it first to the Kings Confessor. The Daupins Party would have none, those for the Duke of Orleans pusht it on with extraordinary importunity, the King sided with the Latter. The Deputies being therefore Assembled at Crespy in Luonois concluded it the eighteenth of the Month of September.

The Principal Articles were that the Emperor within two years, should at his own choice, either give his Daughter, or the Daughter of Ferdinand to the Duke of Orleans, and for Dowry, the Dutchy of Milan, or else the Low-Countries, and the Counties of Burgundy and of Charolois; That if he gave Milan, he should keep the Castles of Milan and Cremona, till a Child were born of that Marriage: That the King should renounce to the Kingdom of Naples, and to Milan, in case the Emperor gave the Low-Countries to the Duke of Orleans: That he should restore the Duke of Savoy to all his Lands: but that he should retain the Towns so long as the Emperor did hold Milan and Cremona: That what had been taken

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1545. in those Countries since the truce of *Nice* (the Emperor had taken but one place, and the King above twenty) should be resigned by either party; as likewise all those which had been taken in *France* and in the Low-Countries.

This Place being more Advantageous to the Duke of *Orleans* than to *France*, the Dauphin who could not Suffer either the Aggrandising of his Brother, nor the damage of the Kingdom, made Protestations against it in the Castle of *Fontainebleau*, in presence of the Duke of *Vandosme*, the Count d'*Enghien* his Brother, and Francis Earl of *Aumale*, * the second day of *December*. The Kings People of the Parliament of *Toulouze* did so likewise, as to what concerned the Rights of the Crown, and the Translation of the Subjects to another Prince.

* He was Duke of Guise after the death of his Father, and Aumal was soon afterwards to a Dutchy.

That which hastned the King to conclude this Treaty, was not alone the insistence of the Duke of *Orleans*, but likewise the unwelcome news he received of *Boulogne* Capitulating, and the extreme danger *Monstreuil* was in. The Marechal de *Biez* defended the last most stoutly though it were nothing worth: but his Son-in-Law *James de Coucy Vervin*, a young Fellow easie to be scared, as having no experience, Surrendered *Boulogne* most unworthily before it was in danger, and when the Dauphin was within two days March of the Place to Relieve it. Nor did he forgive him for it, having ever a strong conceit that he had given it up to favour the Duke of *Orleans*. *Monstreuil* was saved, because the Peace being concluded at *Crespy*, the Count de *Bures* and de *Raune*, who were joyned with the Duke of *Norfolk*, had very expresse Orders to retire.

The Dauphin who had used great diligence to come to the relief of *Boulogne*, finding it Surrendered, made an attempt in the Night upon the *Basse Ville*, which was enclosed only with a Ditch, without any Wall, and yet nevertheless where the *English* had put their Cannon and Equipage. He gained it very easily: But for want of good Order, his men falling upon the Baggage, the *English* came down from the upper Town, and though much inferior in Numbers, beat and drove them out: but not all, for there were four or five hundred remained dead upon the place.

* Vulgarly called the old man of Bullen.

This project failing, the Marechal de *Biez* had orders to raise a Fort upon the point of Land which lies right over against the Old Tower, * to hinder the entrance into the Harbour: but they having no Water there, and it being impossible the Soldiers could abide in it, by reason it lay exposed to all Wind and Weather, they built another that faced the *Basse Ville*, or lower Town, in a place called *Outrean*, but made it so small, that after three Months labour, they were fain to fill up the Trenches to enlarge it.

1545.

The Affairs of *Scotland* being Embroiled by the King of *England*, who, whatever it cost him would have the Heiress for his Son, the King took a care to assist the young one and the Queen her Mother. The Earl of *Lenox*, in the year 1543. carried some Forces thither which he sent: But that Spark having gamed away the Money which was for Payment of their first Muster, went over to the King of *England*'s Service, who bestowed his Niece upon him. In his room were sent the Lord de la *Brosse* a Gentleman of *Bourbon* then *Lorges* Earl of *Montgomery* Captain of the *Scotch* Guards, with some Soldiers.

Some *Vaudois* were still remaining in the Valleys of the *Alpes*, between *Dauphiné* and *Savoie*. There were of them in the two Burroughs of *Merindol* and *Cabrières*, the first being part of the County of *Venisse*, the other in the Territories belonging to the King. (Since *Luther*'s starting up they began to Preach publicly: About the year 1536. the Parliament of *Provence*, whereof *Anthony Chassane* was then Premier President, had made a Decree for the punishing them) This had been put by several times: but this year 1545. *John Menier d'Oppede* who succeeded *Chassane* that dyed suddenly, being moved either out of Zeal, or because one of his Tenants went away to *Cabrières* without paying his Rent, undertook to Execute it. He raised Forces, and joyning them with such as the Vice-Legat of *Avignon* was pleased to furnish him withal, (went to Exterminate those miserable creatures, and made a general Massacre of all of them, without distinction of Age or Sex, excepting only such as made their Escape to the Rocks.

The preceding year *Anthony Duke of Lorraine* had left this World: this year Duke Francis his Son followed him; leaving a Son named *Charles* aged but two years. *Anthony* was fain to use great skill to preserve and poyse himself between the King and the Emperor. He Married one of his Daughters to *René de Chaulons* Prince of *Orange*,

Orange, and Francis his eldest Son, to *Christina* Daughter of *Christierne II.* King of *Denmark*, and *Dorothy* Sister to the Emperor; The King had conceived great jealousies upon it; Nevertheless his conduct was so prudent, and his proceedings seemed so cordial in his Laborious undertakings to procure a Peace between him and the Emperor, that at length he was fully satisfied in him.

1545.

The Council was earnestly demanded for by the Emperor and by the Germans: but the Catholics desired a general one, and the Protestants a National where the Pope should not be Judge. In the year 1542. *Paul III.* had indited it at *Trent*; And nevertheless for divers causes he delay'd the opening of it till the thirteenth day of *December* in this year, which was the third Sunday in *Advent*. The Orders for the Convocation were directed to the Emperor and the King by Name: but to all other Princes only in general.

When the King found he could not recover *Boulogne* either by force or by way of Treaties, he believed the best means to regain it would be to attack the King of *England* in his own Island. He therefore sent Orders to Captain *Paulin* to fit his Gallies at *Marseilles* and bring them to the Mouth of the River *Seine*, got ten great *Genoese* Ships, divers of which perished at the entrance into that River, and joyned all the Good Vessels he had in any of his Harbours. But intending to Treat the Ladies at Dinner in his great Carrack, which was the stateliest Vessel belonging to the Sea, the Cooks by their carelessness set it on Fire, utterly consumed it, and much damnified all those that lay about her by the discharging one hundred Guns she had on Board. Which greatly disordered the Feast, and gave an ill presage of that expedition.

The Admiral *Annebaut* had the Command of the Fleet. He went to seek out the *English* upon their own Coasts, and Seized upon the Isle of *Wight*. The *English* after some small Firings retired between that Island and *Portsmouth*, in a place surrounded with Banks and Rocks, where there was but one narrow Channel to go in. It was not thought fit either to fortifie the Island, nor to fall upon them in a place of such advantage: but to Land on their Coasts in sight of King *Henry*, who was come down to *Portsmouth*, to see what passed, and send forth his Men of War. They made two or three Landings with a great deal of Noise, but *Annebaut* perceiving they would not come forth, and his Provisions being spent, he turned his Prow towards *France* and arrived there about the end of *July*.

The Marechal de *Biez* advanced little against *Boulogne*, though the King himself to push the business forward were come with *Charles* Duke of *Orleans* his second Son to the Abbey of *Forrest-Moustier*, which is within ten Leagues of it between *Abbeville* and *Monstreuil*.

The Wound which *Francis* Duke d'*Aumale* received in a Salley made by the Enemies, is a thing very remarkable; He returned from the Engagement with the Iron head of a Lance and a piece of the Wooden Truncheon sticking in his head, which entered at the Angle betwixt his right Eye and his Nose, and came out behind between the Nape of his Neck and his Ear. The Chyrurgeon, whose name was *Ambrose Paré*, was forced to draw it out with a strong hand and Instrument; and yet he most happily recover'd.

In the mean time Contagious distempers got into the Kings Army, and the Duke of *Orleans* a Prince of great hopes, dyed the eight of *September* at *Forrest-Moustier*, whether of Venom or of some Poison that was thought to have been given him by some Creatures of his Brothers. For they could not endure the King should cherish him so much as he did, and be angry that the Dauphin notwithstanding his command to the contrary kept correspondence with the Constable *Montmorency*, whose return they desired, because their Master earnestly longed for it.

The death of this Prince broke all the bonds of Concord (if there were any) between the King and the Emperor. The Envoyez carrying the News of it to the latter, and asking how he intended to dispose of the Dutchy of *Milan*, he plainly told them that he to whom he had promised it being no more, he thought himself disengaged of his promise.

He declared his intention with so much the greater confidence, as finding his Affairs against the Protestants in a very good posture; some of whom, as *Maurice* one of the Dukes of *Saxony*, had taken his Party; *Frederic* the Elector Palatin had Submitted;

1546. John Frederic Duke of Saxony, and Philip Landgrave of Hesse who had declared War against him, did not well agree together, in-so-much as their vast Army, which at first was Seventy Thousand Foot, and Fifteen thousand Horse, were almost dwindled to nothing; and that his own encreased daily by the Supplies sent him from the Pope and the Princes of Italy, and those Forces he drew out of the Low-Countries, his Hereditary Lands, and from the Catholick Princes.

A Peace was equally desired by King Francis, and by the King of England: The first was not in very good health; his Army wasted by Sickness, and he apprehended those great Forces which Charles V. raised to quell the Protestant Princes of Germany, might fall upon him. Henry had neither Men, nor Money, and feared that a Foreign War might favour such as had a mind to rise at home. Upon these considerations, they named their Deputies about the end of April, who meeting at a place between Ardres and Guines, after six weeks debate, concluded the Peace upon the eight day of June, by which the King of England promised to restore Boulogne within eight years: and the King was obliged to give him eight hundred thousand Crowns of Gold, to be paid by one hundred thousand each year.

The residue of this same King Francis employed in visiting and furnishing his Frontiers, fearing lest the Emperor should attempt something upon him: as no doubt he would, had the Protestants Submitted so early as he expected. Francis was advised to assist them to keep the War out of his own Kingdom, and maintain it in his Enemies. He might do it with honour; they were his Allies; he might in Conscience do it, since the Emperor by his Manifesto's declared he designed nothing against their Belief, but their Rebellion: Nevertheless the Scrupulous Counsel of the Cardinal de Tournon diverted him; and even to let them know they were to hope for nothing from him, engaged him to express his wrath against such as were Professors of their Religion, by kindling the Flames of persecution throughout all his Dominions. Great numbers of those miserable Creatures were Burnt, many redeemed themselves from Fire and Faggots by Singing *Palinodia*, and the more Sagacious by a timely Flight.

1547. The eight and twentieth of February in the year 1547. Henry King of England, aged fifty seven years, ended the Thrid of his Life, which his incontinency had horribly knotted and entangled by the Multiplicity of his Marriages, and the terrible change he made in the Anglicane Church. He had six Wives Catherine of Arragon, Anne Bullen, Jane Seymour, Anne of Cleve, Catherine Howard, and Catherine Parre. He was divorced from the first and the fourth, saw the third die in Child-Bed, and caused the second and the fifth to be Beheaded for the crimes of Adultery, the sixth survived him and Married Thomas Seymour Admiral of England. By the first he left a Daughter named Mary, by the second another named Elizabeth, and by Jane a Son named Edward, as then nine years of Age, who came to the Crown immediately after him.

The rumour of the Emperors Armes gave astonishment to all Christendom, the Pope himself Trembled for fear lest having Subdued Germany he should pass into Italy. When Francis had therefore well considered the consequences of the ruin of the Protestants, he changed his mind and made a League with them, obliged himself to receive the Eldest Son of the Duke of Saxony, into France, and in particular permit him the exercise of his Religion, promised to send an Hundred Thousand Crowns to his Father, and as much to the Landgrave of Hesse, till such time as he could assist them with Forces.

In the mean while his trouble for the death of King Henry encreasing his inordinate distemper, changed a lingring Feavour that was upon him into a continued one, and stopt him at the Castle of Rambouillet, where he finished his life the last day of March, by an end worthy of a most generous Prince, and a most Christian King.

He earnestly recommended to his Son the diminishing of the Tallage which he had raised too much, not to recall Montmorency to continue the Cardinal de Tournon, to whom he willed a Hundred Thousand Crowns, and Annebant in the Administration; told him that the Sons ought to imitate the Vertues of their Fathers and not their Vices; that the French being the best people in the world, deserved so much the more to be well Treated, as they refused their King nothing in his necessity; and many other things which the Prince buried in Oblivion before his Father was laid down in his Grave. If he would have had these

last

last things put in practice, he should have made those that were to be his Sons Ministers his Executors. 1547.

Magnificence and State Attended him to his very Tomb: his Funeral was made with extraordinary Pomp; Eleven Cardinals were present, which before had never hap'ned. He was publicly by Proclamation in the Palace-Hall, declared, a Prince Clement in Peace, Victorious in War, the Father and Restorer of good Learning, and the liberal Sciences.

He never had his Paralel in liberality, in magnificence and in clemency; very few to compare with him in Valour, Eloquence and useful Learning. He would have been a great Prince in all things, had he not sometimes suffered himself to be prepossessed by the Evil Counsels of his Ministers, and a passion towards women. Those to render themselves all-powerful, set up his Authority above the Ancient Laws of the Kingdom, even to an Irregularity of Government; the Women he loved being vain and prodigal, changed his Noble desire of Fame, to fastuosity and vanity, and made him often consume in idle expences the Money he had designed for some great enterprize.

The Ten last Years of his Life, the anxiety of his distemper made him so good a Husband, that although he had made several stately Buildings in divers places, * he had employed great Sums in purchasing rich Furniture, many Jewels, excellent Pictures, and curious Books; though he had bestowed Pensions upon all the brave Souldiers, and truly learned men he could meet with, and had maintained a War against all the powers of Europe for almost Thirty years: yet at his death he left all his own Demeasnes clear of all Engagements, Four Hundred Thousand Crowns of Gold in his Coffers, and a quarter of a years Revenue ready to be paid in. On the contrary his Son, in the thirteen years he reigned, though he sold a great many Offices newly created, raised the Imposts a third part higher, and gave nothing to his Favourites, was yet indebted fifteen or sixteen Millions, a great Sum in those days.

I had forgot to note that he had chosen for his Devise, or Impress, a Salamander in the fire, with this Motto *Nutrisco & Extinguo*, I am nourished by it, and I extinguish it; and that he Erected into Dutchies and Pairries, the County of Vendosme for Charles de Bourbon in 1514. that of Guise in favour of Claude de Lorraine in 1527. that of Montpensier for Lewis de Bourbon in 1538. The same year, out of affection to Francis of Cleve, he likewise gave the Title of Dutchy to that of Nevers, which was before made a Pairrie by King Charles VIII. Anno 1459. Till then no Erektion of such great Dignities had been made, but to supply the number of the Six ancient ones; wherefore the Parliament made a grave and serious remonstrance to the King to hinder that of Guise: but he desired to gratifie with that honour a Prince, whose extraordinary vertues raised him almost equal to those of his Blood.

He Married two Wives, Claude Daughter of Lewis XII. and of Anne de Bretagne in the year 1514, and Eleonora of Austria Sister of Charles V. in the year 1530. By the first he had three Sons and three Daughters, whereof none remained alive but Henry who Reigned, and Margaret that was Married to Emanuel Philibert Duke of Savoy. Queen Eleonora brought him no Children. After his death she retired into the Low-Countries to the Emperor her Brother, who in Anno 1555. carried her into Spain. She died at Bajadox, in the year 1558. Aged about Threecore Years.

HENRY

* As at Chambord, at the Bois de Boulogne, near Paris, at Villers-Cotteret, at St. Germain en Lay Fontainebleau, and the Louvre.

HENRY II.

(King LVIII.)

(Aged about XIX. Years.)

POPES,

PAUL III. <i>Two Years and above 7 Months under this Reign.</i>	MARCELLUS II. <i>Elected in April, 1555. S. 22 days.</i>
JULIUS III. <i>Elected in February, 1549. S. 5 Years, 1 Month and a half.</i>	PAUL IV. <i>Elected in May, 1555. S. 4 Years 2 Months and a half.</i>

1547.

HENRY came to the Crown upon the same day of the Year that he came into the World. The Robes and other preparations for the Ceremony of his Coronation not being got ready before Mid-July, he received not the Sacred Unction till the Five and Twentieth of that Month, by the hands of *Charles de Lorraine* who was Archbishop of *Reims*. *Claude Duke of Guise*, and *Frances de Cleves Duke of Nevers*, preceded *Lewis de Bourbon Duke of Montpensier*, though a Prince of the Blood, because their *Pairs* being more Ancient by some years, the first represented the Duke of *Guyenne*, the second the Earl of *Toulouse*, but *Montpensier* the Earl of *Champagne* only.

This King had been without defects, as he was without disquiet, had his Soul been framed as compleatly as his body. His noble Stature, his Serene and goodly Visage, his pleasing aspect, his dexterity in all brave exercises, his agility and bodily strength were not attended with that firmness of Mind, Application, Prudence, and the Sagacity requisite in one that is to command. He was naturally good, and had inclinations to do justice: but he never possessed himself, and because he would do nothing, he was the cause of all those Evils they Committed who governed him.

Emperors,
Charles V.
and
Solyman.

The Constable de *Montmorency* whom he immediately called to Court, *Frances Earl of Anmale*, who was Duke of *Guise* after the death of his Father, and *James d'Albon Saint André*, whom he made Marechal of *France*, had the best share in his Favour. He considered the first as his principal Minister, the two others as Favorites: but all even the Queen her self, bowed before his Mistress; This was *Diana de Poitiers* Widow of *Lewis de Brezé*, and whom he had made Dutcheß of *Valentinois*. She meddled with all, she could do all. That it might be known she Reigned, he would have it appear in all his Turnaments, on his House-hold goods, in his Devises, or Impresses, and even on the Frontispieces of his Royal Buildings, by placing every where a Crescent, with Bows and Arrows, which were the Symbols of that unblushing *Diana*.

One

One might think this love of a young King for a Woman of Forty Years, and who had three or Four Children by her Husband must have been indeed an Inchantment without Charms. She was unjust, violent and haughty towards such as displeased her: but otherwise ready to do good, and very liberal, her wit mighty agreeable and pleasing, but her hands more yet, because she bestowed often and much and with a very bon-grace. The King loved her because she was so sensible of Love; and this temperament did sometimes lead her elsewhere to seek out the full measure of her delights, as she found in him the fulness of Honour and Riches.

Under a new Government there is a new face of Court. They left *Frances Oliver* in the Office of Chancellor, whereof he was very worthy: but they took away the Administration from the Cardinal de *Tournon*, and *Annebaut*, *Bayard* one of the Secretaries was Imprisoned, and *Villeroy* his Compagnon deprived of his Employment; *James du Tiers*, and *Claude Clauffe Marquemont* were put in their Places; as in that of *John du val Tresorier de l'Espagne*, *Blond de Bohecour*, whose Wages or Salary was augmented to thirty Thousand Livers, a certain preface of the future waisting of the *Finances* *. They likewise took away the * *Revenue* or Office of Grand Master of the Artillery, or Ordnance from *Claude de Tais* to *Treasury*. give it to *Charles de Coffé Brisac*, the Lord amongst all the Courtiers the most lovely, and the most beloved by the Kings Mistresses.

Longeval accused to be of Intelligence with the Emperor, redeemed himself by selling his fair House de *Marchez* in *Laonnois* to *Charles de Lorraine*, who soon after was made Cardinal. Of Twelve Cardinals that were then in *France*, the new Ministers, to be the more at large and at their own ease sent Seven of them to *Rome*, upon pretence of Fortifying the *French* Party for the Election of a Pope, when *Paul III.* who was near Four-score years old, should come to die. *Annebaut* to satisfy to an Edict which they had purposely made, that one man could not hold two great Offices, was forced to quit that of Marechal, wherewith *Saint André* was gratified.

Francis I. had encreased the number of Marechals even to Four: but finding that the multitude debased that great dignity, he had resolved to reduce them to two, so that at this time there were but three. They added a fourth, which was *Robert de la Mark Sedan* Son in Law of *Diana*. They made process against *Odard de Biez* likewise Marechal of *France*, and against *Vervin* his Son in Law. They were not Condemned till the year 1549. *Vervin* lost his head; His Father in Law an Honourable old Man, and by whose hands *Henry* being then but *Dau- sin* would needs be made a Knight, was shamefully degraded of his Office and the Order of *Saint Michael*. He died of Grief in the *Fanxbourg Saint Victor*, whither he had permission to retire.

The Earldom of *Anmale* was erected to a Dutchy in favour of *Frances* Eldest Son of *Claude Duke of Guise*.

The Dutcheß d' *Estampes* having no more support at Court, and seeing her self despised by all the World, even of her own Husband, chose one of his Houses for her Retreat, where she yet lived some years in the Exercise of the new Religion, to which her Example, and Liberalities drew a great many People.

All the Kings Revenues being too little to satisfy the Covetousness of the new Ministers; they sought to have Advice what to demand of him; but the Genius of the *French*, nor their Parliaments, being yet used to suffer Monopolies and Farmers, they employ'd Accusers, or Informers, who brought the richest Delinquents to Justice, that they might enjoy their Spoils by Confiscations or by Compositions.

As to Things without Doors, the Pope desired to have a defensive League with the King; and for that end had sent the Cardinal *Saint George Legate* into *France*, to give the King thanks for having promised his Natural Daughter *Diana*, but nine Years old, to his Grand-Son *Horace*, and to negotiate a more strickt Alliance with him. The King gave no Positive Answer to the last Proposition, his Affairs not being as yet in good Order, and they suspecting his great Age, and the Fidelity of his Children. And indeed, he was at the same time treating with the Emperor to get the Dutchy of *Milan*, for *John Lewis Farnese* his bastard Son.

The King and the Emperor laboured separately and distinctly with the *Turk*, the one to have a Peace with him, the other to incite him to fall upon *Hungary*,

as

1547. as he had promised King Francis. Now as on the part of France, they neglected a while to send any News to Constantinople, or even give notice of the death of that King; the Emperor meeting no Obstruction, obtained a Truce of Solymán for five Years, paying him thirty thousand Crowns Tribute Annually, and making him believe he held a very good Correspondence with the French, and that they would have no more to do with the Port. Nevertheless Solymán desiring still to preserve his Amity with France, would needs without being required, have the King to be comprized in the Truce of Hungary, as if he had been absolutely a Party contracting. It is to be observed that in the Writings or Instrument of this Truce, Solymán styles Charles V. only simply King of Spain, and the King of France, the most serene Emperor of France, his most dear Friend and Allie.

The Sixteenth of July, the King being returned out of Picardy, where he had been to visit the Frontiers, saw at Saint Germain en laye the famous Duel between Guy Chabot Jarnac, and Francis Viscount la Chasteigneraye, they quarrell'd about some certain intrigues of the Womens, Jarnac had given the Lie to Chasteigneraye upon some villanious reproach of his concerning his Fathers second Wife. He challenges him to fight; the King permitted it, causeth the Lists to be made ready, and would needs be a Spectator with the whole Court. He fancied Chasteigneraye would have the better, whom he cherished; and yet it fell out that Jarnac though much weakened with a Feavour that tormented him, brought him down with a back blow he gave him on his hamis. They parted the Combatants: but the vanquished not able to undergo so much shame in the Kings Presence, would never suffer the Chyrurgions to bind up his wound, but dyed of rage within a few days. The King was so concerned at it, that he swore solemnly never to permit the like Combats.

In the Month of August the Grands Jours, or extraordinary Court of Justice, began to be held in the City of Tours.

The troubles continued in Scotland. The English were obstinately bent to have the young Queen for their King Edward, and had gained a furious Battel against the Scots, and after it taken several places. The King sent therefore an Army into Scotland Commanded by Dessé Epanouvillers, who was accompanied by Peter Strozzi and Dandelot Brother to Chastillon. They settled the Authority of the Queen Dowager, stopt the Progress of the English, and the year following brought the young Queen into France, she was but six years of Age.

Two Months before the Kings Coronation news came into France, that the Protestant Princes of the League of Smalcalde, were vanquish'd by the Emperor in the Battel of Mulberg the twenty fourth of April; That John Frederic Duke of Saxony their chief head, and a Prince of great worth, was taken Prisoner in the rout; that the Emperor had caused him to be Condemned to lose his Head, and having with much ado given him his life, he detained him in Prison, and had deprived him of his Duchy to invest his Cousin Maurice with it, who was of the same House of Saxony, and of the same Religion: that all the great free Cities, excepting Magdenbourgh, had submitted; that the Landgrave of Hesse had been forced to comply with his Commands, and that going to wait upon him by vertue of his faith given in writing under his own hand, and his Parolle given to Maurice his Son in Law, he caused him to be held Prisoner. His Ministers to colour his Treachery, put by mistake a W. instead of an N. in a certain word, so that it signified without perpetual imprisonment, instead of without any imprisonment.

These mighty advantages and success gave the King some Jealousie, and put his Holiness in great fear. This last was besides much irritated against the Emperor for what hapned at Piacenza. He had first given to Peter Lewis Farneze his Bastard Son, the Duchy of Camerino which was taken from Guidobaldo Duke of Urbino, Son of Frances Mary de la Rovere. This establishment did not seem good enough, he soon after exchanged with him for the Cities of Parma and Piacenza, which he adorned with the Title of a Duchy. Now this Peter Lewis using his principality, as if it were a sovereign right to violate all manner of right, it happened that three of the principal Citizens of Piacenza and of the Gibeline Faction, whom he had taxed in great Sums, conspired against him, entred into the Old Citadel, upon pretence of coming to Petition him to take it off and discharge them, when they had notice by the firing of a Pistol their Signal, that their Confederates had seized on the Gates, slew him and his Steward about Eleven of the

the Clock after he had Dined. The Blow being given they called Twelve of their friends into the Citadel, hung the Duke up by the heels upon the battlements of the Walls, where they left him till night, then dragg'd him to the publick Market place, where he lay two hours exposed to all the outrage of the populace. 1547.

The Gibelines in the mean while took up Arms, drove out the Garrison, and gave notice of it to Ferdinand de Gonzague, whom the Emperor had made Governor of Milan in the room of Du Guast who dyed in disgrace. Ferdinand presenting himself with a Hundred Men armed Cap-a-pee, was received into the City, took an Oath of Fidelity in the Emperors name, and put in Ten or Twelve Hundred Men; and shortly after he likewise endeavoured to surprize Parma. Now as the Emperor was not well pleased that the Pope had given these two Cities to his Son, because they were said he, of the Duchy of Milan, and withal knowing that Prince sided with the French Party underhand, and that he had a finger in the Conspiracy of Lewis de Fiesque, who perished in trying to surprize Genoa: it was believed with great reason that Gonzague had contrived or at least encouraged and favour'd that Tragical Conspiracy.

The Seigneory of Venice took the Allarm so hot, that they created a Proveditor on Land to take charge and care of the Frontiers, which they had never wont to do but in a time of extream peril. The Pope was struck to the very heart, and resolv'd to embrace all wayes and means to revenge his blood they had so cruelly shed.

Peter Lewis had left three Sons, Alexander who was a Cardinal, Octavia who had Married a Bastard of the Emperors, and Horatio Duke of Castro who sought to Marry the Kings. The first and the third followed the resentments of their Grandfather: but Octavio diverted and hindred them, employing his Wife to that end who possessed that old man, and kept him so fast bound that he could not get out of her Snares and Fetters. Thus having seized on Parma, he made no difficulty of accepting a Truce for six Months with Gonzague, upon Condition however that he should have a Months time either to refuse or confirm it.

Before this a Treaty was in hand between the King and the Pope for a Defensive League; both of them apprehended lest the power of the Emperor, encreased by the defeat of the Protestants, should fall upon their heads. The King, did with much eagerness seek to preserve the Alliance of the Turk: besides his Ambassador in Ordinary, which was d' Aramon, he sent thither the Baron de Farnueil, and then also the Sieur d' Huysson to endeavour to break the Truce between Charles V. and Solymán, and to get him to draw his Sword against Hungary. They assured him that the King in that Case would not fail to do him the Office of a Friend, having an excellent Militia and better paid then ever, Fifteen Thousand Lanquenets and Seventeen Thousand Swiss ready to March, besides his Legions and other bands of Gascons and Italians, and forty Gallies he had built, a Supply worthy to be offered to so great a Prince.

A very fair opportunity presented it self at the same time, but which could last only two Months, a Tumult in the City and Kingdom of Naples, who were risen to hinder the settling of the Inquisition, a dreadful Monster to all such as have been born and bred up in Liberty, even to the wisest, and the most Christian. The Banished proffer'd to seize upon Naples, Capua, Aversa, Nola, and to enter the Country with Twelve Thousand Men. The Pope list'ned to those Propositions, and the Cardinal Farneze propounded to the King that those Banished should be seconded with an Army of Twenty Thousand more, provided he would but pay them four Months, and pressed him instantly to have recourse to the Turk, and desire Forty of his Gallies to fall upon the Coasts of Naples.

Now his Holiness being in this disposition against the Emperor, and knowing withal that his Partisans who were the stronger in the Council of Trent, had conspired to diminish the Pontifical Power, to raise and augment the Imperial, and to satisfy the Germans, who cried out that all the abuses of the Church proceeded from the Court of Rome, took a resolution under a pretence the Plague was at Trent, to transfer the Council to Bologna. The King sent the Bishops of France thither: but the Emperors were resolv'd to stay at Trent, and the others as obstinate not to return to that place; which occasioned a mighty confusion.

Upon this the Kings Agents would needs have the Pope to consider, that he disobliged all the Germans, as well Protestants as Catholiques by transferring the

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1547.
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1548. Council to Italy, and gave up the Game to the Emperor, that Prince winning their affections by insisting on what they desired, that it should be held at Trent; And therefore they were of opinion that he should consent to what they demanded, but upon conditions which would be impossible: which was that he should engage all the Protestants to pass their words they would subscribe to what should be there decided. His Holiness did not follow this advice, but chose rather to suspend it till the Year 1550.

The Emperor thinking to appease the troubles about Religion in Germany, published an Edict, which ordained all persons to follow a certain Form of Doctrine and Ceremonies, until a general Council had determined all those differences. It was called the Interim. It contained 26 Articles, whereof two were favourable to the Protestants, those were a liberty of Marriage for their Priests, and the use of the Cup for the Laity. This accommodation pleased neither the one, nor the other Party, nor was received but by force and compulsion.

The Emperors ill will towards the King, discover'd its self but too much by several tokens, particularly the death of Volgesperg, Mentel, and Volsius, German Captains, whom he seized upon in their houses, and caused them to lose their heads by the Hangman, making it criminal for that they had raised some Troops to assist at the Kings Coronation. He would at that very time have given him a taste of his good affection by declaring an open War, had he not been hindered by three grand Obstacles, one of them being his indisposition, for he was much tormented with the Gout, perhaps complicated with some other distemper, for which he used Guajacum; the other that he durst not so soon leave Germany, held in obedience merely by his presence: and the third that Solyman in the instrument of the Truce, had comprehended the King in these terms, that he was not only his Friend, but also a Friend to his Friends, and Enemy to his Enemies.

Henry King of England had ordained that his Son Edward should succeed him to the Crown, that he failing Mary should attain to it, and after her Elizabeth whom he had by Anne Bullen. He had left the Government of the Kingdom and of young Edward to twelve Lords: but the eleven yielded up their authority to Edward Seymour Earl of Hereford and Duke of Somerset his maternal Uncle, who by this means was Regent or Protector of England. This Duke being imbued with the Opinions of Zuinglius, laboured in such sort, with the help of Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury who was a Lutheran, that by an Ordinance of Parliament held in the Month of November, he caused the exercise of the Catholique Religion to be abolished, and introduced another Medley of the Opinions of Calvin and those of Luther.

1548. Whilst the King was taking his measures, and before he would adventure to shock so potent an Enemy as a Victorious Emperor, he thought fit under colour of making a Progress through his Kingdom, to visit *Champagni*, *Burgundi*, and *Lyonnois*, making his entrance into all the Cities with Prodigious Magnificence, especially into *Lyon*. He proceeded even to *Piedmont*, and every where carefully stored his Frontier Towns, in case Philip the Emperors Son who was just gone into Italy, should have some untoward design: but he stayed little there. At his return, being in the City of *Moulins* the Eighteenth of October, he celebrated the Nuptials of *Anthony de Vendosme* with *Jane d'Albret* Daughter of the King of *Navarre*, whose former Marriage with the Duke of *Cleve* was easily vacated, as not having been consummated.

After the defection of that *Francis Marquiss de Salusses*, who, (as we have seen before) perished at *Carmagnoles*, King *Francis* would not seize upon the Marquisat of *Salusses*, which was forfeited to him and confiscate for the Crime of Rebellion and Felony, but had invested his younger Brother named *Gabriel* in it. This being dead without Children, and there remaining no lawful Heirs of that House, as I believe, *Henry* seized upon the said Fief as holding of *Dauphiné*; to which it remained United till the Year 1587. that *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy* seized it, as having some pretensions upon it.

During the Kings absence, a furious flame of Sedition was kindled over all *Guyenne*, because of the *Gabel* and *Garners* for Salt set up amongst them by *Francis I.* and the violence committed upon that Score, by the swarms of Officers and Satellites, against those poor people. The Commotion began in *Saintonge* by some

some Villagers who beat and hunted them away; their number increased to Sixteen Thousand Men well Armed, who chose Leaders among themselves. Another Gang headed together in *Angoumois* who seized upon *Angoulesme*, as the former did upon *Saintes*; then they quitted those places to scour about the Countries, committing all the cruel and villainous acts such brutish souls were capable of.

These two Kennels of Blood-Hounds being joyned were received into *Bordeaux* by the Populace, constrained the Captain of the Castle and him that commanded the Town, the Presidents and Counsellors of Parliament to march in the Head of them in Sea-mens habits, and inhumanely Maltreated *Tristan de Moneins* Lieutenant to the Governor of the Province. It was partly his own fault, for he was so imprudent as to come to *Bordeaux* without bringing a sufficient number of the Nobles with him, he amused himself with commanding his Soldiers to out-face and make mouths at those People, and then afterwards went out of his Castle *du Ha* to the *Maire* to Treat with those Furies.

After they had spent their first fire, they dispersed in a few days. The Parliament having resumed their Authority severely chastised some of them. It was to be feared, that if they had in cold blood consider'd the horror of their Crime, the despair of Pardon would have cast them into the arms of the English; the Kings Counsel therefore thought requisite to amuse them with fair words, and to promise them a general Amnistie, and the revocation of the *Gabelle*: but having put all in good order, he fail'd not to send the Connestable and the Duke d' *Aumale* thither with two small Armies, each consisting of Four or Five Thousand Men to punish them.

The Duke passed by *Saintonge*, *Poitou* and *Aunis*, without exercising any great severities, and came to *Langon*: but the Connestable descending from *Langnedoc* whereof he was Governor, along the *Garonne* with a courage whetted by revenge, for the Murder of *Moneins* who was his Kinsman, was not so mild. For having joyned him at that place, and marching to *Bordeaux*, he caused thirty fathom of their Wall to be broken down that he might enter at the breach; which was on the Tenth day of August when he was within, he first disarmed the *Bourdelois*, and placed his Canon and his Souldiers in the Markets and at the opening of the Streets, then caused present process to be made against the whole City, by *Stephen de Neuilly* Master of Requests. This man extremely violent *, by Sentence of the Twenty Sixth of October declared it guilty of Rebellion, and therefore all their Priviledges forfeited of Majoralty, Sherifalty, and Jurisdiction, Condemned them to maintain two Gallies for the Governor, to furnish the two Castles with Ammunitions, and to pay Two Hundred Thousand Livers as a Fine, besides took away their Bells, suspended the Parliament, which was so for a whole year, Ordered their Town-Hall should be razed, and a Chappel built on the same place where they should pray for the Soul of *Moneins*; that the Jurats with an hundred of the most noted Citizens should dig up the Corps of that Lord with their Nails, and bear him, each having a Flambeau in his hand to St. Andrews Church. About Five Thousand Burghers assisted at this Funeral Pomp, carrying all Wax-Candles, and making a stop before the Connestables door, cryed out for mercy, and confessed they had deserved a more heavy punishment. Besides all this he put above an hundred to death, most part being of the principal Citizens, and Officers belonging to the place. This great severity alienated the affection of the people from him, as the tender humanity of the Duke of *Aumale* gained it, so as from this very time that *Lorrain* Branch began to reign in their hearts.

Some while after, the King who was benign and easie, following the counsel of that Prince, did in many particulars moderate the rigour of the Sentence, preserved the Town-House, gave Pardon to many that were Condemned, and restored the Bells and Priviledges again to the *Bourdelois*. *Charles IX.* his Son gave them more ample ones. After *Bordeaux* had been humbled in this manner, the Provost belonging to the Connestables going thorough all the Provinces, laid hold on several of the most Seditious, amongst others Three of their Chiefs, viz. a Gentleman who had his Head cut off, and two Chiefs of the Commons who were broken upon the Wheel, with a Crown of red hot Iron clap'd upon their Heads.

1549.

After all these Tragical Executions, the Year 1549 was spent for the most part in rejoicings and in Caroufels. The Birth of the Kings Second Son, of whom the Queen was deliver'd at Saint Germain, was one occasion of these Feastings. He was named *Lewis*. The Figure-Flingers foretold wonders of him, and yet he lived but two years. The divertisements of the Carneval succeeded that of his Christ'ning; then in the Month of July the King and Queen made their Magnificent Entrance into *Paris*, after her being Crowned at Saint Denis. To this Ceremony they added Tiltings, running at the Ring, Balls, great Entertainments, and all the vain past-times that an ingenious and opulent idleness could invent, to delight and glut the Eyes of the Women and multitudes of People.

When the Court was weary of these Sports, the Scene of it was changed, and a fit of Piety succeeded their Gallantry. They made a general Procession to *Nostre-Dame*, whereat the King was present. This was to testify by a publick Act, the Zeal he had to maintain the Religion of his Ancestors, and to punish all those that would disturb it. Which he confirmed by the horrible Executions of great numbers of those miserable Protestants who were burned in the *Greve* *. They were haled up by a Pulley and an Iron Chain, then suffered to fall down in the midst of a great Fire, which was repeated several times. He would needs feed his own Eyes with this Tragical and Melancholly Spectacle; and it is said, that the horrible and mournful Shrieks of one of those poor wretches left so lively an impression in his imagination, that all his life long, he had from time to time a very frightful and terrifying remembrance of those dreadful groans. However that were, it is certain the smell of those Carcasses thus roasted, got into the Brains of a great many People; who on the one hand beholding their * (false) constancy, and on the other the scandalous dissolute living at Court, named this Justice a *Persecution*, and their punishment a *Martyrdom*.

* Common place of Execution.

* (False) constancy as our Author falsely terms it.

The 12th of June the Alliance was renewed with the *Swiss*, but not without much opposition of the Protestant Cantons, exasperated for the burning those of their Religion.

1549.

When the *English* were contriving better measures to invade *Scotland*, there hap'ned some division between the Duke of *Somerset* and the Earl of *Warwick*, and between the Nobility and the People. This Juncture being favourable to *France*, the King would lay hold of it to recover *Boulogne*. He armed powerfully by Sea and Land, went before the place in person, and gained four or five Forts the *English* had built round about it. Then *Autumn* coming he Block'd up the Tower d'Ordre, meaning to return in the following Spring.

Pope *Paul* having lost all hopes of recovering *Piacenza* from the hands of the Emperor, or even to preserve *Parma* in his Family, resolv'd to re-unite this to the Demeasnes of the Church, and to give the Duchy of *Camerino* to his Grand-Son *Octavio*. *Octavio* positively denied to accept of this exchange, and wrote to the Cardinal *Farnese* his Brother, that rather then consent to it, he would Surrender up *Parma* to *Frederic de Gonsague*. The Cardinal shew'd the Letter to the Pope, who was so moved with wrath, that his whole Body fell into a strange fit of trembling, and afterwards into a violent Feavour, whereof he died within three days. The Cardinals after three Months practices and juggling, Elected *John Maria de Monte*, who assumed the name of *Julius III*.

1550.

The *English* not having Forces sufficient, would not stand off too long, but came to a Treaty of Peace, which was concluded between the City of *Boulogne* and the Fort d'Outreau the 24th of March. They promised to resign *Boulogne* upon the payment of four hundred thousand Crowns of Gold, to wit, the one half when the *French* entered the Town, the other moiety six Months after. *Scotland* was comprized in this Treaty, and those places the *English* had Invaded, were to be reitor'd to the Queen-Regent.

The House of *Guise* obtained great augmentations: Duke *Claude* and John Cardinal of *Lorraine* his Brother being dead, *Francis* Duke of *Anjou* took his Fathers Title, and *Charles* who was called the Cardinal de *Guise*, that of his Uncle, and his Benefices. This same rais'd his power mightily, and that of his whole House, not so much by his merit, though he had a great deal, as by his complaisance to the Kings Mistress. He had so much power that he caus'd *Peter Lizet* the first President of the Parliament of *Paris* to be displaced: He had

dared

dared to affront him, by refusing to Treat him as a Prince: but was forced humbly to have recourse to his intercession to obtain some Benefice for his subsistence; they gave him the Abbey of Saint *Victor* lez *Paris*. John *Bertrand* second President was put in his place.

Soon after *Diana* caus'd the Seals to be taken from the Chancellor *Olivier*, whose probity did not suite with her conduct; and because he stood upon it not to lay down his Title of Chancellor, which by the Laws of the Land cannot be taken away but with his Life, She oblig'd the King to grant the Commission and Office of Keeper of the Seals, and to give it to *Bertrand*: who by this means left that of first President to *Giles le Maistre*, who had before succeeded him as second.

Though Faggots were lighted every where against the Protestants, yet the Inhabitants of *Merindol* and *Cabrieres* presented their Petition to the King, demanding Justice for the Violence done against them under pretence of a Decree of the Parliament of *Provence*, which they durst never have undertaken, had it not been upon an assurance of the support of those that govern'd, and even by their instigation, particularly the Connestable, who thought to involve the Cardinal de *Tournon* as principal Author of that Massacre, he being his Capital Enemy.

The business was first brought before the Kings Great Council, then the King took it upon himself, and afterwards referr'd it to the Grand Chamber of the Parliament of *Paris*. The Cause was Pleaded at Fifty Audiences, or Hearings, with great heats and vehement solicitations. After all this noise, there was none but *Guerin* the Kings Advocate in the Parliament of *Provence*, who paid for all those that had contributed to this Massacre; He was Beheaded in the place called the *Greve* at *Paris*.

The Historian of *Provence* relates how on the day he lost his head, his Picture or Effigies appeared in the palm of his wives hand, traced in lines of blood, and was seen by great numbers of people during several days. *Lewis Adhemar* Earl of *Grignan*, and Governour of *Provence*, who had given Commission to d'Oppede to Levy Forces in his absence, was like to have lost his Lands. D'Oppede was sent away absolv'd, having done nothing but by good order from the King: but he survived not long after it; and the *Huguenots* were revenged on him, by giving out that he died of an inward fire which cruelly burnt up all his Bowels.

The abuse of the *Banquiers* and of the *Datary* of the Court of *Rome*, touching the resignation of Benefices, were come to that pass, that all the Clergy of *France* complain'd of it. The King redress'd this by an Edict; and *Charles du Moulin*, the most resolute of all the *French* Lawyers, wrote a most Learned Book against the *Petites Dates*, but which being very vehement, rais'd so great a Storm against him amongst the Catholique Zealots for the interests of the Pope, that for fear of being Treated as an Heretique, he retir'd into *Germany* where he kept himself private till the rupture which hap'ned between the King and Pope *Julius III*.

The Pic's * Lords of *Mirandola*, being at variance amongst themselves for the possession of that County, *Paul III*. had endeavour'd to reconcile and agree them, and not able to compass it, had sequestred it in the hands of King *Francis*. That King had restor'd it to *Lewis Pic*. *Galeot Pic* his Nephew assassinated his Uncle and Usurped it; then fearing his other Relations would revenge this parricide, retir'd to King *Henry II*. and had admitted a *French* Garrison into the place; and also as it was reported, had agreed upon an exchange for some other Lands in *France*. However it were, the King us'd it as a City properly his own, and made it his place of Arms, and his Assemblies in that part of the World.

The King wanted some occasion to interrupt the Progress of the Emperor, he was over-joy'd to meet with this which follows, D' *Aramon* his Ambassador made use of all industry with *Solyman*, who was returned from the *Persian* War, to break the Truce of *Hungary*; and he wanted not considerations and motives to incite him to it; for the Emperor had in *Barbary* taken the Cities of *Mahadia* *, and *Monester*, from the *Corfair* *Dragut*, one of the Grand Seignior's Captains, and King *Ferdinand* held secret intelligence with *Frier Georges*, Monk of the Order of *Saint Poll* a Hermit, who by the testamentary institution of John the

1550.

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* Or Africa.

1551.

the pretended King of Hungary, governed the Affairs and Country of Isabella and Stephen her young Son.

Solyman had given orders to take that Monk dead or alive: the Monk having notice of it, retired & had cantonniz'd himself in some strong Castles he had purchased and provided, from whence he began to make War upon the Queen. He was reconciled and fell out again with her two or three several times, and as he apprehended the power of the Turk, he privately made an agreement with Ferdinand, and perswaded the Widow to restore Transilvania to him, upon conditions very advantageous both for him and the Pupil, if they had been observ'd. But soon after Ferdinand fearing this mans inconstancy, or rather that he would force him to make good what he had promised, sent word to John Baptist Castalda General of his Forces to make him away, which he Executed by the hands of some Assassines who went and Murthered him in a House of Pleasure to which he was retired.

Solyman could not suffer that Transilvania, for which John had rendred him Homage, should be possessed by Ferdinand. He powred a very numerous Army in upon that side, and almost totally Invaded it. The Imperailists did not fail to publish that the King of France had drawn him thither: but we find by the Memoirs of those times, that he did his utmost to dissuade him from making War in Hungary, because the common danger re-united all the German Princes with the Emperor, and it was his interest to divide them. And therefore he could rather have wished that Solyman would have made use of his Sea Forces, and landed in Puglia to facilitate an enterprize the French then had upon Sicily.

All these things make it evident that the King had firmly resolv'd to concern himself in the buliness of Parma, by other ways and means then mediation or accommodation, and that it was not the Dutcheffs of Valenois that made him enter upon that War, that there might be occasion to bestow some employment upon Brissac, whom she loved infinitely. It is true that at that Ladies request, or perhaps to keep him at distance and absent from her, he made him Governour of Piedmont in the place of John Caracciol Prince of Melfy, whom he recalled to Court; and to make up the Complement of good fortune for Brissac, it hap'ned that the said Prince returning into France, died at Suzza, and left a vacancy for a Marechal, which the King immediately conferr'd on him.

It sufficed the King to assist his Allies without directly breaking with the Emperour: wherefore he sent to Brissac to make use of some indirect means to that end. Brissac therefore disbanded a part of the Forces in Piedmont who had order to File away towards Parma over the Milanois under favour of the Truce two by two, sometimes three, without any weapons and by easie Journeys. Gonzague mistrusting the Craft and Contrivance, set Guards upon the ways, who Maltreated the greatest part of them, so that there came not above four or five hundred to Miranda, who went over by the Mountains at Genoa.

During this assay, the Pope strove to perswade the King to abandon the Duke of Parma, and the King endeavour'd to gain the Popes good Will that he might take him into his Protection. But as the first had sharply replied to the Kings Remonstrances, threatening him with his Ecclesiastical Thunder, the French Ambassador raising the Tone of his Voice, declared that the King would for no consideration whatever relinquish his Allies, especially the Duke of Parma. Moreover he protested that during those troubles he would not send his Bishops of France to Trent; that he did not own that Council to be general and Legitimate, but for a combination contriv'd and carried on for the interests of some particular people. This Declaration being made, he retired to his house, and soon after quitted Rome. Two Months afterwards James Amiot Abbot of Bellocane went on the Kings behalf to Trent, to make the very same protestations to that Assembly, which the King called *Confessus*, not *Concile*. The Prelates did however hold their Sessions, and made divers Decrees. The rumour of the Protestant Princes Army dispers'd it in the Month of April the following year.

In the mean time the King judged it the highest piece of folly to furnish the Enemy wherewith to make a War, forbid upon grievous penalties all his Subjects, to carry either Gold or Silver to Rome, or any other place under the obedience of the Pope: but at the same time he made a most severe Edict, Dated the Five

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and Twentieth of June at Chisteau-Briand, for the discovering and punishing the Religionaries in his Kingdom. Who observed from that very time, as they have experimented ever since, upon the like occasions, that no time can be so bad and rude to them, as when the Court of France is embroiled with that of Rome.

A little before this the Pope had sent into France Ascanius de la Coma his Sisters Son to make his last Essay to dissuade the King from protecting Parma and Miranda. Ascanius was received at the Court with the same civilities they give to Princes, and amused a long time with put offs, and delays, whilst those of Parma prepared themselves when he returned to Rome without having obtained any thing, Gonzague besieged Parma, and John Baptista de Monte the Popes Nephew Miranda. Thus the War was begun between the Pope and the King.

The Enemies being strongest in the Field, Horatio Duke of Castro, and Strozzi General of the Italian Bands, durst not go to attaque them: but they made such terrible havock about Bologna, that the Pope moved with the cries of his Subjects, sent to his Army to hasten to their assistance. Thus they raised the Seige, and fifteen days after they began it anew; but however with as little success as at the first time.

When Aramon had disposed Solyman to a rupture, he returned into France to get fresh and more punctual Orders. As he was going to Constantinople, he found the Turks Navy being put to Sea, had *En passant* taken and pillaged the Fort of Goza at Malta, and that they were gone to Besiege Tripoli in Barbary, which was held by the Knights of that Order. The grand Master prayed him to go and find out Sinan Bassa who commanded the Fleet, to divert him from it, and perswade him to the Besieging of Africa (or Mahadia) for the which he had express orders: but Sinan who knew this a more easie Prey and Conquest then the other, would not believe him, but kept him as it were by force, till the place had surrendered.

At the same time the Kings Navy consisting of near Forty Gallies, and commanded by the Prior of Gapoua, after they had cruised upon the Coasts of Spain, were come to block up Andrea Doria and the Emperors Gallies in Nice and in Villa-Franca. They might easily have forced him had not they fallen into a strange hurly-burly, (about I know not well what) amongst themselves, which made the Prior retire to Malta, under pretence of going to serve his Order, they being without a Chief. In the mean while Doria received a recruit of Men and Gallies, and by that means escaped the greatest danger he ever was in.

It appeared to the King that the Emperor was so embarras'd on all hands, as there could be no danger now in Marching against him with Ensigns display'd, for besides that he had the Turks on his back, the Princes of the Empire were upon their Guard against him, fearing least he should undermine their liberties and had openly refused to Elect his Son King of the Romans, because they would not have two at the same time. They had likewise declared that though his Brother should lay down that Title and Quality, as he endeavour'd to oblige him to do they would do nothing in it. Withal, he was in no good condition as to his health: repeating at that time his seventh Remedy by way of Dyet to rid him of his noxious and peccant humours; and there was great probability he would for the future be much more in his Bed, then on his Horse-back.

Taking therefore his measures hereupon, he resolved to a War against him, and sent to Brissac to begin the rupture in Piedmont, by taking of some places, to Francis de Cleves Duke of Newers that he should endeavour the like in Champagne, and to Anthony Duke of Vendosme to enter into Artois and Hainault. The Season was already far advanced, the two last only ranfack'd ten or twelve Leagues of those Countries, and raised some small Forts. Vendosme failed in a design upon Arras, which was discover'd by one of his Spies who had made himself drunk in a Tavern, but Brissac took Quiers and Saint Damian. At the noise of this Gonzague quitted the Siege of Parma, and assembling all his Forces near Ast, resolved to give him Battel: but the brave countenance of Brissac who presented it several times, made him of another mind.

At Sea*, the Baron de la Garde General of the French Gallies, having met with four great Ships freighted with rich Goods, took them; and in the Month of December the Count de Carces who commanded in his absence, pursued fourteen large Vessels, which were carrying the Goods and Furniture belonging to Ferdinand King of Hungary and the Queen his Wife, to the Port of Villa-Franca, and

* Otherwise
Capt. Paulin.

1551. and there fought them so resolutely that he made prize of every one of them, *Doria* who Convoy'd them with his Gallies, not daring to come near to assist them.

But on the *German* side there was something else contriving of much more importance. You may remember how the Emperor by a cavi rather besitting a little Cheat then a great Prince, had laid hands on the *Landgrave* of *Hesse*: he had kept him Prisoner now almost five years, the intercession of the *German* Princes, and Duke *Maurice* his Son in law, having been ineffectual to the obtaining his liberty. Notwithstanding the Emperor made use of *Maurice* to reduce the other Protestants; and that Prince had held *Magdeburgh* besieged almost a year, the only great imperial City remaining that had not yet bowed under the Yoke. The King being made acquainted of his inward discontent, Treated a League with him, with *Albret* Marquess of *Brandenburg* and some other Protestants. The Catholique Princes were glad, and lent a helping hand. It was concluded in the Month of *October* of the Year 1551. but was not ratified till the Month of *January* in 1552.

By this Treaty it was agreed that the King should send a great Army into *Germany* in the Spring; That he should pay certain Sums of Money to maintain that Army under *Maurice* and the other Confederates, and that to reimburse himself of these Charges, he should as soon as possible seize upon *Cambray*, or else *Mets*, *Toul* and *Verdun*, which he should keep in Quality of Vicar to the Empire.

Before the Year expired, the Holy Father growing weary of the War, was considering of an accommodation with the King, and sent one Legate to him, and another to the Emperor, to conjure them to hearken to a Peace. The Legate that came into *France* made several propositions. They all tended to the resigning *Parma* into the hands of his Holiness, who proffer'd to restore the Duchy of *Camerino* to *Ottavio*; they were not favourably received, because they were no ways advantageous to the interests of the King; for he did not so much regard the satisfaction of *Ottavio*, as the having the City of *Parma* at his own devotion, and by that means having footing again in *Italy*, traverse all the Emperors projects.

About the end of this Year, having no Money to defray the expenses of his War, he made divers Edicts in order to engage part of his Demeasnes, to create those Courts, or Seats of Justice named *Presidiaux*, to erect the *Chambre des Monnoyes* to a Sovereign Court. He also got Silver Plate of all such as would lend him any to convert it into *Testons*, which were Coyned in a certain new invented Mill made upon the *Seine*; and he levied an Impost of twenty Livers upon every Steeple, upon Jewels, and Church Fabricks, not excepting even the Mendicants. The Dutcheffs of *Valentinois*, as it was reported, had a good share of this Collection; However it were, some of the *Cordelier* and *Jacobin* Preachers could not hold their Tongues, and had made much more noise about it if they had not been chastised.

1552. At the same time the King and the Leagued Princes made both their *Manifesto's* and their Armes appear together. *Maurice* using much Craft and entertaining the Emperor with propositions of Peace, Marched with so much celerity, that he wanted but little of surprizing him at *Inspirk*. He was fain to escape by night very shamefully and much affrighted, flying to *Carinthia* even as far as the Frontiers of the *Venetians*, with so much dread, that for several days he knew not what he did.

The King on his side likewise took the Field. Before he went out of the Kingdom he went into his Parliament, where by an excellent discourse he recommended to them to have a great care of the Kingdom in his absence, and declared that he left the Regency to the Queen his Wife: but She would not let them versifie the Commission, because he had too much limited her Power, and had made the Chancellor *Bertrandi* almost equal in authority, a creature of the Dutcheffs of *Valentinois*.

The first thing he did, was to seize upon *Lorraine* and the young Duke *Charles*, Son of the Deceased Duke *Francis* and *Christierne* Sister to the Emperor; He brought him into *France* to be bred with the *Dausin*, and gave the Government of the Country to the Count *de Vandemont*; then he took the Cities of *Mets*, *Toul*,

Toul, and *Verdun*, who little suspected such a surprize. It was noised that the Emperor had the same Design, and that the King had only prevented him. Ever since this time those Cities have been under the *French*; and they owe that obligation to the Duke of *Guise* and the Cardinal his Brother, who did all that lay in their power to facilitate these Conquests, not regarding the inconvenience it would be to the head of their House; for the raising and settling their fortunes in this Kingdom made them have an interest quite different from his.

The Kings design was to have seized also upon *Alsacia*, his Army entred upon it, and refreshed themselves there: but the Citizens of *Strasbourg*, more jealous then those of *Mets*, stood upon their Guards, and sent him Provisions, to take away all pretence for his coming into their Town. *Haguenau* and *Visburg* opened their Gates to him.

In the mean time *Maurice*, who had restored almost all the Cities and Princes of *Germany* to their Liberties, fearing for his Father in Laws Head, which the Emperor threatned to send to him, if he accepted not of the conditions offer'd him, was obliged to hearken to a Peace. It was concluded by the Treaty of *Pashaw*, where besides the releasing of the *Landgrave*, many other things were allowed and agreed in favour of the Protestants. They may very justly call that Treaty the true Foundation of their Evangelick Liberty, which they have fully enjoy'd ever since that time: but shewed so little acknowledgment to the King, that there was not the least mention made of him, at which *Albert* of *Brandenburg* shewed himself very much concern'd and angry for some time, that he might have the better pretence to plunder and pillage. At first the King could not believe that *Maurice* had any thoughts of treating without him: but he was soon confirmed by an Envoy from that Prince himself, who came to make his excuses.

The Electors of *Ments* and *Triers*, and some other Princes of *Germany*, finding him penetrate so far, sent to entreat him, since he had no other design but to be the Protector of the German Liberty, and that they had recover'd it, not to undertake any thing against the Empire, nor to advance any further. He was a little surprized at this Compliment, and yet dissembled his displeasure; he answer'd them that he was very well content since they were so, and that his Arms had the effect they desired. Wherefore at the same instant that he might not distast them, and also having information that *Mary* Queen of *Hungary* Governess of the Low-Countries, ransack'd and burnt the Frontiers of *Champagne*; he took his way towards *France*: but first to have his revenge for the mischiefs that Queen had caused, he Marched into *Luxemburg* where he took *Rochemars*, *Danvilliers*, *Troy* and *Montmedy*, and the Mareschal de la *Mark* the Castle of *Bouillon*, which the Emperor had taken from his Grandfather one and thirty years before. After these exploits, and towards the end of *July*, he lodged his Men in Garrison on the Frontiers of *Picardy* to refresh them, and put them in a condition to withstand the great Effort for which the Emperor prepar'd himself.

Whilst he was yet in *Germany*, he had intelligence that his Agents had made a Truce for two years with the Pope: which assured the possession of *Parma* to the House of *Farnese*.

The greatest affront the Emperor could receive, was that in his time, and when he appeared to be most potent, the three Cities of *Mets*, *Toul* and *Verdun*, should be dismembred from the Empire. It concerned his reputation to regain them within the very same year, and to that end, he went about to raise the greatest Forces that ever he yet had in all his life, without considering, so much his passion hurried and transported him, that the Season was very far spent, and that neither his Men nor his own health which was very much impaired, would be able to endure the Rains, the Frosts and Snows. After he had therefore secretly agreed with *Albert*, he came and laid Siege to *Mets* the Eighteenth of *October* with an Army of an Hundred Thousand Men; and at the same time the Count *de Raux* entering *Picardy*, after having burnt *Noyon*, *Roye*, *Nesle*, *Chauny* and the Royal House of *Folembray*, assaulted *Hesdin* and took it by Storm: but the same year the Duke of *Vendosme* recover'd it.

The terror the *Parisians* were in lest the Count *de Raux* should come and sack their City, destitute of Defence or Forces, caused the King (to free them from the like apprehensions in time to come) to command it should be fortified on that side towards *Picardy*, but at the Charge of the Citizens.

1552.

The City of *Mets* was large, but weak and ill fortify'd, the Duke of *Guise* notwithstanding undertook to defend it against all the Emperors Forces. He was accompanied with a great number of Princes and Lords, and had with him all the Flower of the Nobility, and Five Thousand chosen Men. He was forced to his great grief to beat down all the Suburbs, and many fair * Churches that were in them; amongst others Saint *Arnolds*, to which was joyned an Abbey Royal, and wherein were to be seen the Monuments of seven or eight Princes of the *Corolovinian* House.

* Above 30
were beat
down both
without and
within the
Town.

As to the rest, the good order and Method he took concerning the Provisions, the Ammunitions, and the Guarding of the Place, his indefatigable care, his industry and his courage, gave the Emperor much more trouble then he imagined, and by making him limit there his *Ne plus ultra*, acquir'd that Duke a never dying Fame.

The faithless and artificious *Albert*, after he had some time entertain'd the *French*, (with intention to have surpriz'd *Mets*) declar'd himself openly for the Emperor, after his having surpriz'd the Duke of *Annule*: but the Siege advanced not the more for that. It lasted two Months with great damage, and breaches made by their Canon, yet durst not the Besiegers give an assault. In the mean time the severities of the Winter, and the tedious fatigues, joyned with the Valour of the *French*, did so ruine the Emperors Army, that having lost Thirty Thousand Men, he raised the Siege upon the first day of *January*, and retired to *Thionville*.

It was the most melancholly object in the World to see his Souldiers so benum'd with Cold, they had not so much as the strength to run away, but yielded themselves up to any that would take them. The *French* instead of beating out their Brains took care to warm them, and save their lives by all manner of comfortable Remedies. The Duke of *Guise* made his generosity appear no less on this occasion, then his Valour had before appeared in the Siege, he Vanquish't his Enemies in a manner by so much the more Noble and Glorious, as it made even those to Celebrate his Victory who were overcome by it.

Towards *Italy*, *Ferdinand de Sanseverina* Prince of *Salerno*, having been ill treated by *Peter de Toledo* Vice-Roy of *Naples*, had put the King upon thoughts of a Design against that Kingdom, assuring him that as soon as the *French* Army appeared near *Naples*, the City would rise. To do this the King caused the Famous Corsair *Dragut* to go upon those Coasts and chase away the Gallies of *Andreas Doria* from that Port, which he performed having pursued him and taken seven of his Vessels. If the Prince of *Salerno* to whom the King had lent his own, had been there at this time of their consternation, he might certainly have entred into *Naples*: but not arriving till three weeks after, *Dragut* returned discontented to *Barbary*, and the Design mis-carried.

So long as this War lasted, *Solyman* failed not every year to send a Naval Force to assist the King in his Attempts. Those always did great mischief upon the Coasts of *Sicilia* and *Naples*: but brought little advantage to the *French*, only the hindring of *Doria* from molesting of *Provence*, and giving them trouble at *Siena*, and in the Island of *Corsica*.

As to the Affairs of *Piedmont*, though *Ferdinand de Gonzague* after the Truce made between the King and the Pope, had withdrawn and joyned to his Army all the Forces he had in the Dutchy of *Parma*: nevertheless he did nothing all that Spring besides the taking three or four petty places; for which *Brissac* had his revenge by the surprizing of *Alba*, a place very important, and by the Conquest of *Verrue* and some other places.

The King wanted some Post or Place in the midst of *Italy* and on the Sea-Coast, to keep the Pope in awe and fear, to make it his rendezvous from whence he might attaque the Kingdom of *Naples*, and to receive the *Turkish* Navies. They chose *Sienna* for this purpose, situate in *Tuscany*, and possessed of a Territory of fifteen or sixteen Miles about it, wherein there were twelve or fifteen small Towns. They had hitherto governed themselves as a Republick under protection of the Emperor: but were divided into four Factions, mortal Enemies to each other. During their Division, *Hurtado de Mendoza*, whom the Emperor had settled there for Governor, perswaded the silly people to build a Citadel, to defend and preserve their liberty from all invasions of the Gentry, and Ambushes of the Duke of *Florence*, who was indeed ready to fall every hour upon them, had he not feared to offend the Emperor.

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When he had thus curbed them, he began to exercise an insupportable Tyranny as well upon the one as the other. They durst not openly kick at him; but made their Addresses to the King, and put themselves under his Protection, by means of the Cardinal de *Tournon* who was at that time retired to *Venice*. The King sent Three Thousand Men to *Encas Piccolomini*, *Martin Bandin*, and two more *Sienois* to deliver their Country, or rather to bring it under his own power. *Nicholas de Ursini* Count de *Petigliani*, having set open his Castle to them, which was almost the only passage into the Country, they drove the *Spaniards* out of *Sienna*, razed the Citadel, and seized upon all the places of that Seignory, excepting *Orbitello*, whither the *Spaniards* made their Escape.

Soon after the King sent the Cardinal of *Ferrara* thither in Quality of his Lieutenant-General, and then *Paul de Termes* to Command his Army under the Authority of that Cardinal. *Termes* in a short time drew Twelve Thousand Foot together for the defence of that Seignory, and carefully stored all the places.

No sooner was the Spring come, when the Emperor desiring to revenge the affront he had received at *Mets*, caused *Terouane* to be assaulted. All the people of the Low Countries out-vied each other and contributed their utmost, to ridd themselves, said they, of a Wolf which lay in the midst of their Sheep-Fold. *Deffe* defended the place: when he was slain, *Francis de Montmorency* the Constables Son, took up the Command, he defended it yet a while, but the *Ramparts* being beaten to Dust by 142000 Canon-shot, while he was capitulating without having first made any Truce, the Enemies forced those that kept the Breach, and put all to the Edge of the Sword, even to the very Children. Immediately the City was demolished by the *Flemmings* to the last Stone. The *Spaniards* saved the Governor and a few other Captains, in acknowledgment of the Noble Usage they had found from the Duke of *Guise* at *Mets*. The Lands belonging to its Bishoprick were afterwards shared between those of *Boulogne* and Saint *Omers*. Nothing is left of it now, but some few Foot-steps of its Situation which may still be seen.

At his departure thence the Emperor gave the Conduct of his Army to *Emanuel Philibert* Son of *Charles* Duke of *Savoy*. This young Prince did from that time strive to render himself worthy by his vertues to recover what Fortune had taken away from his Father. He signalized his first and maiden attempt by the taking of *Hesdin*. The Marechal *Robert de la Mark* who had undertaken to defend it with a great number of young Lords, as little skilful as himself in the Art of defending such a Place, not knowing how to resist the thund'ring of the Canon, demanded to capitulate. Whilst they were treating, a Priest from within intending to do some exploit with a Granado, by misfortune set fire to a Mine, which made a large Breach in the Wall. *Horatio Farnese* Duke of *Castro* was buried in the Ruines with Fifty more; the Imperialists made an assault there and forced the Castle, the Garrison was cut in pieces, *la Mark* made Prisoner, with many Lords and other Officers, and the place wholly razed.

The King imagining those places would have held out much longer, had wasted all the Spring and part of the Summer in Balls and Carousals at the Marriage of his Bastard Daughter with *Horatio Farnese*, so that his Army came but late into the Field. When it was joyned near *Amiens* with that under the Constable, it consisted of Fifty Four Thousand Foot under One Hundred and Fourteen Ensigns, of Ten Thousand Horse, and one Hundred Pieces of Canon. With all this mighty Force, he did nothing but follow the Duke of *Savoy* from place to place, to endeavour to bring him to a battel. He could not besiege *Bapaume*, because there was no water near it. The Inhabitants had fill'd and cover'd up all the Wells round the Country. From thence he went to attempt the City of *Cambray*, by some Volées of Canon-shot; they would very willingly have been set at liberty: but this would only have changed the Yoak, and therefore they held it as good to be under the Emperor still. The Constables sickness, contracted by his fatigue, or vexation that he could do no feats with so gallant an Army, put an end to this Campagne.

Piedmont was like a School of War where the *French* and *Spaniards* exercised themselves in divers Combats, Enterprizes, and Besieging of small places: but

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without any so considerable success as to decide their disputes. The Marechal de Brissac had established so exact a Discipline, that the Soldier even in a Conquer'd Country, durst not take the least thing away without the good will of the owner. The ransome were settled on either side, according to the quality and office of the party taken. No War was made either against Husbandman or Merchant, but only upon such as bore Arms. The Peasant ploughed and reaped between the two Camps, and with folded armes would stand quietly at his own Door and see them fight in Parties, and cut one anothers Throats fairly in the midst of his Village.

Charles Duke of Savoy, having lost all hopes of being restored to his Estates, found no other end of his misfortunes but in that of his life, which ended at Vercel the sixteenth of September: a Prince debonaire, frank, liberal, just, fearing God, and who perhaps had not been altogether so unfortunate, could he have been a Man of less honesty.

We shall hereafter pursue the War of Sienna: but in the mean time we say it was the occasion of that of Corsica. This Island was very proper to hinder the passing of any Forces from *Milanois*, which were embarked at *Genoa* to be transported to *Tuscany*. The Banished who were in great numbers, especially *John Petro de Bastelica d'Ornano*, put this design into the French-Mens heads, and introduced them into most places of the Island. The pretence was that the King, as Sovereign Lord of *Genoa*, whereof *Corsica* was a dependance, had a right to it, and that the *Genoese* had not only favoured the Emperor, but likewise had committed several Acts of Hostility against *France*. The City of *Boniface*, which is the Capital of that Island, resisted a long time, and stoutly, at the end they capitulated. *Dragut Rais* had put Six or Seven Thousand *Turks* ashore to assist *Paul de Termes*, who Commanded for the King, in making that Siege, after which he re-embarked. As soon as he was gone, *Andrea Doria* regained all those places before Winter came, excepting *Boniface* and Two or Three more.

France and England held pretty good Correspondence, when Death cut the Throat of young King Edward's Days. It was believed to proceed from a slow Poyson, and John Dudley Duke of Northumberland was suspected Guilty of that Crime, he having suggested to him to institute Jane of Suffolk for Heiress to the Crown; however when Queen Mary brought him to his Tryal, that was no Article of his Accusation. This Jane was Grand-Daughter by the Mother to Mary Sister of Henry the VIII. and was Married to this Dukes Son.

Now from what cause soever proceeded the Malady of *Edward*, it is certain that the foresaid Duke and the Emperor, each for himself, took their measures upon his approaching death. For the Emperor began to make applications for the Princess *Mary*, who by the last Will of King *Henry VIII.* was to succeed to the Crown; and the Duke being pushed on with the Ambition to have his Son Reign, or out of an apprehension that *Mary* would turn all things up-side down, as being a Catholic: perswaded young *Edward* that being in Majority, (after the Mode of the Kings of *France*, who are so at thirteen years and a day old) he might dispose of the Succession, by naming a person who was of the Blood, especially since the right of *Mary* and *Elizabeth* was doubtful, those Princesses not passing currently for Legitimate.

The King of *France* advertised of the Emperors proceedings, and the Designs of the Duke of *Northumberland*, believed it his own interest to support the latter: he therefore sent an Ambassador to *Edward*, who encouraged and confirmed the Duke in the pursuit of his project, and indeed he went thorough with it; And at first there was some likelihood of a happy Issue, for according to the last Will of King *Edward*, and the Opinion of the Great Officers who are ever of the same mind as their Sovereign, *Jane* was designed and appointed to be Queen, and after the Death of *Edward* proclaimed and received in the Tower of *London*, and *Mary* being the weaker retired into the County of *Northumberland*.

But as the people of Ranks and Degrees in the Kingdom were displeased at the great wrong done hereby to the Lawful Heirs, and the Spanish Gold and Catholic Party stirred them mightily against it: a world of the Nobility and

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Soldiery flocked from all quarters to *Mary*. So that when the Duke of *Northumberland* Marched with some Forces to go and take her, and disperse those Assemblies, it happened that the same Officers and Counsellors of State who had allotted the Crown to *Jane*, took and held her Prisoner: after which most of those that were with the Duke forsook him, and some that staid seized upon his person and carried him to *London*.

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Some time after *Mary* came thither and made her entrance into the Tower, the possession whereof was then necessary to such as were to be owned Kings of *England*. When She was once absolute Mistress, She cemented her Throne with the Blood of *Jane*, her Husbands, her Fathers, and almost all her Kindred; and after that She spilt much more to restore the Catholick Religion: which brought the Estate into such Convulsions as had like to prove mortal, and all for an advantage of a short duration.

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The more She established and fixed her Authority, the more *Philip* Prince of *Spain*, pressed the consummation of his Marriage with her. Though She had very great imperfections both of Body and Mind, being infirm, ugly and old, nevertheless he had conceived some love, not for her Person, but for her Kingdom. On the contrary, the King turned every Stone in private and laid every rub in his way to prevent him from attaining his ends: but *Philip's* Party acting more bare-faced and with the charming Power of Money, proved stronger than all those private obstacles the King could contrive against it. So that he was betrothed by Proxy the Ninth of *June*, and himself passing over into that Country with Six Thousand Soldiers, Married her the Five and Twentieth of *July*; a day he expressly designed, as being the Feast of Saint *James* the Patron of *Spain*. He staid in *England* till the Month of *April* of the following year, and was Spectator of the Tragick Actions of his Wife to revenge her self for the Conspiracies were hatched hourly against her, some upon the score of her Religion, others in hatred of her Marriage.

All this year till the Month of *June*, there had been as it were a tacite suspension of Arms between the King and the Emperor: during which Cardinal *Pool* near of kindred to *Mary*, whom the Pope was sending to *England* as his Legate to re-establish the Catholique Religion, had undertaken to Treat the Peace. He had got both their words, that they would reciprocally lay aside many of their pretensions: but when the Bell was to be sounded, each of them stood up stiffer and at a greater distance then ever before. The Emperor would willingly have accepted of a Truce, and it would have been very advantageous to him, by giving the Low-Countries time to settle, and if we may so say, to foulder themselves with *England*: but for the same reasons it was not so to the King; and moreover his Honour nor Interest would allow him to suffer the *Siennois* to be excluded, as the Emperor did absolutely require.

Besides, he had Information that the Emperor was very much indisposed both in Body and Mind, that the Gout had deprived him of the use of one Arm, and contracted the Sinews of one Leg, that the same cause that made him impotent in his Members, joyned to the bad success of his Affairs, and perhaps complicated with some reliëts of his Mothers Frenzy, had so invaded his Brain, that he could seldom sleep, and did nothing else almost by day and night, but take Clocks and Watches asunder, and put them together again, his Chamber being full of them. Upon these reports, which were for the most part true, the King thought he should have an easy bargain of it, and took a resolution of carrying the War into his Country.

He therefore set on Foot an Army of Fifty Thousand Men, and divided them into three Bodies, Commanded one by the Constable, another by the Duke of *Vendosme*, and the third by the Marechal de *Saint André*; the two last having taken some Forts of little concern, joyned with the Constable before *Mariburgh* which had surrendered to him.

Some years before *Mariburgh* was but a little Village where Queen *Mary* made her Rendezvous for hunting. The Situation seemed so pleasant and so convenient to her, that She built a new Town there. The King having it in his hands went on to fortify it; and to make the Road more secure from thence to the little City of *Maubert-Fontaine*, which is the nearest towards *France*, he likewise fortified the Village of *Rocroy*.

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After he had well provided for *Marienburg*, he went and joyned the Duke of *Nevers*, who had pierced through all the *Ardennes*; he met him near *Givets*, these are two Burroughs so named just opposite to each other upon the Banks of the *Meuse*. From thence he went to Besiege *Bovines* whilst the Duke Besieged *Dinan*. *Bovines* was sacked for having dared to withstand an assault of an Army Royal; *Dinan* capitulated and they put Two Thousand Men in there to preserve it from the violence of the skulking Souldiers: but in the night the *Germans*, angry they were robb'd of their Pillage, scaled the Walls, broke open the Gates, and put both the Garrison and Inhabitants to the edge of the Sword. Perhaps they were not overmuch concerned at it, because they had returned a brutish and most insolent Answer, when they were Summoned on behalf of the King.

Then the Emperor finding himself much better in health, takes the Field: the King desiring to engage him in Battel, assaults, forces and razes a great number of Towns and Castles, *Maubege*, *Bavay* famous for its Antiquity, *Mariemont* a Castle of pleasure of Queen *Marie*, and the little City of *Bins* with the magnificent Castle which She had built. He caused these two last places to be burnt, to be reveng'd for their having set fire to his Royal House of *Folembray*. There was a personal hatred betwixt these two for certain slighting and spiteful words, and I know not what kind of Songs which had been made on either side.

After he had thus over-run and ravaged *Brabant*, *Hainault*, *Cambresis*, and the Country of *Namur*, he entred upon *Artois* and Besieged the Castle of *Renty*, which did great injury to the Country of *Boulogne*. The Emperor came to relieve it, and to put some into the place with the more ease, would have seized upon a Wood the situation whereof must have been of great advantage to him. Upon this followed a sharp Fight which was on the thirteenth of *August* between the Villages of *Marque* and *Fauquemberg*, where the conduct and courage of the Duke of *Guise*, who was engaged in it, did signalize it self above all the other Chiefs. The Emperor having the worst of it, was advised to sound a retreat. Some pieces of his Canon and Two Thousand of his Men remained in the Field of Battel. However the King for want of Provisions, raised the Siege, and after he had sent once more to desie the Emperor, discharged a part of his Army and returned to *Paris*, giving what Souldiers were left to the Duke of *Vendosmes* Charge.

This Prince had no little task to cover the Frontiers, for the Enemy who were thought to be gone into Winter Quarters, took the Field again, and made a shew of Besieging *Dourlens*, then *Abbeville* ransacked the Country as far as *Saint Riquier*, from thence went up along the River of *Autie*, and feigning to have their Eye upon *Montreville*, set themselves upon fortifying the Village of *Mesnil* which lies in a Marsh, upon the little River of *Canche*, a little beneath old *Hesdin* which they had demolished the year before. The Duke of *Savoy* would have it called *Hesdin-Fert* *, adding to the name of the place the Devise of his House, to make known that he was the Founder of it.

This Campagne ended the exploits of the Emperor. He was too much wasted and weakened by continual defluxions, to be any longer capable of undergoing those fatigues, and make head against a youthful King whom he always found on Horseback. Besides the mis-understanding that was between him and his Brother, gave him much more trouble than his distemper and corporal pain. This younger Brother, besides that he was not contented with his share, but demanded some augmentation, was in great wrath that he had mow'd the Grass under the Feet of his Son *Maximilian* King of *Bohemia* in the design he had to get *Mary* Queen of *England*: for the Emperor had pretended to aid him, and in the mean time got her for his own Son *Philip*. This wrangling went so far, that *Maximilian's* Nephew had like to have made War upon him; He fought the Alliance of the *German* Princes for this very purpose, and hearkned to the Kings Envoyez who proffer'd him his. However the mediation of their common friends appeased that Domestique Quarrel.

The same night the Battel of *Renty* was fought, came news to the Camp of the Battel at *Mercian* in *Siemois*, which much allayes the Emperors trouble and grief, and the joy of the *French*. Now before we speak of this Event we must in gross relate the success of that War. At the beginning the Duke of *Florence*, who

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equally feared the Imperialists and the *French*, and would prevent the ruine of his Country, had sought to find a *Medium* to compose the difference; which was out, that *Sienna* should remain free in its dependance on the Empire, and amity with *France*. But the Pope whose Interest he made use of, did not act cordially. The Holy Fathers aim was to bring that Estate under the power of the Emperor, because he made him, or at least left him room to believe and hope that he would invest *Fabian* Son of his Brother *Baldwine* with it: therefore of his own head he added one condition to those of the Duke of *Florence*, which he well knew the *Siemois* would never accept; which was; that a Cardinal, to be named by him, should be put into the City, to serve as Chief for that Republique, with a Garrison of Twelve Hundred Men.

The Emperor on his part was not sorry this Negotiation broke off, that he might have an employment for *Peter de Toledo*, and remove him from being Vice-Roy of *Naples*, where his ill Conduct had caused most dangerous Tumults about the businels of the Inquisition. This Lord had not been a Month in *Tuscany* but he died: *Garfias* his Son took the Command of the Imperial Army, Duke *Cosmo* having refused it.

Paul de Termes Commanded then in that Country for the King. The Imperialists having Twenty Thousand Foot in that Mountainous Region, gained most of the places, as well along the Sea-shore as the Valley of *Chianna*: but they got nothing but Blows at *Montalcini*. Thereupon they had notice the *Turk* Fleet was at Sea, and that on the other hand *Brissac* had gained great advantages in *Piedmont*; this news obliged them to send back the best part of their Forces to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and into *Milanois*.

Cosmo was much astonished: he saw himself forsaken by the Imperialists, after he had broken with the King. It was believed he would then willingly have complied, had they known how to press him in that juncture: but they gave him time to recover himself of his first fears, and resolve to stand it out come what would.

In which he was the more confirmed, for that the great *Turkish* Fleet Commanded by *Dragut* and joyned with the *French* Gallies, of whom the Baron de *la Garde* was General, having made a descent upon the Coasts, and in the Island of *Elbe*, took only some little places, and durst not attaque either *Piombino* which is on the *Terra-firma*, nor the Fortrefs of *Porto-Ferrario* which he had built in the Island. From thence that *Armada* passed to *Corfica* carrying thither *Termes* and the greatest part of the *French* Commanders and Nobility who quitted *Sienna*, imagining there was no further danger.

These passages hap'ned in the Year 1553. but in 1554. the King sent thither *Peter Strozzi*, newly made Marechal upon the Death of *Annebaut*, to Command his Forces in the place of *Paul de Termes*. This employment was procured him by the Queen to whom he was related, but by obliging her Cousin she ruined the Kings Affairs. For as *Strozzi* was a mortal Enemy to the *Medicis*, *Cosmo* fancied he had expressly made choise of him to renew the intrigues for the liberty of the *Florentines*, and to encourage them to shake off their Yoke, so that being exasperated to the highest degree, he observed no measures, but openly declared against the *French* and against *Sienna*.

The Cardinal of *Ferrare* who had the intendance General of the Government for the King at *Sienna*, took likewise some umbrage and Jealousie at this Marechals Arrival, who notwithstanding endeavour'd to condescend to him in all things: infomuch that from that Minute, he grew very careless, neglected to carry on those practices and negotiations *France* then had, as well at *Rome*, as with the other Princes of *Italy*, and let slip all those means and opportunities wherewith they might have kept things still in very good order and condition.

Cosmo had chosen for General of his Forces *John Jacques Medequin* Marquis of *Marignan*, who embraced this opportunity to make the World believe he was of the House of the *Medicis*, though he were but the Son of a *Malcoftier*, or Tax-gatherer. Having invested *Sienna* by the taking of several small places round about it, The Emperor remanded him to give him the Government of *Milan*, which he took from *Ferdinand de Gonzague*. The Duke had much ado to get lieve to keep this General with him till the Siege were over. The Emperor therefore substituted *Gomez de Figueroa* in the stead of *Gonzague*; who being

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ing fitter for a States-Man then a Soldier, suffer'd the Affairs of *Piedmont* to decline very much.

The first three Months the Duke of *Florence* had the disadvantage: *Afcanius de la Corne* one of his Commanders, thinking to surprize *Clusio* lost Twelve Hundred Men, and was made Prisoner by a double dealing intelligence; *Strozzi* defeated *Medequin* in a *Ren-contre* near *Petia*, where he slew him Two Thousand Men; Then having received a great re-inforcement brought him by *Ottavia Farnese* and the Count de *Miranda*, he regained one of the Bastions of *Sienna* which *Malatesta* had surprized by treachery, and ransacked over all the Dukes Country to the very Gates of *Florence*.

But this fortune changed immediately: *Leo* his Brother who was just Arrived with Twelve Gallies, with which he lay at *Port-Hercule* expecting a re-inforcement that was to come from *Provence*, was slain by a shot from behind a Hedge, as he was viewing the ill favour'd Castle of *Scarlin*. Then himself coming to relieve *Marcian* besieged by *Medequin*, lost a Battel near that City. The fault was laid upon his presuming to make a retreat in the open day-light before an Enemy stronger then himself, the cowardize of the Count de *la Miranda*, who fled at the beginning with all the Cavalry whom he commanded as Colonel, and the treachery of some *Italian* Companies of his Van-Guard who proved to be Turn-Coats. He escaped to *Montalieu*, where he rallied up what he could of those shatter'd Forces, and did yet give the *Florentines* a great deal of trouble.

He had intreated the King to let him have some good Officer to be his Second, particularly to Govern the City of *Sienna*; He sent him *Blaise de Montluc*, whether of his own Choice, or named by the *Guises*; which was the ruine of that Republique, for the Constable considering him as the Creature of his adversaries, did not care he should Succeed, and so sent no relief that way. He came into that Country much about the time when *Leo* was slain before *Scarlin*.

During all this Reign there were divers changes made amongst the Officers of the Finance and Judicature, and great number of Creations, all to get Money, the thirty Ministers inclining the King to draw the purest Blood of the Nation to satisfy their greedy appetite. The Parliament of *Paris* seemed to have too much power, and sometimes opposed their injustice, they made it *Semestre*, (that is one half to sit and attend Six Months, and then the other, alternately) and almost doubled the number of the Judges, who till then were not above one Hundred, taking in the Six Masters of Requests, and the Twelve Dukes and Pairs. The Edict for this was not verified, and yet it took place: but within three years after, when they had sold all those new Offices, they suffer'd the two parts to be joyned again in one.

By another Edict they augmented the number of the Kings Secretaries, who were Sixscore already (that is to say, more by half than was necessary) and added Fourscore, so that in all there were Two Hundred.

By another, yet, they set up a Parliament in *Bretagne*, composed of four Presidents, two and thirty Counsellors, two Registers, two Advocates, and an Attorney for the King. They divided it into two *Semestres**, in one of which the Officers were necessarily to be Natives of that Province.

Necessity extorted from the Ministers, for those of *Guyenne*, what compassion towards those people had never been able to obtain. Observing there was a great deal of danger, and yet a much greater expence in settling the *Gabelle* in that Province, they took it off, but constrained the people to pay Twelve Hundred Thousand Crowns to redeem themselves from that vexation.

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After the rebuke received by *Strozzi* at *Marcian*, the Marquis de *Marignan* being Master of the Field, took most of the places belonging to that little State, and laid a formal Siege to *Vienna*, which he had before invested. *Blaise de Montluc* kept up the Spirits of the *Siennois*, and withstood the Attakes of the Enemies near Eight Months, as he particularly relates in his Memoires, and Commentaries. At length his provisions failing, extreme Famine forced him to capitulate. This was upon the One and Twentieth of *April*.

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The Treaty contained, that they should enjoy their Goods, Liberty, and Republique in all security: but the Emperor failed them in his promise and faith,

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faith, he soon subjugated and fetter'd that unfortunate City, and gave it to his Son *Philip*, who in *Anno* 1558. yielded it to the Duke of *Florence*, retaining only the maritime places. And indeed the chief Citizens foreseeing or gursing the Imperialists would not make good the Treaty, went out with the *French* Garrison, to the number of Eight or Nine Hundred, and retired to *Montalcino*. In that City they chose them Magistrates, and preserved the Form of their Republick, till the time of the Peace betwixt *France* and *Spain*, in the year 1559.

Brissac Besieged *Valsenieres* in *Piedmont*, and the *Spaniards* were in the Field to relieve it, when the Battel of *Marcian* was fought. The news thereof heightened the courage of the Enemies very much, and it was to be fear'd it might cast a great damp upon the Spirits of the *French*; so that he found fit, by the advice of his Council of War, to raise the Siege.

Some time afterwards, having given the Enemy a repulse, and thinking he had put all *Piedmont* in a condition of safety, at least for some Months, he formed a great design. It was to have gone straight forward resolutely to *Sienna* with a Body of Eight Thousand Foot, (he had Fifteen or Sixteen Thousand of the best in the World) to fall immediately upon the Besiegers, and force one of their Quarters to put Provisions into the City. But the jealousy his great reputation gave to those that Govern'd the Kings Mind, would not permit him to execute so brave an exploit. The Constable, though related to him, did not wish him well, he having obtained the Government of *Piedmont* by the Craft of the Dutcheffs of *Valentinois*, and without his knowledge, nay even in despite of him, who was then upon the point of endeavouring to have it for his Nephew *Gaspard de Coligny Chastillon*. The Duke of *Guise* highly esteemed him, and yet as the brave cannot well endure one another, he very often took occasion to quarrel, and thwart him; Thus to ruine his reputation and fame, they ruin'd the Kings Affairs in *Piedmont*.

And yet all these obstructions could not hinder him from taking this year *Vercel* and *Ivree*, nor when he had fortified *Saint Ia*, from completing a design he had contrived upon *Casal*, by the intelligence of a School-master, whom the desire of Gain had wrought upon to shew them a certain place where they might scale it. It was upon a Shrove-tide Festival, when *Figuerba*, and all the Nobility of the *Spanish* Army were come thither to make a Caroufel. The City being taken *Figuerba* cast himself into the Citadel: the Marechal caused it immediately to be batter'd, and in a few days forced it to capitulate.

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Queen *Mary* and the Cardinal *Pool* her Cousin, fearing lest the quarrel betwixt the two Kings should embroil the *English* in a War, earnestly desired to procure a Peace between them. Their great instances engaged them to send Deputies betwixt *Calais* and *Ardres* to treat. They Arrived there the one and twentieth of *May*. For their accommodation several Tents were set up, containing a large Hall in the midst of them, having four Gates, one to the East for the Popes Legates, one at the West part for the *English* Ambassadors, one in the South for those of *France*, and one on the North for the Emperors. The two Princes, according to the Proposals made by the *English*, agreed well enough about the referring all their differences to the judgment of the Council: but the King declaring he would not restore the Duke of *Savoy* till the Emperor surrendered up *Navarre* to *Jane d' Albret*, and *Piacenza* to the *Farneses*, the Assembly broke up without concluding any thing.

Neither the one nor the other were very well prepared for a War, so that this Summer past without any great exploits. The Imperial Army after several Marches and Skirmishes, employ'd themselves in fortifying the Burrough of *Corbigny* upon the *Meuse*, which they named *Philip-Ville*. *Martin Van Rossen* Marechal of *Cleves* who commanded it dying of the Plague, the Prince of *Orange* succeeded him in that employ.

Beyond the *Alpes*, after the capitulation of *Siena*, they likewise took the *Port-Hercule*. The *French* succeeded ill at the Siege of *Calvi* in *Corfica*. The Marechal de *Brissac* took *Vulpian*, and though but little assisted by the Court, made head bravely against the Duke d' *Alva* who succeeded *Figuerba*. This Duke could bring Five and Twenty Thousand Men into the Field; notwithstanding he received an affront before *Saint Ia*, being forced to raise his Siege.

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The Five and Twentieth day of May Henry d' Albret King of Navarre died at Hagetmar in Bearn. The King had a great desire to seize upon the rest of that petty Kingdom, and to give Anthony de Bourbon, who had Married the Heire's some Lands in exchange: but Anthony hast'ned to go and take possession of it, and his Wife found means to preserve it, notwithstanding the perswasions and treachery of her Officers. The King was so fretted at it, that he dismembred Languedoc from his Government of Guyenne, to bestow it on the Constable; he refused to give that of Picardy, which Anthony surrendered upon his going away to Lewis Prince of Condé his Brother, and gratify'd Coligny with it.

After his departure, it hapned that la Jaille being gone to make incurfion in Artois with a party of the Arriere-band, was upon his return cut in pieces by Hausimont Governor of Bapaume; a slight shock which yet so terrified the French that they put their Men in Garrisons.

About the same time the Diepois having Information that two and twenty great Flemish Vessels were returning from Spain loaden with rich Goods, went and laid in wait for them about Dover, and not staying to fire at them, went directly aboard. Their Vessels were little and low, the other large and high built, so that they maul'd them with Shot and Granado's from above. The Fight lasted six hours hand to hand, at length some of them took Fire which burnt half a dozen of either Ships, and parted them sooner then otherwise they would have done.

Jane Queen of Spain, Widdow of Philip the Fair, and Mother of the Emperor Charles V. died in Spain the Twelfth of April, Aged 73 years. She had been lock'd up as one distracted ever since the death of Philip her Husband, however the Estates still reserved the Title of Queen of Spain for her, which in all publick instruments was joyned with that of the Emperor her Son.

This Great Prince finding his Body grown weak, and his head crazy, not being any longer able to support either the heavy burthen of worldly Affairs, nor his own decayed Cottage, Resolved in a Council of Women, (these were his two Sisters) to renounce his Sovereignty. Having therefore sent for his only Son Philip King of England to come to him, to whom the year before upon his Marriage, he had already given the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicilia, and since that also the investiture of the Duchy of Milan: he assembled the Estates of the Low-Countries at Brussels the Five and Twentieth of October, and there he Created him first Chief of the Order of the Fleece, then he resigned up those Provinces to him. A Month after in the same City in presence of the Governors and Deputies of his other Estates whom he had called thither for that purpose, he yielded up and remitted to him all other his Kingdoms and Seigneories, as well in Europe as in the new World. He had nothing now left him but the Empire, which he held yet a year, hoping to oblige his Brother Ferdinand to resigne that up likewise to his Son.

In the Month of March of this same year, Pope Julius III. ended his life, Marcel II. who was Elected in his place, held it but one and twenty days, and they Elected the Cardinal John Peter Caraffa, Aged fourscore and one year old. He was Son of the Count de Maralone in the Kingdom of Naples, and they called him Theatin, because he had been Archbishop of Theati, and had there instituted the Order of Clerc's Regulars who took their name from that City. Many, because of the resemblance of the habit, have confounded the * Jesuits with them.

His religious life and austere manners, which made the World affraid of a severe reformation, were immediately changed into a proud and a luxurious huffing vanity. He was of a haughty heart and a stubborn Spirit, and yet suffer'd himself to be circumvented by his Nephews, and led any way as they pleased. Amongst the rest, he had two Sons of his Brothers, these were Charles who had born Arms for the French under the Marechal Strozzi, and Alphonso Count de Montorio, greatly desirous to raise themselves; the first very proud and rash, the second more mild and moderate. To this he gave the Government of the Church Lands, and to the other a Cardinals Hat. The Uncle and the Nephews, for divers injuries received, hated the Spaniards, and by a necessary consequence all those of that party, especially the Duke of Florence and the House of the Colonnas, who besides all this have ever been averse to the power of the Popes.

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Being therefore prompted by this repentment, and that spirit so ordinary in many of the Papal Nephews, which is to create quarrels with every one that hath but any Lands that lie conveniently for them, that they may dispossess them and get into their Seats, they attack'd the one and the other. It then hap'ned that the Count de Santa Fiore Chief of the House of the Sforza's, seeing Sienna was surrendred, and the power of the French much enfeebled on that side the Hills, drew two of his Brothers out of the French Service, Charles one of the two by a notorious piece of Treachery, had caused three of the Kings Gallies to be brought to Civita-Vecchia, and his Brother Alexander pretending he had bought them of him, seized them and convey'd them to Naples, having gotten them out from thence by the invention of the Cardinal Sforza his Brother who surprized a Letter from the Count de Montorio to the Governour of the City, containing an order that they should suffer them to go forth.

His Holiness thought himself extremely offended at this Violence committed in one of his own Ports; and at the same time the Cardinal Caraffa shew'd him undeniable Evidence, (whether such as he had really discovered, or whether he had contrived them himself to engage them to a quarrel) of a horrible Conspiracy framed by the Spaniards against his Holiness; which much encreased the old Gentlemans choller. The Cardinal Caraffa having buzzed this in his Brain, caused Camilla Colonna to be put in Prison, accused for having tamper'd in this damnable Design, open'd the Pacquets of the Duke d' Alva, where he attested he had found good proofs of it, stop't an Envoy of Philip King of Spain's, raised Soldiers, and by fore seized upon Palliana and Neptuna, places which belonged to the Colonnas.

In this juncture a favourable opportunity presented for the recovery of Sienna, the scarcity of Provision was such that the people were raving mad for hunger, and whatever care the Duke of Florence could take to send Wheat thither, they could hardly get enough for fifteen days. So that if the Pope had but lent his Forces to the French, and those had joyned with such as they had in Garrisons, and that Octavio Farnese who Commanded some Forces for the King in Tuscany, would but have gone heartily about it, they might infallibly have regained that City, by only carrying of bread to those unfortunate inhabitants. But Mendoza, who at that time acted a Vice-Roy of Naples, expecting the Arrival of the Duke of Alva, approaching the Frontiers of the Church with Ten Thousand Men, the Pope was so much frighted, that he chose some Cardinals to endeavour to make a Peace between the two Crowns; and in the mean time commanded Octavio to dismiss the Forces he had at Castro and Petigliana which caused Octavio, who was retired to Parma, to quit the service of the French, make a Treaty with the Emperor by the mediation of the Duke of Alva, and send the Collar of the Order back to the King.

The Holy Father would perhaps have rested there, if the Cardinal Nephew by force of Arguments, representing those outrages the Spaniards had offer'd, and perswading him that both his own person and all his House were in danger to be destroy'd by the cruel Treacheries of those Renegado Apostates, had not made him take a resolution of Excommunicating, and declaring War against them, though he had neither Soldiers, nor Friends, nor Money, and at most but two or three years of life, without either Strength or Vigour. And thus it is, the Popes are sometimes the Victims of their Nephews, and for their sakes, sacrifice their quiet, the Treasures of the Church, and the Peace of Italy, nay sometimes even of all Christendom.

France was his only refuge; the Potentates of Italy are wont to flatter the French to get their help for the Executing their Vengeance, or to make their own advantages, then turn their backs upon them when they have gained their ends, or if they find themselves in the least danger, they slip aside with the earliest, and leave the French behind plung'd in the Bogg and expos'd alone to all the peril. When the Pope therefore sent to the King to demand his assistance, and in requital promised his towards the Conquering the Kingdom of Naples, the wisest were not of opinion that he should give ear to those Propositions. They consider'd besides that France was drained of Money; that they had work enough to defend themselves against the powers of Spain, Germany, and the Low-Countries, with whom they should speedily find England joyned; that it would be a hard task to preserve Piedmont, and therefore not fit to undertake a Foreign War,

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* In Spain they call the Jesuits Theatines.

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War, upon the faith of people unfaithful, variable, and deceitful, and the assurance of an old Man who had one foot in the Grave, and no other weapons but the spiritual Sword, of very little use or effect in a temporal War.

They consider'd these things very well, but there were none so bold as to remonstrate them to the King. They would not oppose the Cardinal de Lorraine who embraced this business that the Duke of Guise might have the Command of the Army in Italy. The Constable himself was content not to approve of it without opposing it. He was well enough pleased that those Princes who stood in his way, should go and embarrass themselves in an enterprize which would carry them out of the King's sight, and which could not but succeed ill, and turn to their own shame: but he did not foresee that it should prove more unfortunate yet to him then to them.

Thus was it that all the King's Ministers, some by a cursed Court-craft or Policy, others out of an irregular ambition, engaged this Prince to that doleful Alliance. It was rough-drawn at Paris, and finished at Rome by the Cardinal de Lorraine. The King sent him thither expressly; and he desired the Cardinal de Tournon might be joyned with him, whom he took along as he passed thorough Lyons, though he were of a quite contrary opinion and publicly protested that it was against his will they made use of him in so ruinous a business.

These Cardinals being arrived at Rome in the Month of October, Signed the League Defensive and Offensive between the King, the Pope, and the Holy See, in all the Estates of Italy, excepting Piedmont. It was therein agreed, that towards the expences of the War the two Princes should depose Five Hundred Thousand Crowns at Venice, the King Three Hundred and Fifty Thousand, and the Pope one Hundred and Fifty Thousand. That they should begin it either in the Kingdom of Naples, or in Tuscany, as should be judged most convenient. That the King should send Twelve Thousand Foot into Italy, Five Hundred Men at Arms, and as many Light-horse, which should be Commanded by a Prince. That the Pope should furnish Ten Thousand Foot and a Thousand Horse; that he should bestow the investiture of Naples upon a Son of France, provided it were not the Dauphin: (but he retained a good Portion for himself, and much Lands and Pensions for his Nephews and Friends.) That the Duke of Ferrara, and in his absence a Prince whom the King should name, should have the General Command of the Armies.

This League was held secret for some time, the Cardinal de Lorraine at his going to Rome, had by his fair words, drawn in Hercules de Ferrara to be an Allie: but his eloquence had not the same power over the Venetians. The Cardinal Nephew did likewise employ motives of interest and those of fear. He propounded to give them Ravenna in pawn, and Puglia when it was conquer'd, threatening in case they did not make a League with him, to call in the Turks, which they dreaded above all things: but all this could not move them.

On the other hand King Philip foreseeing the Pope would by his Sentence endeavour to deprive him of the Kingdom of Naples, and Excommunicate him, prepared to assemble all the Cardinals together at Pisa, to declare the promotion of the Pope not Canonical, and by that means invalidate all that he should do to his prejudice. He had thirteen or fourteen very sure on his side, without reckoning such others as he might gain besides. In the mean time the Duke of Alva, informed of those Treaties, after he had taken order for the Affairs of Milan and Piedmont, passed by Sea into Tuscany, where he conferr'd with the Duke of Florence, and from thence went to the Kingdom of Naples.

At the same time, the King who had resolved upon the rupture, wrote to his Ambassador at Constantinople (his name was la Vigne) that he should speak of it to Solymán, as if he did it for his sake, and by that means endeavour to procure a considerable assistance. Solymán much pleased to find that a new flame was breaking forth in Christendom, promised wonders, and made his Fleet put out to Sea. But it served the French only to clear themselves in some sort: For an Agent of the Kings, named Codignac, who was discontented, going over to the Spaniards, had given the Turks some jealousy upon the Kings designing to make himself Master of Italy, as if he from thence intended to pass into Greece, as Charles VIII. would have done; and to encrease their apprehensions he discover'd to them I know not what kind of ancient Prophecies, which threaten that the Franc's * shall overthrow the Empire of the Crescent.

* They call the Western Christians Franc's in opposition to the Turks who are Slaves.

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Though this League were concluded before the end of the year 1555. it did not hinder but by the mediation of Mary Queen of England and Cardinal Pool, the King and the Emperor were inclined and at last brought to agree upon a general and trading Truce for five years. It was treated at Vaucelles near Cambray, the fifth of February in Anno 1556. The Emperor contributed much to it, very well satisfied that this calm consolidated the new begun Reign of his Son.

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When the Cardinal Caraffa heard of this Truce, he made a great complaint to the King, that they had abandoned the interests of his House, that they left it exposed to the vengeance of the Spaniards and the Florentines. He demanded that for security the King would at least be pleased to put those places into the hands of the Pope, which were yet left him in Sienna. He imagined that by this means he should be fought to by those Princes, and that they would be glad to buy his amity: and when the King had refused them, he importun'd his Uncle so much that he condescended he should go Legate into France, to dispose the King to break the said Truce.

He came in a proud Equipage: but concealing his Design, and giving out it was to labour for a Peace between the two Crowns; He saluted the King at Fontainebleau, made him a Present of a Sword and an Hat which had been * consecrated. by the Pope, and entertain'd him in private with his grand Designs. The King was very irresolute: but in the end the Legates vast promises, and the opinion he possess'd him with, that nothing was able to resist his power, and withal the artificial address of Valentinois, who had already made Alliance with the Guises, by giving one of her Daughters to the Duke of Anjou, with the intrigues of the Queen who desired a War in Italy to employ her Kinsman the Marshal de Strozzi there, thrust him into the Precipice, and made him resolve to declare a War against the Spaniard. But before this, the Council thought expedient to send to the Emperor and to King Philip, to admonish them to recall the Duke of Alva and his Forces out of the Territories of the Holy-See. They had already taken divers places there, and even the City of Ostia, which the Nephews had neglected to provide.

The Legate made his entrance into Paris with the Magnificence usual on such Ceremonies. At Court and in the City he shewed himself a Cavalier to the Nobility, a Gallant in the Ladies Company, of a merry humour amongst the gay people; made Courtship to the Dutchess of Valentinois, and gave her extraordinary fin: Presents both from his Holyness, and from himself. The Queen being brought to Bed of Twin-Girls, he had the honour to be Godfather to one of them, and gave her the name of Victoria, as expressive of the great advantages the League between the Pope and the King would acquire in Italy: but soon after this presage vanished with the life of that Prince.

In the mean time, whilst the Army they were to send into Italy was making ready, they gave Strozzi orders to assist the Pope, to whom they sent Three Thousand Men under the Conduct of Montluc, who made the Duke of Alva retire from the Neighbourhood of the City of Rome. Then when they had fathom'd Philip's intentions by his haughty reply, they judged it was high time the Duke of Guise should pass the Alpes.

At the beginning of March a Comet with a flaming Train was visible in the Eight Degree of Libra, and lasted but twelve days only. The Emperor fancied this Phenomena called him to the other World, so that not being able to gain his Brother to a consent of yielding the Empire to his Son, he Commissioned some Ambassadors to carry his Renunciation to the Electoral Colledge. However they went not till two years after, because of the War new breaking out between the two Crowns, and Three of the Electors were dead.

That done he Embark'd at Sudburg in Zealand, about the beginning of September, Empp. and went into Spain where he retired into the Convent of Saint Just of the Order of the Ferdinand Hieronymites, which is in the midst of a delicious Valley, surrounded with high Rocks, Brother of in the Province of Estramadura, eight Miles from Placentia, near the Burrough of Charles V. R. Scarandilla. It is believed this was otherwhile the place of Sertorius his retirement. 8. years. and He reserved no more to himself of all his great Train, and his large possessions, but Solymán, twelve Men, a little Horse to ride out for Pleasure and Air, and one Hundred Thousand Crowns Pension for his life. As he had forsaken the Court and his Power, they did

1556. did forsake him likewise: as soon as he was out of sight they forgot he was in the World. His own Son did not so much as remember him: for he performed nothing of all what he had promised, he had no value for his Counsel, nor any regard to the recommendations made by him, and after the first quarter could hardly allow him his Pension.

1557. The Duke of Guise being brave, courteous and liberal, all those that were indeed brave either amongst the Soldiery or the Nobility followed him. In the beginning of January, Brissac accompanying him as far as the Po; he attack'd Valentia, because the Spaniards had refused him passage and gained it. At the same time the Admiral de Coligny tryed an enterprize upon Downay, and having failed over-run Artois and burnt the little City of Lens. Thus the Truce between the two Crowns was broken.

Valentia being taken, Brissac and all the chief Officers of Piedmont would have had them push forward into Milanois, quite unfurnished of Soldiers, and much startled: but the Kings express Orders would not allow the Duke to follow that advice: and it was to be feared if he staid there, the Pope might agree with the Spaniard. This consideration, and perhaps the instigation of the Cardinal his Brother, obliged him to march directly to Rome in full hopes of conquering the Kingdom of Naples, to which their House ever had pretensions.

He could not persuade the Duke of Ferrara, who was to have had the general Command of the Armies for the League, either to quit his Country, nor to let him have his Soldiers. He was received at Rome, and by the Holy Father with great honour, after which divers Councils of War were held, and brave and honourable Propositions made, but there was nothing in a readiness to execute them.

The Nephews had provided nothing that was necessary; they had little Money, and less heart to disburse it. It was believed also, and the Duke of Guise was of that opinion, that at the very time he entered into Italy, they had made their accommodation with the Spaniards, and that they had given him the trouble of coming as far as Rome only to make their conditions the better and get the greater securities. Whilst he was in Rome, the Pope created ten Cardinals, some out of favour, others to strengthen his party with friends, and the rest for Money. These Ceremonies kept the Duke there during the whole Month of March, so that he was not with his Army till the Ninth of April.

He entered into the Kingdom of Naples upon the vain promises of the Caraffa's, attack'd Campiglio which he forced, & afterwards a Civitelle, where the French impetuosity ran eground. In the interim the Duke of Alva was fallen upon the Lands belonging to the Church, and having taken many little places held Rome as it were invested: the Excommunications the Pope cast upon him, and the Colonna's, broke no heads; he was forced to cry out help! and call back the Duke of Guise. He returned therefore into Romagna, and there, though nothing else succeeded well, he received, (good luck for him) the news of the unfortunate Battel of Saint Quintin.

The Truce being broken between the two Crowns, Philip thought it concerned his honour not to omit any thing that might evince the Reputation of his Courage and Power. He raised an Army of Fifty Thousand men, and moreover knew so well how to manage the spirits of the English, that although at first they had limited him with many restrictions, and had no mind to concern themselves in his Affairs beyond their Island, nevertheless they suffered themselves to be induced to take up his quarrel. Queen Mary sent to declare War against the King, a Herald brought him the defiance to Reims. He received it with disdain, as coming from a Woman; and knew how to oppose and match her well enough with another. I mean Mary Queen Regent of Scotland, who gave her so much work in her own Country, that instead of Thirty Thousand Men she promised her Husband should be landed in France, she could not send thither above Ten Thousand.

The Duke of Savoy who was Governour of the Low-Countries, and commanded Philips Army, having for a whole Month feigned to Attack several Towns, sometimes in one place sometimes in another, came the third day of August and lay down before Saint Quintin, which was unprovided of Men and but ill Fortified. The Admiral de Coligny had only the time to Force his way in thorough the Enemies Camp, with about Six or Seven Hundred Horse, and two Hundred Foot.

The

1557. The Reputation and Valour of that great Captain served for some time as a strong Bulwark to the place, which without him would not have held out Four and Twenty hours. They attempted several times afterwards to put in more relief; and at length the Constable himself his Uncle drew near, and passed the Somme with the Kings whole Army designing to send some into the Town thorough the Marshes: but this was done with so much precipitation, that there hardly got in Five Hundred with Dandelot his Brother, Collonel of the French Infantry.

After this exploit, the Constable retiring in sight of the Enemy, in the open day-light (it was the Tenth of August the Feast day of Saint Laurence) embarrassed with Baggage, and Victuallers, or Sutlers, weaker by one half then the Enemy, particularly in Horse, was so briskly charged by the Duke of Savoy, between the Villages of Essigny and Rizeroles, that he had not leasure to give necessary orders. His Cavalry were put to the rout, his Infantry stood firm, but were all Massacred. He was made Prisoner, and with him Montberon his young Son, the Dukes of Montpensier and de Longueville, the first wounded in the Head, Ludovic de Gonzague since Duke of Nevers, the Marechal de Saint André, the Rhinegrave Collonel of the Germans, ten Knights of the Order (there were in all not Forty) and three Hundred Gentlemen. There were Six Hundred likewise slain, besides three Thousand Foot and Horse, amongst whom was found John de Bourbon Duke of Enghien. They took almost as many Prisoners. The Enemies lost not in all above Fourscore or a Hundred men.

This was named the Battle of Saint Quentin, from the City, or of Saint Laurence, because of the day it was fought on. The Valour and Prudence of the Duke of Savoy, and the brave exploits of Count Egmont, were the principal causes of the Spaniards Victory, one of the most renowned and glorious they ever gained, and the most doleful and fatal to France of all they ever lost since those of Crecy and Poitiers. The Duke of Nevers, the Prince de Condé, the Count de Sancerre, Francis eldest Son of the Constable, and many other Officers of note, made their escape with the greatest part of the Cavalry, and being retired to la Fere, did happily enough provide for the security of the Frontier Towns.

The fright and terror was greater yet then the loss. We know not what it might have produced if the Duke of Savoy had marched directly to Paris, or if a design he had upon Lyons had been well managed: but as to the first Philip would not suffer him to march in any further, fearing lest under those advantageous circumstances, a certain negotiation that he had set on foot the preceding Winter, should end in an Accommodation with the King, which would have restored him to his Country, and by consequence have unhinged him from the Spanish Party. And as for the enterprize upon Lyons, the Baron de Polvilliers who was to have favour'd it with Fifteen Thousand Germans, did but only enter into Bresse, and marched out again immediately.

The Duke of Savoy was therefore much against his will, forced to stick to the Siege of Saint Quintin. King Philip came thither in Person fifteen days after, which was upon the seven and twentieth of August, and brought Ten Thousand English, and as many Flemmings. France had been lost if they had pursued their point; and indeed Charles V. having received the news of this important Victory, asked the Courier if his Son were in Paris. The Admiral having staid too long by three or four days to Capitulate, saw the Town stormed at five several breaches, and was taken Prisoner with Dandelot his Brother, who got away the following Night.

Philip's Army passed the remainder of the Campagne in taking the Catelet, Han, and Noyon, and about the end of Autumn was wasted away about the one half, the English being withdrawn their haughtiness not agreeing with that of the Spaniards, and the Germans for want of pay. A good part of these came over to the Kings Service.

During the Universal trouble which flowed from the loss of Saint Quintin, the Religionaries had the Confidence to Assemble in the Night time at Paris in a House at the upper end of the Street Saint Jacques. One named John Masson was the first that was Instituted Minister in this City in the year 1555. The People who observed them coming out thence fell upon them, and took above a Hundred, amongst whom were Persons of Quality, nay even some Maidens belonging to the Queen. They were charged with strange Crimes, it was said they roasted

1557. rosted young Children, and after they had made very good cheer, the Lights were all put out, and so Men and Women mingled together. A good number of them were burnt: but the rest disputed their Lives so well by recufation of Judges and other delay's and put-offs, that they had time to get Letters from the Prince Palatine and the *Swiss* Protestants, who interceded for them. The King standing in need of their Swords, was obliged to relent somewhat of his severity.

Amidst the fear and dispiritedness all *France* lay under, particularly *Paris*, it is believed that if but only a Thousand Horse had appeared on this side the *Oyse*, that great City would have remained a desert. They laboured hard therefore to fortifie it, the King gave Orders to raise Twelve Thousand *Swiss*, and Eight Thousand *Germans*, sent to all *French* Men, Nobles, or not, who had formerly served in the War, to come to *Laon* to the Duke of *Nevers*; to *Brissac* and the Governor of *Mets*, to send him part of their old Companies; and to the Duke of *Guise*, that quitting all other designs, he should return with his Army.

He was likewise advised to have recourse to *Solyman*. *La Vigne* his Ambassador made instant Suit to that Prince, to lend him two Millions of Gold, and send his Naval Force to him, but with Order they should Winter in his Ports of *France*, because they lost the best of their time in going and coming. As to the Money, *Solyman* excused himself by Pleading that they were forbidden by their Law * to lend any to Christians, for which reason he had already refused it to King *Francis*: but for his Fleet he promised he would send a very powerful one, very well Equip'd, to act joyntly with the Kings, or else separately, as they would appoint, or desire.

Whilst these things were negotiating in the *East*, the great Cities of *France* opened their Purles freely enough to the King, *Paris* furnisht him with Three Hundred Thousand Livers, and the rest in proportion; Fifty Lords of note proffer'd him to keep and defend Fifty Places at their own expence. It was then he really found that the * *French are the best People in the World*, and that it was both hard-heartedness and ill Polity, to vex them by extraordinary Imposts, since they would bleed so freely for the necessities of the State.

When the Duke of *Guise* had received the Kings orders to return, he Council'd the Pope to make his Accommodation. The Holy Father made it honourably as he could wish in such a juncture. For it was agreed they should surrender up all his Places to him, that he should absolve the Duke of *Alva* and the *Colonnas*, and that that Duke should ask his Pardon in the name of King *Philip*.

The King had foreseen that the Duke of *Ferrara* would also make his Accommodation; wherefore that he might not do it without his participation and to his prejudice, he sent him word he approved of it. The *Caraffas* base and perfidious Friends, did already Treat with the *Spaniards* to Invade the *Ferrarois*, and to share it between them. The Duke d' *Alva* made his entrance into *Rome* upon the very same Horse, with the same honours, and as great demonstrations of joy expressed by the Nephews, as the Duke of *Guise* had done.

This Duke having sojourned ten or twelve days in a Castle of *Strozzi's* near *Rome*, whilst the Pope was making his Treaty, took Shipping at *Civita-Vecchia* with Two Thousand Select men, and some of his best Officers, and left the Conduct of the rest of the Army to the Duke d' *Annale* his Brother, who brought it back into *France* by *Bolonois*, *Ferrarois*, the Country of the *Grisons* and *Switzerland*.

The return of the Duke of *Guise* seemed to have brought back with him the Courage of the Kings drooping Council and of his flying Forces. They proposed to give him the Title of *Vice-Roy*, which being thought too ambitious, they gave him that of *Lieutenant-General of the Kings Armies, within and without the Kingdom*, which was verified in all the Parliaments. After he had saluted the King, he had order to go to *Compienne* and draw the Army together. Thus did the ill-fortune of *France* prove to be his good fortune, and the falling of the Constable his exaltation.

The King now wanted nothing but Money, for this he Assembled the Estates at *Paris* the sixth of *January* in the year 1558. since King *Johns* time they have served for little else but to encrease the Subsidies. It was this time thought fit to divide

* This is their ordinary excuse.

* This is what his Father told him at his death.

1557. divide them into four, distinguishing the third Estate from the Officers of Justice and the Treasury. They altogether granted him Three Millions of Gold as he demanded. It was raised upon things and by Methods the least burthenfome to the Kingdom.

One cannot too often or in too large Characters make mention of a couple of Edicts which were made this year; The one to retrench the abuses of Clandestine Marriages; The other to secure the Lives of Poor Infants born out of Wedlock. This ordained that Women and Wenches who had concealed their great Bellies, and could not make proof that their Children had received Baptism and Burial, should be Condemned to Death as Convicted of Murder, and making them away. The other vacated all Marriages made by the Children of any Family without the consent of their Father and Mother, unless the Sons when they so contracted were above Thirty years of Age, and the Daughters Five and Twenty. And to put the stronger curb upon the amorous fancies of young giddy People, they added the Penalty of Disinheritance.

The particular Interest of the Constable procured this last Edict. His eldest Son had engaged himself with the *Damoiselle de Pienne*, a very beautiful Woman and of a good House, by verbal Contract; The Father who desired to disengage him from her, to match him with the Kings natural Daughter, widow of *Horatio Farnese*, had for this purpose applied himself to the Pope, and had sent his Son to *Rome* to sollicite that Affair; but finding the too rigid Pope, put off the decision and delay'd him, he was advised to seek his remedy in *France*, and impetrated this Edict of the King. And that it might effectually serve his turn, he had caused to be added to it, that seeing it was founded upon the Law of God*, it should have a retroactive effect, or retrospect.

Now his Son having declar'd in Court that the promise he made to the *Damoiselle*, was but conditional if his Father would consent, which he would not do, the Parliament declared that the Engagement was null and of no value; after which he Married the Kings natural Daughter. This Wedding being over, the Constable went to *Saint Quentin*, where he lost the Battel, his Liberty, and his favour almost to boot.

* Honour thy Father and thy Mother.

The first time of their meeting, the Assembly of Estates participated in the general joy for the happy exploits of the Duke of *Guise*, whose success surpassed the very hopes and expectation of all the World; In eight dayes time, being from the first of *January* to the eight, he had taken *Calais*, and in a few dayes more the Town of *Guines*, which was razed, and that of *Hames*. The Governor of *Calais* was kept Prisoner with Fifty Persons of Note, but all the rest were turned out, both Soldiers and Inhabitants. *Edward III.* had done the very same to the *French*, when he gained it from them two hundred and ten years before.

Thus were the *English* wholly expell'd out of *France*, they not having one foot of Ground left them; and this was the fruit they reaped by the Alliance their Queen had made with *Spain*; upon which the Pope said very ingeniously, That the loss of *Calais* was the Dower of that Princess.

Such as were enviers of the Duke endeavour'd to diminish his Fame, by attributing the first design of this enterprize, some to the Constable, others to the Admiral, which might well be true: but their mouths were stopt when about the latter end of the following Spring, he gained the strong Town of *Thionville*, which cover'd and secured *Mets*, and enlarged the Frontiers on that side. It surrendred the two and twentieth of *June*, the Marechal de *Strozzi* was slain in the Trenches by the shot of a great Arquebuse, or Musquet discharged on a Rest. His Staff was bestowed on the Lord de *Termes*.

The rumour of his great exploits was not likely to comfort the Constable in his Captivity, or rejoyce his friends who saw him eclipsed by a young Prince, whose virtue captivated Fortune, as it did the Affections of the people and men of the Sword. From this Hour the jealousy that was between those two Houses, proceeded to the forming of two contrary parties in the Kingdom, as we shall find.

Whilst he was in *Luxemburgh*, the Marechal de *Termes* esteemed a great Soldier, took *Dunkirk* and *Bergue*, ravaged all that Coast, and at his return besieged *Graveline* at that time but little fortified. Hearing Count *Egmont* was marching towards him with an Army twice stronger then his own, he repass'd the River *Aa*, at low water: but *Lamoral* doubling his pace and getting over much higher, was then before him, and forced him to give Battel near the Sea-side. The multitude of the Enemies and the horrible Tempests of Canon-shot poured by

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1558. Broad-sides from Ten English Ships which hap'ned to lye on that Coast, overwhelmed the French who fought as desperadoes. Almost all of them perisht'd, and Termes was taken Prisoner.

This check did again heighten the glory of the Duke of Guise, as if he had been the only man in whose hands the Kings Sword could be prosperous. But that which raised his Authority yet higher, was the Marriage of the Queen of Scots his Neece with the Daupin. The Nuptials were solemnized at Paris the Four and Twentieth of April; and the Ambassadors who were sent into Scotland with the Deputies, harangued before the Estates so effectually, that they granted the Daupin the Crown, and the rest of the Regal Ornaments; which the English had denied to Philip.

In the Month of February the Ambassadors of Charles V. carried his Renunciation to the Electors assembled at Franckfort, who upon the Fourteenth of March transferr'd the Empire to Ferdinand, and swore faith and obedience to him. The Pope approved not this Election, and maintain'd it was null as well as the Renunciation of Charles V. because they had not the approbation of the Holy-See either for the one or the other; for he pretended they had no right of Election but in case of death only; and besides the Princes that had Elected him had forfeited that power by their Heresies. His head was so possess'd with this opinion, that he did all he possibly could to make the King of the same mind, and renew a League with him against the House of Austria. And though he could find no body that would support him in this Sentiment, he persisted therein notwithstanding to his death, which hap'ned in the Month of August of the following year. But Pius IV. his Successor, confirmed the Imperial Dignity to Ferdinand.

His Brother Charles V. after he had lived two years in the solitude of Saint Just, was seized with a desperate Ague, which carried him off the one and twentieth of September, the Fifty Ninth year of his Age. A Comet that appeared the thirteenth of August in Berenices hair, the Tail turned towards Spain, was as a Flambeau lighted to lead the way to his Funeral Pomp.

The Summer come, the two Kings took the Field with the two most numerous Armies that had been on foot in all this Age, and encamped near each other, Philip on the River of Antie, and Henry along the Somme. They lay there almost three Months without having any other Ren-contre besides one Skirmish, because they were then upon propositions for an Accommodation. The Popes Nuncios made the first mention of it, the Constable and the Marechal de Saint André, whose favour was in a languishing condition at Court, got Philip to give some Ear to it, making use for that purpose of the interest of the Duke of Savoy, who could no way be restored to his Estates but by a Peace. Christierne Dutcheffs of Lorrain, equally obliged to either King, as Aunt to the first and nearly Allied to the second, having newly given her Daughter Claudia to the Duke his Son, promoted it with much industry, and went with all the Messages to and fro; so that at length she brought it to a Conference between their Deputies, where her self and her Son assisted as Mediators. Which proved a great reputation and honour to them both in all the Courts of Christendom.

Two Months before, which was in October, the Constable was freed from his imprisonment upon his parole, and came to wait upon the King at Amiens, who received him with inexpressible demonstrations of affection, even to the making him lye in his own Bed. It is said, that this Lord having had notice the Kings affection towards him declined very much, recover'd it again by the Credit of the Dutcheffs of Valentinois, he seeking her Alliance, and treating of a Match between his Son Danville, with Antoinetta, Daughter of Robert de la Mark and Frances de Brezé, who was the Daughter of that Dutcheffs.

He had already agreed with the Spaniards on all the Articles of Peace: but fearing lest he might alone be charged with the reproach of a Treaty so disadvantageous, he contrived it so that the King upon the winding of it up, should joyn with him the Cardinal Lorrain, Marechal de Saint André, John de Morvillier Bishop of Orleans, and Claude de l'Aubespine Secretary of State.

The Conference began in the Abbey of Cercamp the fifteenth of October, and from that time the two Kings dismissed their Forces. The difficulty concerning Calais, was the greatest Remora, Queen Mary would by all means have it again, the

the King would needs keep it. Thereupon that Princess hap'ned to dye without any Children of a Dropie caused by her infinite grief for the loss of that place, and the little esteem her Husband had for her. The fifteenth of November was the day of her decease, and the sixteenth that of the Cardinal Pool her dear Cousin, who had taken great pains to restore the Catholick Religion in England. About this time the two Princes made a Truce for two Months, then their Deputies parted.

Elizabeth succeeded Mary, pursuant to the Will of Henry VIII. Philip did yet for some time carry on the interest of Elizabeth, then abandoned them, lest they should prejudice his own. He had likewise some design of Marrying her, or at least to get her for his Uncle Ferdinand's second Son: but the King who had great reason to hinder that Alliance, and not suffer Elizabeth to take that Crown which he believed did belong to his Sons the Daupins Wife, so ordered it that the Pope received the Envoy sent by that Princess to him, but ill, and treated her as illegitimate. This injury made her determine openly to embrace the Religion of the Protestants, who made no doubts concerning her, and to repeal all Acts made by Mary, and corroborate and revive those of Edward and put them in force.

The Deputies from the two Crowns met again towards the end of January at Catcau in Cambresis, where in few days they came to a final agreement on all the Articles. Elizabeth fearing to be left alone, sent her Deputies thither also.

By the Treaty between France and Spain, that of Crespy and the preceding were confirmed. The two Kings mutually restored all they had taken from each other for eight years past. The King restored the Duke of Savoy to all his Lands and Estates, yet still reserved the right he had: but whilst that could be examined by Commissioners on either part (which was to be done within three years time) he kept by way of pawn or Security Turin, Pignerol, Quiers, Chivass, and Villeneuve of Ast. Moreover he quitted all those he held in Tuscany to the Duke of Florence, and those in Corsica to the Genoeise; gave his Sister Margaret in Marriage to the Duke of Savoy with Three Hundred Thousand Crowns in Gold, and his Daughter Isabella to King Philip with Four Hundred Thousand.

The people who always desire Peace at what price soever, testified a great deal of joy. The Constable and the Marechal de Saint André stood in need of it to recover their former favour, which was in the wain: but the Guisian party, the sage Politiques, the whole Nobility, highly blamed it, as a manifest juggle, or Cheat, whereby France was looser of one hundred ninety and eight strong places for three only which were given them, these were Han, le Catelet, and Saint Quentin.

When Queen Elizabeth found the Treaty went forward, and the Deputies for King Philip, who pretended to manage her concerns, but acted very coldly, obtained nothing for her advantage or interest, she would needs Treat upon her own single account. She got little more by it. It was agreed that the King should either render up Calais to her, and the re-conquer'd Country, or if he liked it better, pay her the Sum of Five Hundred Thousand Crowns; which being referred to his own choice, there was no doubt but he would keep that place which is the Key of his Kingdom.

During the Treaty, the Spaniards, God knows for what design, exhorted the King very zealously to exterminate the new Sectaries, and hinted that there were many of them even in his Court its self, and of great quality, amongst others Dandelot, about whom they found some Books of that sort, when they took him at Saint Quentin. Upon which the King sent for him, and asked him what he thought of the Maf: Dandelot made him a very criminal reply, which enraged him so greatly, that he was almost in the mind to have kil'd him. He commanded him to be made a Prisoner, and put Blaise de Montluc into his Office, a creature of the Duke of Guises. The Constable his Uncle had very much ado to get him out of Prison, and restore him.

It was suspected to be the Effect of a certain Conference held between the Cardinal de Lorrain and the Cardinal de Granvelle; that by this Stratagem the first had a design to weaken the Constable by ruining his Nephews, or to render him

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him suspected of Heresie if he protected them : and that the other had a design of Setting the great Families of *France* to Daggers-drawing, and of stirring up a Faction by making the Religionaries grow desperate, believing they would joyn in a body when they could find a person of quality to head them, such as was *Dandelot* or the Admiral his Brother.

This year that question was decided at *Venice* which the *Spaniards* had moved to the *French* concerning precedence, or rank. Doctor *Francis Vargas* had been there in the quality and with the Function of Ambassador for *Charles V.* Emperor and King of *Spain*. After the abdication of the Emperor, and about the end of the year 1556. *Philip* recalled him, giving notice however to the Seignery that he would send him again suddenly. During his absence *Loyola* whom he had left in his stead, pretended to hold the place of Ambassador for the Emperor : the *French* Ambassador (this was *Dominique* Bishop of *Lodeve*) would have no such thing allowed, and bestirred himself so that *Loyola* durst never appear at any Ceremonies.

In the year 1557. *Vargas* being return'd again, pretended to keep the same station he had before, saying he had never been revoked : but he of *France* maintained he had, since he had had his Audience of *Congé*, and received the Present given to Ambassadors ; that moreover *Charles V.* had absolutely devested himself of the Empire, without reserving to himself one inch of its Lands, and that therefore he had now nothing to negotiate or trouble his Brain withal, but the looking after and managing his Clocks. The business was off and on for almost a whole year : then hapned the shock at *Saint Quentin* which much startled the minds, and turned the thoughts and cares of the Ministers of *France* to things of a more important and pressing nature. The *Venetians* grounded their doubts upon *Charles V.* being still Emperor : but when that pretence came once to be remov'd by the Election of *Ferdinand* which was in the year 1558. they had no apparent reason to hesitate. They knew well enough the King had most reason on his side, but they durst not own it : and would very fain have referr'd it to the decision of the Pope, saying it belonged not to them to make themselves Judges between two such great Princes.

The pretensions of *Philip* was not as yet to gain the upper hand of *France*, but only to hang up the dispute upon the hedge, and stand on equal termes. The *Venetians* had made a Decree in the Council *des Pregadi*, that the Ambassadors of both Kings should be present at none of their Ceremonies, till the controversy were first judged at *Rome*, so greatly did they apprehend to offend *Philip* : Nevertheless when they observed the Kings Affairs began to look with a promising face again, and *Novailles* Bishop of *Dacs* the Ambassador from *France*, pressed them without intermission, and by strong Arguments and Reasons, and threatenings to be gone : they at length revoked the Decree, and ordained that he of *France* should hold the first rank, according to ancient custom and usage. They sent for him therefore to assist at the Ceremony they made upon the day of the Visitation, being the second of *July*. This was eight dayes before the death of the King.

The Peace being made all relented and grew soft and slack in *France*, the Constable was already more then Septuaginary, besides ever unfortunate in War, the Marechal de *Saint André* brave in his Person, but softened by luxury and voluptuousness ; the King, if we may so say, dared by the Hawk, and baffled as who had beheld his Kingdom in extream danger : the *Guises* loaden with Honour, and glad there was no occasion to keep them at too great a distance from the Court, where they were omnipotent especially, since the Marriage of their Niece with the *Dauhin*.

Some have reproached them, perhaps without any reason, that from that time they began to entertain secret Correspondencies with the *Spaniard*, or at least to have a great deal of Complaisance for him that they might out-do the Constable in this very point too, who seemed to have relinquished much of the Interests of *France* for his own. Whatever it were, the Government at this time changed their Maxims in two points, whereof one was touching the Affaires of *Italy*, the other the Alliance with the *Turks*. For they resolved as to the first, not to intermeddle with it any more : And for the other to renounce it wholly likewise, as a thing very prejudicial to Christendom, of little benefit and very scandalous to *France*, and which hindred the Princes of *Germany* from reposing an intimate confidence, and joyning in a strickt tie with them.

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So that under pretence of gaining their Amity, they obliged him to send Ambassadors to the Diet of *Ausburg*, to assure them he never had any real Alliance with the *Turks*, and that he was resolved to renounce it Totally. The Agents of the House of *Austria* endeavour'd to make good advantage of this Compliment at the Port : *Solyman* could believe nothing, till he had received certain News of the Peace between the two Crowns. Then he released *Ferdinands* Ambassador whom he held in Prison, and immediately made a Peace with his Master, and yet to make it appear he had still some concern for *France*, he obliged that Prince, to be a Friend to his Friends, and Enemy to his Enemies.

The five and twentieth of January, the Pope displeased with the ill-behaviour of the Caraffa's his Nephews, and principally because they attempted to hold him in Captivity, after he had declaimed against them with all his might in a Consistory, stript them of all their Offices and Dignities, and expell'd them from *Rome* ; which furnished *Pius IV.* his Successor with a pre-judgment to make Process against them, though he were indebted to them for his Pope-dome which he gained by their contrivance. The Cardinal Caraffa was strangled in the Castle *Saint Angelo*, John Count de Montebel his Brother, and the Count d'Alifan Brother of the Wife to that John, had their Heads cut off. A lesson writen in Letters of Blood, to teach their Fellows, if they would reflect on it, to use that power with more moderation which is so frail and tottering.

There was neither City, nor Province, nor Profession, where the novel opinions had not got footing ; men of the Gown, men of Learning, and the Ecclesiasticks themselves, against their own Interest, suffer'd themselves to be charmed with them ; punishments did but make them scatter and encrease and enflame their Zeal the more. So that several of the Parliament, some out of a more tender and merciful nature, others because they had embraced them, were of the mind to moderate those to severe prosecutions. The King knowing this, sent for *Giles le Maistre* first President, and two others, with the Procureur, or Solicitor General, and commanded them to execute his Edict of *Chasteau-Briand* with the utmost severity.

Le Maistre makes report to the whole Company of the Kings Commands, as they were arguing upon that Subject, and most voices inclined towards a mitigation, the business being in good forwardness, behold the King having notice, (as it was presumed, from *Le Maistre*) comes into the Parliament, this was on the Tenth of *June*, and makes them continue the debate before him. His presence did not so much daunt them, but that three, amongst the rest *Anne de Bourg* Councillor *Clerc*, proceeded boldly to deliver their Sentiments upon the principal points of Religion, and concluded by demanding a Council, and that in the mean time Executions might be suspended. He had the patience to hear them to the very last Argument, and then to make the Clerk read over the Result of all. Having thus discover'd their opinions, he gave order to seize upon *Du Bourg* and *Du Faur* in the place, and afterwards sent to take the President, *Ranconnet* and the Counsellors *Paul de Foix*, and *Anthony Fumee*, all which were carried to the *Bastille*. The President *du Ferrier*, the Counsellors *Virole Du Val*, and *Regnante*, had met with the same treatment could they have been found. Never did that August Assembly receive so great and so shameful a rebuke and blemish. They appointed Commissioners for Trial of the Prisoners. The Tragical accident which interven'd three Weeks after, put some stop to those vehement prosecutions.

The Court being filled with all manner of Mirth, Divertisements and expressions of Joy for the Nuptials of the Kings Daughter, which was celebrated by Proxy, the Seven and Twentieth of *June*, and there being Turnaments and Caroufells within Lists made cross the Street *Saint Antoine*, from the Palace Royal des *Tournelles* to the *Bastille* : Death, as we may say, having placed himself in Ambush amidst those pastimes and pleasures, gave a blow as fatal as un-foreseen, which converted all those gawdy Liveries into Mourning Weeds. About the end of the third dayes tilting, which was the Thirtieth of *June*, the King had a great desire, (who had before broken several Lances with a great deal of dexterity,) to Just or Tilt agen with his Beaver open against the Earl of *Montgomery* Son of the Lord de *Lorges*, one of the Captains of his Guard du Corps. The Earl excused himself as much as he could, but he would absolutely have it so ; now it hap-

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1559. ned that the Earl having broken against his Breast Plate, hit him likewise above the right Eye-brow with the Truncheon that remained in his hand.)

The stroke was so great that it threw him backwards on the ground, and deprived him both of knowledge and speech. He never recover'd them more; which may convict of falsity those different discourses, which both the one side and the other, did put into his Mouth, suitable to their divers interests and passions. Notwithstanding he survived yet near eleven dayes and breathed not his last sigh, till the tenth day of July. He was in the fourth Month of the one and fortieth year of his Life, and the thirtieth of his Reign.

About the end of June the Duke of Savoy was come to Paris, accompanied with the Duke of Brunswick, the Prince of Orange, and an Hundred Gentlemen of Quality; He had been received with extraordinary Civility by the King, who met him at the Foot of the great Stair-Case in the Louvre. When he found they despair'd of the Kings Life, he so much press'd the consummating of his Marriage, that it was performed in *Nostre Dame* without any Pomp the ninth of July. Margaret his Wife was in the seven and thirtieth year of her Age.

They blamed King Henry of too much Indulgence, or to speak better, too great weakness towards his Mistress and his Favorites, but they applauded a generous bounty in him to his Domesticks, a great moderation and sweetness, an agreeable Conversation, and a marvellous facility of expressing himself as well in publick as in particular. He might have been praised likewise for his love to Learning (for indeed he cherished it) if the dissolutions of his Court, authorized by his example, had not perverted the best and choicest Wits to Compose Romances full of extravagant Visions, and Lascivious Poems, to flatter those Vices and that Impurity which had all the rewards in custody, and to furnish that Sex with vain delights and amusements who still reign and govern by Fopperies.)

Most of those Vices which ruine great States, and draw down the wrath of Heaven, reigned in that Court; their gaming was seen in Triumph, Luxury, Impudicity, Libertinage, Blasphemy, and that curiosity as foolish as impious, to look into the Secrets of what is to come, by the detestable Illusions of Magick Art.

Catherine de Medicis after a ten Years Barrenness, brought this King ten Children, as many of the one as of the other Sex, the Eldest at this time being but seventeen Years old. One of the Sons, and two of the Daughters died in their Cradle. There remained four Sons and three Daughters. The four Sons were named Francis, Charles, Alexander and Hercules; the names of the two last were changed at their confirmation, Alexander was named Henry, and Hercules changed for Francis. The three first reigned after each other, and all four died without Children. The three Daughters were Isabella, Claude, and Marguerite; Isabella Married Philip II. King of Spain, Claude Charles III. Duke of Lorrain, and Marguerite Henry de Bourbon who was then King of Navarre, and afterwards King of France. He had besides two Illegitimate Children, Diana whom he Married to Horatio Farnese, then to Francis Eldest Son of the Conestable de Montmorency, and Henry who was Grand Prior of the Order of Malta, and Governor of Provence.

The End of the Second Volume.

A
Chronological Abzidgment,
OR,
EXTRACT
OF THE
HISTORY
OF
FRANCE.

By the *Sieur de Mezeray*.

TOME III.

Beginning at King Francis II. and ending at the
end of the Reign of Henry IV.

Translated by *John Bulteel*, Gent.

LONDON,

Printed for *Thomas Basset*, *Samuel Lowndes*, *Christopher Wilkinson*, *William Cademan*, and *Jacob Tonson*, MDC LXXXIII.

FRANCIS II.

King LIX.

Aged xvi Years and vi. Months.

POPES,

PAUL IV. 27 *dayes under this*
Reign.

PIUS. IV. *Elected the 26 of De-*
cember 1559. S. Five Tears, and
eleven Months and a half.

IF in a State it be a certain sign of it's decadency, the want of good Heads for Council, and good hands, (great Soldiers) for Execution: it is as certain a fore-runner and cause of troubles and Civil Wars, to have multitudes of Princes and over-grown Nobility when there is not an Authority great enough to contain and keep them to their duty. This misfortune hapned to *France* after the death of King *Henry II.* as soon as he was no more, the Factions which were formed during his Reign, began to appear, and by an unluckly fate met with, to fortifie themselves, differing Parties in Religion, great numbers of Malecontents, lovers of Novelties, and which was more and worse, Soldiers of Fortune, who having been disbanded would needs get themselves some employment at what rate soever.

On one side were to be seen the Princes of the Blood and the Constable, on the other the Princes of the House of *Guise*; betwixt these two Parties, the Queen Mother who was bargaining to make her best Market, and sided sometime with the one, and then with the other: In the midst of all these a young King, as weak in mind as in body, exposed to the first occupier, and the prize contended for the Government of the Kingdom.

As for the *Guises*, they were Five Brothers, the Duke, the Cardinal *de Lorraine*, the Duke *d' Aumale*, the Cardinal *de Guise*, and the Marquess *d' Elbeuf*: we are not to make any reck'ning of the three last because they acted nothing but by the inspiration and motion of the other two. The Duke drew his Party to him by the Reputation of his Valour, his Liberality, and his Affability, the Cardinal *de Lorraine* by his Eloquence and his Learning. They were, notwithstanding of very different humors, the Duke moderate, just, undaunted in dangers, the Cardinal hot, undertaking and vain, puffed up with good success, but trembling and faint-hearted at the least frowns of Fortune.

Amongst the Princes of the Blood, there was *Anthony* King of *Navarre*, *Lewis* Prince of *Condé*, the Duke of *Montpensier*, and the Prince *de la Roche-sur-yon*. *Anthony* was a voluptuous and fearful Prince, and more considerable for his Quality than his Power; *Lewis* was Valiant, Hardy, and one the greatness of whose Courage, and meanness of whose slender Fortune, made him fit to undertake every thing. *Anthony* did not stand firm but abandoned his younger Brother: to his

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1559. very death he fluctuated in doubts of Religion, and was neither a good Catholic, nor right *Lutheran*. His Brother followed the Opinions of *Calvin*.

The *Guises* seized upon the Kings Person, because he had Married their Niece *Mary Steward Queen of Scotland*, and upon the favourable pretence of the Catholic Religion; The others made sure of the *Male-contents*, the disbanded Soldiers, and the protection of the Religionaries, whose despair was yet much greater and stronger then their numbers.

The *Mareschal de Saint André*, a Lord as brave as witty and polite, but very Luxurious and over-head and ears in debt, devoted himself wholly to them, and promised the Duke to bestow his Daughter upon which of his Sons he pleased, with all the Estate belonging both to him and his Wife, reserving only the clear revenue during their term of Life; This he did fearing to be devoured by his Creditors should he ever happen to be expelled the Court.

The Constable a great temporiser, and who had wont to be prime Minister of State, could not stoop now to be inferior. He admitted the flatteries and caresses of both Parties: but at length adhered to the *Guiseans*, in hatred to the novel opinions, being persuaded by his Wife, and second Son, that the Title he bore of the first *Christian Baron*, would not allow him to linck himself with those who did impugn the Catholic Religion.

The Duke of *Montpensier* and the Prince *de la Roche Sur-Yon*, though both of the House of *Bourbon*, were led by the same motives, and did not so much respect the proximity of Blood, as the name of the Ancient Church, and the King, from whom they would not start aside for any other Consideration whatsoever.

A motive directly contrary to the Constables, cast the Admiral *de Coligny* and his Brother *Dandelot*, Colonel of the *French* Infantry, on the side of those Princes who favour'd the new Religion, of which they were thoroughly convinced and persuaded, besides that they had the Honour to be Allied to the Prince of *Condé*. For he had Married *Eleonora de Roye*, Daughter of one *Magdelain de Maily*, who was their Sister by the Mothers side, she and they being Born of *Louisa de Montmorency*, who was first Married to *Frederic du Maily* *, Then to the *Mareschal de Chastillon* Father of these two Lords.

* This *Mareschal* was *Coligny*, *Gaspar*, under *Francis I.*

When King *Henry II.* received his hurt, the Queen Mother was in suspense a day or two whether to joyn with the Constable or the *Guises*. She looked upon both the one and the other as her Enemies, being all Allied to the Dutches of *Valentinois*, whom she hated mortally, though in her Husbands Life-time she feigned to love her even to the height of confidence. But she thought her self much more affronted by the Constable, then the *Guises*, because it was he that had last adventur'd to contract an Alliance with that Woman, Besides the *Guises* utterly abandoned her, notwithstanding the repugnance of the Duke d' *Anmale* who was her Son in Law: and withal they promised this Queen so much Service and so great Submission, that she resolved to stand by them; To which me may add that being Uncles to the young King, as they were, it might perhaps have been out of the reach of her power or interest to have set them aside.

When the Constable perceived his Game was near lost, he sent in all post hast to the King of *Navarre* to press him to come and take that Place and Authority his Birth justly claimed under the young King: but that Prince who was slow and irresolute, and who withal did not much confide in him, because he had once advised the deceased King to seize upon the remainder of his petit Kingdom, did not make much hast. This signal fault, and after this his strange irresolutions, and the weakness of his Conduct during all this and the following Reign, may be accounted indirectly amongst the principal and main causes of all the Troubles and Misfortunes that befel the Kingdom of *France*.

Wherefore the *Guises* having gained the Mastery at Court, the King declared to the Parliaments Deputies when they came to wait on him; That he had committed the direction of his Affairs to them, that is to say, the Intendance or Over-sight of all the Affairs of War to the Duke, and that of the Finances, or Treasury to the Cardinal. Being thus establish'd, they consider'd of removing out of the way all those that might be obnoxious. They left the Constable and *Mareschals* of *France* no more Commission but to Bury the late King, and sent the Princes of *Condé* and *de la Roche Sur-Yon* into *Spain*, the first to carry the Coller of the Order to King *Philip*, the other to get the Treaty of Peace confirmed. They likewise banished the Dutches of *Valentinois* from the Court: but first ob-

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1559. obliged her to restore and deliver up the Jewels and the rich Furniture and Goods the late King had bestowed upon her, and took away her fair House of *Chenonceaux* to accommodate the Queen-Mother, in exchange for the Castle of *Chaumont* upon the Banks of the River *Loire*.

Desiring by embellishing the face of their new Government with a shew of Goodness and Justice towards the publick, to condemn the Government past, they took the Seals from *Bertrandi* Cardinal and Archbishop of *Sens*, whose reputation was not of the best, and restored them to the Chancellor *Ol vier*, a person really of a much more then ordinary merit and of great probity: but who soon perceived they had recalled him to servitude rather then to a freedom of function in the highest Office of the Kingdom.

The Queen-Mother in the mean time persuaded the King to discharge the Constable, and on her own score, reproach'd him for having said, That of all the Children which King *Henry* had, there was none resembled him but a natural Daughter of his.

She desired also that the Cardinal *de Tournon* might be recalled, because She would make use of his Counsel, which she thought would be the more sincere, he being engaged to neither party. The *Guises* agreed to it, and indeed it would have been difficult for them to hinder it, besides they believed they might be confident of him, he being a capital enemy to the Constable.

The King of *Navarre* crawled along by easie journeys, and made a halt at *Vendosme*. The Princes of *Condé* and *de la Roche Sur-Yon* went even to that place to sollicite him to come to Court. He came at length, but too late, the *Guises* had taken care he should be ill received, they did not assign him Lodgings suitable to his Quality, he must have laid on the Floor had not the *Mareschal de Saint André* lent him his; and as soon as ever the King saw him, he told him he had given the administration to his Uncles *de Guise*.

Notwithstanding all this unworthy treatment, his friends exhorted him to stand his Ground: the *Guises* bethought them of a Stratagem to make him quit the Spot. They read before him in full Council some Letters from the King of *Spain*, of whom the Queen had demanded assistance against the Factions wherewith she was threatened; The Letters imported, that in case there should be any found so audacious as to controll the Government the King had established, he offer'd his whole power to chastise them. The *Navarrois* easily apprehended that this might be a plausible colour and pretence for him to invade his Country of *Navarre*, and was counsell'd to go back with all possible speed to put things in good order: but that he mig't leave the Court with some kind of reputation, he got the Commission to conduct the new Queen of *Spain* to the Frontiers.

He went not however till after the Kings Coronation. This Ceremony was performed the one and twentieth of *September* with great Pomp in the City of *Reims*, by the Ministry of the Cardinal *de Lorraine* who was Archbishop thereof. At their departure from thence he conducted the Queen to *Navarre*, being accompanied by the Cardinal *de Bourbon* and the Prince *de la Roche Sur-Yon*. He delivered her up to King *Philip* Deputies, those were the Cardinal *de Burgos*, and his Brother the Duke *de l' Infantado*; and because it was said she should be conducted into the Territories of *Spain*, and yet the delivery of her was at *Roncevaux* which is within the limits of *Navarre*, he drew up a Protestation that it might be no prejudice to him, and that from thence they might not make it a consequence, that the Kingdom of *Navarre* was a Province dependant on *Spain*. After this the *Spaniards* in recompence for his pains and care, gave him fair, but empty hopes, to do him right concerning his Kingdom. He nibbled at this Bait, and the Queen-Mother amused and tempted him with it as long as he lived.

In the preceding Month of August, King *Philip* had left the Low-Countries, and was gone into *Spain* by Sea, where he chose his residence for all the rest of his life. His Father had tenderly cherished the Flemmings, and had most happily made use both of their Councils and Arms: but he being bred in the imperious Air of *Spain*, could not agree with a people that were free, and such as could prodigally expose both their lives and fortunes for their Princes service, but yet would not suffer themselves to be robbed of them. He left as Governess over them Margaret his natural Sister Wife of Octavian Duke of Parma, with whom was joyned as chief Counsellor Anthony Perenot de

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Granville

1559.

Granvelle a Cardinal, originally a Franc-Comtois, but haughty and arrogant as a Spaniard. At his Arrival in Spain he caused a great many to be burnt in his own presence at Seville and Valladolid of those they call Lutherans, both Men and Women, Gentlemen and Ecclesiastiques, as likewise the Effigies or Fantome of Constance Ponce Confessor to Charles V. who attended that Emperor till his death. We must not wonder that he scrupled no more the defaming of his Fathers Memory, since, if we will believe some, he would have made his process too, and have burnt his bones for the Crime of Heresie, nothing hindring him from it, but this consideration that if his Father were an Heretick, he had forfeited * his Estates, and by consequence had no right to resign them to his Son.

Some weeks before the departure of the Navarrais, there were two Edicts made, one of them to forbid the wearing of any Fire-Arms, or even long Cloaks or large Breeches that might conceal them: The second revoked all alienations of the Demeasnes. Both the one and the other were made at the desire of the Guisies, the first for the security of their Persons, the second that they might prejudice or gratifie whom they pleas'd. And indeed they gained many of the great ones by this means; as they likewise made themselves many creatures by the creation of Eighteen Knights of the Order of Saint Michael. Which so debased and vilified that Order, formerly preserved with great care by the Kings of France, that it was in raillery called the Coller for every Beast.

With the same design and that they might have Governments and Offices enough for themselves and for their friends, they obliged the King to declare that he would suffer none hereafter to hold two at one time. The Admiral had the Government of the Isle of France and that of Picardy, he resigned the latter very chearfully, believing they would bestow it on the Prince of Condé: but the Guisies disposed of it in favour of Brissac, whom they intended to bind to their own Party. The Constable endured a pulling by the Ears before he would lay down his Office of Grand Maître of the Kings Household; when he perceived that after fair warning they were going to use force, he surrendred it to the King, who conferr'd it upon the Duke of Guise. All he could do was to obtain an Office of Marechal of France, which was created extraordinary, for Francis his eldest Son.

After the Coronation they carried the King to Bar. The Duke of Lorraine his Brother in Law being come to salute him there, he by Letters Patents renounced the Sovereignty he had of Barrois, in favour of that Prince.

(The Novelty and pretence of a Reformation in an Age that so much wanted it, opened the hearts of the French to the new Religion), and on the other hand the necessity there was to pluck up this Darnel and the like Weeds; furnish'd those that governed with a fair occasion and opportunity to make themselves formidable, even to the most innocent, who in such junctures, fear lest they should be look'd upon as Hereticks how little soever tainted.

The young King believed that to execute his Fathers will, was to extirpate all such as opposed the Catholick Belief: to this end he Created in each Parliament a particular Chamber, or Court, that took Cognisance of no other matter. They were named *Chambres Ardentes* *, because in effect they burned without Mercy all such as were convicted: and there needed no other proof but the finding them at some Nocturnal or Clandestine Conventicle. The President Saint André, and the Inquisitor * Depochares laboured with great diligence at Paris, and sought them even in the bottom of Cellars, upon the intelligence of their Spies, amongst others a Taylor and two Goldsmiths who had been of that Religion.

Two young Men of these Mouchards, or Informers deposed, that in those midnight Assemblies they did eat of the Pascal Lamb, and Roasted Pigg, and afterwards put out the Lights, and mingled in an unclean manner with those they first happened to meet, nay one of them affirmed that upon the like occasion it fell to his lot to encounter an Advocates Daughter of the Place Maubert, at whose House they held such communion. This calumny was spread abroad by the populace, told in the Louvre, and brought to the Ears of the King and Queen, and though these

* Burning Courts.

* His name was de Mouchy, born in a Village of the Diocess of Noyon, and his Spies were called Mouchards, i. e. Eaves-droppers, or sitters.

these Witnesses had been convict of falsehood by the Chancellor, that did not hinder it from making some impression on the Queen. 1559.

Thus the Religionaries being pursued and punished every where, especially in the great Cities, as Aix in Provence, Toulouse, Poitiers, and Bourges, began to think how to defend themselves. They first made use of the Pen, and scatter'd about several Libels which tended to make out, that Kings ought not to be accounted Majors sooner then other Men; That in the mean time it belonged to the Estates to assign them a Council; and that the Princes of the Blood ought to have the first place and rank; that the Laws of the Land did not admit either of Women, or Strangers; That the Guisies were not natural French Men; That besides they had pretensions upon Anjou and Provence, and even to the whole Kingdom, saying they were descended from Charlemain; That therefore the trusting them with the Government was to hazard the whole State. They added many reasons and examples, to prove the administration of Cardinals had ever been very prejudicial to France; That Francis I. though he made use of them, yet never admitted them into the Council when it concerned the Affairs of Rome; and that experience had fully enough demonstrated that the Venetian Polity, which excluded all Ecclesiastiques from the management of Affairs, was very wise, and very prosperous.

These Books wanted not forr eplies. Du Tillet one of the Registers in Parliament made one, which at that time was torn to pieces and silenced by the multiplicity of smart answers: but in another Season had the fortune to be revived and brought in credit by the Chancellor de l'Hospital, and cry'd up as it had been a Law of the Land.

They then were labouring in good earnest for the Execution of the Articles of Peace. The Marechal de Brissac with much regret gave up the City of Valence, and those in Piedmont. Those that held Thionville and the places of Luxembourg, went out with curses in their Mouths against those Ministers that made that Treaty; nor could any heart be so hardned as not to be touched at the lamentations and sad cries wherewith the Corfes and Siemois endeavoured to move Heaven and Earth to compassion, when they had notice the French abandoned them to their severe Masters. The Siemois made the last attempt their despairing impotency could prompt them to, for the defence of their liberty: but in a short time, they fell under the weight of the Spanish Forces, who to compleat the measure of their misery, delivered them over to the Duke of Florence, reserving however the maritime Towns.

There were at Court great numbers of persons of every Province, especially Martial Men, who demanded either their pay, or some reward. The Cardinal de Lorraine who had the management of the Treasury, was mightily importun'd and pester'd with them, and moreover he apprehended some Conspiracy amidst the multitude. Wherefore he caused an Edict to be published which commanded all such as followed the King and Court only to sollicite and begg some thing of him, they should forbear and withdraw, upon pain of being truss'd up on a Gibbet, which for that very purpose was set up in the publick place. This rude treatment turned great numbers of those against him, that had formerly served in the Armies.

A Quartan Ague tormented the King for some Months, which made him incapable of applying himself to business, besides that he was naturally very weak. When he came to be cured, many pustules appeared on his livid Face, which signified some internal indisposition. He was therefore carried to Blois for change of Air; whilst he staid there, some in that Country, by whomsoever employed, fought for young Infants that they might have their Blood, as they gave out to make the King a Bath. For which reason many will needs have it that he was infected with Naaman's Disease.)

In the mean time they zealously prosecuted all such as were imprison'd for the matters of Religion. They began with the Counsellors of the Parliament of Paris formerly mentioned. Anne du Bourg having fenced a long time for his life by several Appeals, to the Metropolitan of Sens, then to the Primate of Lyons, for he was an Ecclesiastick and a Priest, in the end threw aside his Mask and boldly declared that he professed a Belief contrary to that of the Roman Church. The Zealots of his opinion had pull'd him on to this resolution. They imagined that being a man of eminent condition, of rare merit, and great vertue, at least, as to his Morals, his example would take a marvellous impression, and for those

1559. those reasons the Parliament would never expose him to the infamy of Execution. But they deceived themselves: the heat of those that had taken this business in hand, made them go thorough with it; and there hapned an Accident besides which hastned his ruine. He had excepted against the President Saint André, and finding notwithstanding he still appeared, he threatned him that God would restrain and compel him to keep away. Now some days after, it so fell out, that this President going from the Palace, was assassinated and shot with a Pistol, and it was currently reported the first President was in danger of the like. The Authors of this Murder could never be discovered, tho Robert Stuart being vehemently suspected, was put in Prison.

This incident exasperated those that Governed in such sort, that Du Bourg was condemned to death, and after he had been degraded of his holy Orders, was burnt in the Greve, they having first strangled him. He went to his death with so much joy and so great shew of piety, that his Execution was so far from striking any terror, it begot compassion in every one, and inspired many with this perswasion, that the Belief so good and so understanding a man professed, could not possibly be bad. The other Counsellors Eustace de la Porte, Paul de Foix and Lewis de Faur, were severally condemned to retract, and suspended from their employments for some time: but the heat of these prosecutions being over, the Parliament restored them. Anthony Fumee alone was fully and wholly absolved.

As for the other Prisoners which were in great numbers, the reiterated commands from Court, heightning the severity of the Judges, they soon emptied all the Goals. They were all sent to death or banishment. As for Robert Stuart, being able to find no favour, or yet the least recommendation in his behalf from the young Queen, who disowned any thing of Kindred or Relation to him, he endured the greatest torments of the Rack without confession, and by that means was cleared.

About these times the ordinary and mean people of their own heads, or by the suggestions of some Zealots, bethought themselves of setting up Images at all the corners of the Streets, especially that of our Lady; they adorned them, lighted Wax Tapers before them, and met together in Crowds singing the Litany and other Prayers. And if any one passed by without saluting them and staying there, or if they forgot to put something into the Box, he was taken for a Lutheran, and beaten and dragged in the Myre, nay sometimes to a Prison. The wiser Churchmen, who consider'd that those sacred Rites and that worship was not to be used in such undecent places, nor by people of that sort, took away as many of those Images as they could and placed them in their Churches.

Margaret de Lorraine Mother of Queen Mary Stuart, Governed the Kingdom of Scotland for her Daughter, assisted by Henry Clutin-Loyfel who was sent thither from France. She being disturbed by the Religionaries, of whom James (a Bastard of the Kings) Earl of Murray was head, they dispatched to her a supply of Three Thousand Men commanded by La Brosse a Bourbonnois. Loyfel was recalled and in his place they sent Nicholas de Pelve Bishop of Amiens, with whom they joyned some Doctors of the Sorbon, to endeavour to reclaim those that were gone astray either by instruction and perswasion or else by compulsion.

These Forces had orders when they should have subdued the Rebels, to March directly into England and conquer that with the assistance of the Catholics, for the benefit of Queen Mary who pretended she was Heiress thereof, and had already taken the Arms into her own Coat. Elizabeth having information of it, perhaps by the Admirals means, furnished the Rebels with Twelve Hundred Men, and those together in one Body besieged the Port of Lieth, within half a League of Edinborough. La Brosse and Sebastian de Luxemburg Martigues put themselves into the place to defend it. There were gallant feats of Arms acted by either party, during this Siege. At last both sides being tyred with the War, made up a Peace. In which it was agreed, that all their differences and disputes should be judged and determined by the general Estates of the Country, and that the King of France and the Queen his Wife should quit both the Arms and the Title of Kings of England.

Pope Paul V. who longed for nothing so much as to establish the Inquisition over all Christendom, made his Exit out of this World eight days after King Henry II. The Roman People, in hatred for his having put that Yoke upon their necks, broke his Statues,

1559. tues, and pull'd down his Arms in all places where they could come at them. The intrigues of Vargas Ambassador from Spain, and the Caraffa's together kept the See vacant for above three Months: at the end whereof was Elected the Cardinal de Medequin, Brother to the Marquis de Marignan, by the ways and methods usual in their Conclaves. Of whom it may truly be said, that he added the greatest lustre to the sacred purple it ever had, by bringing his Nephew the great Saint Charles Boromeus into the number of Cardinals.

The Year 1560. began happily enough by a very wholesome Edict, ordaining in all Sovereign Companies and all inferiour Courts of Justice, that when any places were vacant, they should present three persons to the King such as were without reproach, and men thoroughly versed in the knowledge of the Law, of whom he was to chuse the party he best liked. But the importunity of Court flies, who ever stick close to what is most corrupted, and indeed live by it, would not allow so holy an Ordonnance should take place. Thus though justice in itself be a most divine and most necessary thing to all Societies, yet since the number of the wicked and such as are self-interested will be eternally the greater, such endeavours for setting good and wholesome methods may always be praiseworthy, but will ever prove ineffectual.

Although the Prince of Condé, the Admiral and Dandelot his Brother were notoriously imbued, and tainted with the Novel Opinions, and favoured to the utmost of their power those that did profess them, they had not as yet dared to declare themselves their Chiefs. In the end those miserable people being prosecuted with all extremity united together, to extinguish those flames that were kindled to consume them: but they did not restrain themselves to the defensive only, their despair carried them far beyond those bounds and limits.

A Gentleman of Angoumois by name George Bary la Renaudie, one who had been formerly condemned for some Crime, was entrusted by the Principals to go to all the Churches of those pretended Reformed People, and perswade them to send their Deputies to Nantes about the time when the Parliament of Rennes was to be transferr'd thither. He acquitted himself so well, that there came to him at the day appointed to the number of above one hundred and fifty.

When they had heard his harangue, and weighed the opinions of several Divines of their Belief, who affirmed they might take up Arms in their own defence, and make way for a free access to the King to present their Remonstrances: they Elected for their * private or nameless Chief the Prince of Condé, and under his Authority la Renaudie; and resolved that in every Province should be chosen a certain number of Un-Married Men, who under such Chiefs by them named, should go to Amboise, upon a day assigned; that they should there present their Petition to the King, and seize upon the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal de Lorraine, that they might be brought to Tryal by process before the Estates. But who could give security or answer for them they would not have kill'd them out of hand, and have made themselves Masters of the Queen-Mothers person and the King himself? This was certainly all laid to their Charge.

The design was kept so private, that the Guises had advice of it from Forraign Countries sooner then they discover'd it in France. The time drawing near, la Renaudie who forged a thousand fine imaginations upon the event of this project, could not hold his tongue, but opened the whole mystery to an Advocate of his own Religion named des Avenelles, with whom he lodged at Paris. The Advocate discover'd it to P Allemand Vouzé a Master of Requests, and P Allemand carried him to Court to declare particularly all what he had learned of la Renaudie.

Upon this news the Guises first provided for the security of their own persons, and without the least noise called all their trustiest friends about them, gave order for the preservation of the great Cities, caused the Prince and the Admiral to come to Court, granted an abolition of all things past to the Religionaries, excepting to those that had conspired; and at the same time set Guards of Soldiers and Men belonging to the Provosts upon all the Roads leading to the Conspirators. The Duke got the Title of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom confirmed to him, as well whilst the King should be present, as absent, and established a Company of Musquetiers on Horse-back, all select Men, who were constantly to attend the Kings Sacred Person.

The

1560.

The Court immediately dislodged from Blois, and went to the Castle of *Amboise*, as well because that place was stronger, as to break the measures of the Plotters. In the mean time the Duke of *Guise* sent the Kings Orders into all the Provinces, with exhortations to the Nobility, and Officers of War, to arm themselves for the preservation of the State, and to the Governors to seize upon all such as should be found in Arms, whether on Foot or on Horseback upon the Road of *Amboise*. The Prince of *Conde* who was going to Court, met the Lord de *Cipierre* at *Orleans*, by whom he was informed how the enterprize was discover'd: but this hindred not his Journey forward, nor *la Renaudie* (a self-will'd fellow) from pursuing his design. But the Court having changed their station, he was fain to change the Rendezvous appointed for his Gang, and this was it that made them miscarry in the execution of the contrivance.

Castelno de Chaloffes, one of the chief Ring-leaders, with *Raunay* and *Mazeres* were at *Nozé*. *James de Savoye* Duke of *Nemours* took the two last as they were imprudently walking without the Castle: but *Castelno* and the rest got in. He besieged them there, and being unable to take them by force, drew them out by fair promises; for he gave them his word he would carry them to the King and no hurt should be done to them, neither should they be confin'd to Prison. But as there is no security in the faith of that Man that is not able to warrant

it *, as soon as they were come to *Amboise* they were cast into a Goal, and *Nemours* thought it a sufficient excuse to say, *I cannot help it.*

La Renaudie who was in *Vendosmois*, made his Men advance with all speed to disengage *Castelno*, whose surrender he knew not of: but as they Marched in small parties and by-ways thorow the Forrests, the people set there by the Kings Order to watch them, easily slew them, or took them Prisoners, and tied them to their Horse-Tails to lead them to *Amboise*, whither they no sooner came but they hang'd them up immediately on the Battlements of the Walls, Booted and Spurr'd. The day after *la Renaudie* was kill'd in the Forrest of *Chasteau-Renaud*, but he first slew *Pardillan* his Cousin, to whom the King had given command to go a-hunting after the Conspirators with two hundred Horse. His Body was for some hours hang'd upon the Bridge at *Amboise*, with this writing, *Captain of the Rebels*, then quarter'd, and the quarters set up in divers places.

The *Guises* press'd the Chiefs might be dispatch'd, the Chancellor was of opinion they should suspend that till they had found the bottom and main drift of the enterprize, and to appease the fury of those exasperated spirits, it would be fit to grant a Pardon to such whose blind zeal had misled them, provided they would return to their own homes, in small parcels of two or three in a Company. But whilst they were contending for Mercy and Clemency against the rigour of Justice and Law, a Captain of the Conspirators named *la Motte*, made an attempt to surprize *Amboise*, which stop't the Chancellors Mouth, and let loose the raynes of persecution to the utmost severity. A Command was given to take all such as had been in Arms either dead or alive, though they should be returning to their own homes.

They pardon'd very few of those they had in Hold; there were hang'd, drown'd, and beheaded near Twelve Hundred, the Streets of *Amboise* were overflowed with Blood, the River choak'd up with dead Corps, and the Market-places plant'd full of Gibbets. The Chief were Executed the last, the Queen-Mother, her three Sons, and all the Court Ladies gazing out of the Windows, beholding this Tragical Spectacle as a divertisement. Not one of them would own or confess that the Conspiracy aimed at the Kings Person, but only against the *Guises*. *Raunay* and *Mazeres* confessed upon the Rack that *la Renaudie* had told them, that if it had succeeded the Prince of *Conde* would have declared: *Castelno* stoutly denied it, and upon their confrontation gave them very significant reproaches.

Some writings in Cyphers seized in the Custody of *la Bigne* Secretary of the Conspiracy, and the Examinations of certain Captains that had Command amongst them, gave them light enough to believe that the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral were concerned: but the proofs not being clear, and the Evidence only upon hear-say, and those that had orders to search the Princes House, finding neither Men nor Arms there, he demanded leave to purge himself in full Council before the King. The Queen Mother being willing to admit him, he made a discourse full of Reason and Eloquence to justify himself concerning that attempt; and afterwards gave the lye to all that durst say he was guilty of it, and

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and offer'd to Fight them himself, renouncing his Quality, only for that purpose. The Duke of *Guise* out of a most profound dissimulation applauded his generosity, and told him, he was also ready to maintain his Innocency: but in private he notwithstanding was of opinion he ought to be seized on. The Queen Mother did not judge it convenient, whether she feared the *Guises* might make themselves too absolute, if they could but pull down the only Prince that was able to make head against them, or that she apprehended lest such a detention should produce some act of desperation, which might prove more fatal then the fore-going Conspiracy.

The danger over, they wrote Letters in the name of the King to all the Parliaments, Governors and great Cities, giving them an account of the eminent danger the King had escaped, and the signal Service the Duke of *Guise* had rendered him. The Parliament of *Paris* giving Credit to it, bestowed upon him the glorious Title of *Conservator of the Country*. In the mean while the *Coligny's* observing they were looked upon with a very evil Eye at Court, withdrew themselves, and the Queen order'd the Admiral to go and quiet those Commotions that were beginning in *Normandy*, and to enquire and search out the real causes that he might make report thereof to her.

The horror of this Conspiracy, and so much blood as had been spilt in punishing it, so deeply wounded the Heart of *Francis Olivier* who had a tender and most humane Soul, that he fell sick upon it and died. The Cardinal de *Lorraine* had cast his Eye upon *John de Morvilliers* Bishop of *Orleans*: but the Queen prevented him, and desired the King to give that Office to *Michael de l'Hospital*; at least she made some body tell him, that he owed that favour to her, although the Cardinal would needs perswade him it came by his means; *l'Hospital* did afterwards make it plainly appear the Obligation was from the Queen, by his so closely sticking to her Interest.

The Cognizance of all matters and Crimes relating to Heresies had hitherto belonged to the Parliaments, who five years before had contended mightily to preserve the same. Now, as there were many Councillors and of the most Learned, who were imbued with those Novelties, the Cardinal de *Lorraine* got all such causes to be transmitt'd to the Bishops by an Edict of the Month of *May*, at *Ramorantin* in *Berry*: To which the new Chancellor consented, to prevent a greater evil, the Inquisition, which that Cardinal and the Court of *Rome* endeavour'd to introduce in *France*, with the same power it hath in *Spain*.

In *France* they had hitherto called those that professed the new Religion *Lutherans*, though in many points they did not follow the Doctrines of *Luther*. Some did more properly name them *Sacramentaries*, because they denied the Reality of the Body of our Lord in the Holy Sacrament. This year they applied the name of *Huguenots* to them, which sticks upon them still. The Origine of it is uncertain: there are those that say it took its birth at *Tours*, and they derive it from the name of *Hugon*, because those Novators made their Mid-night Assemblies at the Gate *Hugon*, or because they went abroad only during the darkness, like Goblins or Spirits, by them called King *Hugon*, and which according to the fabulous reports of those People, stalk'd about the Streets of that Town in the Night time. For my own part, I think I have good Proof that it comes from a * *Swiss* word which signifies League, but corrupted by those of *Geneva*, and from thence it Travelled into *France* with the Religionaries themselves, who were so called in those Countries.

* Fidenossen
or Fidenos, then
Huguenots.

After Queen *Catherine* had Fortified her self by the Councils of the Chancellor de *l'Hospital*, she was precautioned as well against the *Guises* as against the Princes of the Blood; And as she would always keep to that Maxime of her House, as a Rule to walk by, *Divide and Reign*, she studied to continue the troubles, that she might still find a Party to rely upon, and make them balance one another. And if either side grew too ponderous, she put more weight into the other Scale to bring them to an equality. Thus observing the absence of the two first Princes of the Blood, and the *Coligny's*, who were gone to their own homes, lest the *Guises* in too great Credit, she began to lend a more favourable ear to the *Huguenots*, and even to read some Writings they address'd to her for their justification.

With the same prospect, or to dive into the designs and interests of the Grandees, she Summoned them all to *Fountainbleau* upon the twentieth of *August*, under colour of taking their advice upon the present State of affairs, as it was other-

P p p

while

1560. while the Ancient and necessary Custom, and Method of the Kingdom of France.

The Constable, the Admiral and Dandelot went thither with a Train of Eight or Nine Hundred Gentlemen. The Assembly lasted only four Sessions; They were held in the Queen Mothers Closet, the King being present.

The first day, the King and then the Queen his Mother, having in few words declared the occasion of their being called, which was to find out some remedy for the Troubles caused by differences in Religion, and to root out those abuses that sprung up so fast in all the Orders, conjured those that were present to give their opinions and speak their thoughts without passion or interest. The Chancellor did more at large lay open what the distempers and disorders were, and the Remedies they might apply.

When he had ended, the Admiral advanced and falling on his knees before the King, presented him some Petitions, not signed by any one, but which he said he had received in Normandy, which implored the Kings mercy, and begged he would put some stop to the prosecutions against the Reformed, and allow them some Churches and the free exercise of their Faith.

Thereupon John de Montluc Bishop of Valence being desired to give his advice, spoke with more freedom (then any Enemy of the Church of Rome durst have done) of the abuses and vices of the Clergy, particularly the Bishops, Forty of them having been seen at one time together at Paris, wasting their precious time in sloathful idleness or forbidden pleasures; praised the devotion in singing of Psalms and Hymns in French, rather than wanton Ayres and Songs; Blamed the severity inflicted upon People guilty of no other Crime, but a perswasion of what they believed to be really good; and concluded it best to refer the decision of those Controversies to a National Council, there being little hopes of a General one, and the reformation of the disorders in the State to an Assembly of the Estates General. Marillac Archbishop of Vienne spake to the same purpose, and added several things too picquant against the Guises.

The Cardinal de Lorraine a Prelate of a sublime Eloquence, took the Counterpart against these two Bishops, and by weighty reasons shewed there was no need of any Council, and that the Prosecution ought to be carried on against the Secretaries. As to the other point, he was of opinion to call the Estates together. He also gave an account in grofs of the Administration of the Treasury, as his Brother the Duke of Guise of his Conduct in the Government, justifying himself against the Calumnies imputed to him; especially his having Armed the King, against his Subjects by setting up a Guard for him, as he had done, for which he laid all the blame on those that were the Authors of the late attempts and disturbances.

The result of all was an Edict the Four and Twentieth of August, which Summoned the Estates of the Kingdom to meet in the City of Melun upon the Tenth day of December, and ordained the Bishops to come to the King the Tenth of January to such place as the King should prescribe, to consult of a fit time and place to hold a National Council, in case the Pope by affected delays did continue to defeat their hopes of the General one, so often promised. Moreover the Governors were enjoined to watch there might be no factious Meetings, and to suspend their pursuits for matters of Religion, if no other Crime were complicated with it. This was to begin a Toleration. Things being thus regulated, every one had order to retire home.

Great was the Alarm at Rome when they heard mention made of holding a National Council in France; Pius IV. omitted nothing to dissuade the King from it. He represented to him, as a great grievance, that the Gallican Church would re-establish the Pragmatic, and by consequence the Elections, whereby the Royal dignity and prerogative would be much eclipsed and diminished: He intreated the King of Spain to interpose his Interest and Credit with him to prevent a mischief he reckoned so prejudicial to his Pontifical Authority: And all these Engines proving too weak to obtain a revocation of those resolutions taken in Council, he could find no other expedient to avoid it but by a General Council. He was a while in suspense, whether to call one wholly new, or whether he should continue the same his Predecessors Paul III. and Julius III. had Prorogued. All considered, the advice for continuation seemed best; And he caused publication to be made that the Council should re-commence on Easter-day the following year.

The

1560. The two Brothers Anthony and Lewis de Bourbon did not appear at the Assembly of Melun: for two Months before Anthony was retired to Gasconne, and his Brother was gone to visit him. Being there in much greater security, they settled their Affairs, and projected the means and methods to make themselves the stronger, and set aside the Guises. These having many faithful and trusty Servants, Spies well paid, and all rewards and punishments in their own hands, quickly discover'd their Stratagems, and blatted them before they could be ripe for Execution.

The Princes made use of one named la Sague, an Imprudent man, who Communicated his Secrets to a Camerado of his, with whom he had born Arms in Piedmont. This Fellow whispers it to the Marechal de Brissac, who tells it to the Duke of Guise: So that as la Sague was returning into Gasconne, he was Seized with a great many Letters. Fear of the Rack, or hopes of reward unt'y'd his Tongue: Himself put them in the way how to read some of them, by wetting the Paper, where before there was no Footsteps of any Writing appear'd. The most Criminal were those from Francis de Vendosme Vidame of Chartres, an Enemy to the Duke of Guise; so he was laid hold on and shut up in the Bastille. Some time after he was transfer'd from thence, but under a strong Guard, to his own House, where he Died of grief, if not by the Debauchery of his Youth.

Bouchard who was Chancellor to Anthony, without any other instigation but his own faint-heartedness, did likewise reveal all the practises of the Prince of Condé, and the means he made use of to engage his Brother. He thought hereby to secure himself: but they Seized upon him, and put him in Prison at Saint John d'Angely, where he was kept very close, that they might have his Evidence when time Served.

There appeared in the mean time divers Commotions in the Provinces, which shewed that the whole Body of the Religionaries were on the point of making a general rising; for in Normandy, whither the Admiral had been dispatched, they met and Preached Publickly. The two Brothers Anthony and Paul Richend Montvans, endeavoured to make themselves Masters of Valence, of Montelimard, of Romans in Dauphiné, and of the Cities of Aix and Arles in Provence: but the Lord de Mangeron made them fail in their enterprize; Anthony was slain in a tumult at Draguignan, Paul made his escape into Swisserland.

In like manner Charles du Puy Montbrun making use of the Religionaries in his dispute for the Government of Dauphiné at la Mothe Gondrin, was routed by his Adversary, and ran away stark naked, yet got safe to the Swiss Country.

Maligny of the House de Ferriere, who belonged to the King of Navarre attempted also to Seize upon Lyons, causing his Soldiers to Ship in man by man; and he had completed his work if N. Dapchon Abbot de Savigny who was Governor in the absence of the Marechal de Saint André his maternal Uncle, had not discover'd his Plot and put the Bourgeois in Arms. Maligny was glad to make his escape, and the Abbot apprehending some worse Event, set open the Gates that he might be gone quietly. The Marechal de Saint André going thither to search into the bottom of the design, caused above fifty of those rash undertakers to be executed.

The Princes promised themselves a much stronger Cabal in the Assembly of Estates then the Guises: nevertheless their Friends were of Opinion they ought not to rely upon that, but come so well Armed to Court, as to be in a Condition either to drive them thence, or make them perish there. To this purpose they had given orders on all hands: but their Letters and practises having taken Air, the Guises made use of the Kings Name to fortify themselves, sent for all the Established Company's, and put forth a Declaration, to all Governors of Provinces, commanding them to punish the disturbers of the publick Peace according to the utmost severity of the Edict, with power to Suspend and displace such Officers as had conniv'd or shew'd any indulgence towards the Factious. Besides all this, they sent to command the Princes to come to Court, only attended with their Household Servants, to justify themselves of such matters wherewith they were charged; so that to speak truly, they left them but a very ill-boding passage to enter, much more like a Prison Door then a Gate of the Louvre.

They resolved however to come. The Cardinal de Bourbon their Brother being deceived first, was an Instrument to deceive them; withal the Dignity of their Birth seemed an inviolable safe-conduct to them. So that the King of Navarre refused seven hundred Gentlemen of Poitou, who offer'd to attend him, and above

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fifteen hundred Soldiers who were in a readiness in several Provinces, telling them his innocency, was his sufficient security, and he would give them no cause to suspect he came with any design to offer violence to the King, or to the Estates.

In his Journey he received notice from several hands, that the *Guises* having scared the King and the Queen Mother with the pretended Conspiracy revealed by *la Sague*, were more Masters at Court then ever, and had put them upon the extreamest resolutions. However he went forward not duely weighing the wife Councils of *Marillac* Archbishop of *Vienne*, who having endeavour'd all that was possible to diswade him, died with Grief, and the fear he justly had conceived lest the *Guises*, whom he had already highly offended, should revenge themselves upon him.

The Sixteenth of *October*, the King with the Queen Mother, the Princes of *Montpensier* and *de la Roche Sur-Yon*, the *Guises*, and all the great ones of the Court, went to *Orleans*, after he had quartered his Gent-darmerie, and other Soldiers in all the Cities Forty Miles about, and disarmed the Citizens of *Orleans*, for the most part tainted with the new opinions, and suspected to have intended to deliver it up to the Prince of *Condé*, as they did two years after. He forthwith sent Messengers into several Provinces to lay hands upon all such as the *Guises* had a mind to involve in the Conspiracy; an ill omen for the Prince of *Condé*.

And indeed as soon as he and his Brother were Arrived, and had saluted the King, *Philip de Mailly Brezé*, and *Francis le Roy Chavigny*, Captains of the Life Guards, Seized him and Convey'd him to a House in the Market place called *P'Escape**, at the Corner whereof they had raised a kind of Bastion of brick with a Platform, defended by several Small Cannon.

* The Staple.

The King of *Navarre* his Brother was not secured, but perceived he was very narrowly observ'd, and forsaken by all, excepting the Admiral, and the Cardinal *de Chastillon* his Brother, who faithfully accompanied him. *Dandelot* more apprehensive, had retired himself to his Wifes Estate in *Bretagne*. The Dame *de Roye* Mother in Law to the Prince of *Condé*, was likewise Arrested, some few dayes after in his own House, and carried to the Castle of *Saint Germain en Laye*. So was *Hierosme Grollot* Bailiff of *Orleans*, accused of holding Correspondence with the Religionaries; and *Bouchard* Chancellor to the *Navarrois* was brought from *Saint Jean d'Angely*, as a material Witness that knew the most for the Conviction of the Prince.

The Order for seizing the Prince was proposed by the Mareschal *de Brissac*, who boldly expofed himself to all for the *Guises*, the King signed it, and after him the Chancellor, though with regret. The Chancellor, *Christopher de Thou* a President in Parliament, and two Councillors, with the Procuror, or Solicitor General *Bourdin*, and the Register *Du Tillet*, went to interrogate him; He refused to answer them, and said he owned no other Judges then the whole Body of Parliament, together with the *Pairs**, and the King there presiding.

* Or Peers.

But this appeal and all such others he made afterwards, were declared null by the Kings Council, and upon the Solicitor Generals Petition it was order'd, that he should answer or that he should be held as fully Convict, and that in the mean time the Witnesses should be re-examined, whereupon he demanded Council, they assigned him two Advocates of *Paris*, *Peter Robert* and *Francis de Marillac*. He was afterwards confronted with Witnesses which were brought in from all Parts; and then saw himself in most eminent danger. But the Queen Mother found her Authority in no less hazard: for the *Guises* who thought themselves already above all by the approaching ruine of their Enemy, began to slight and despise her of whom they stood no longer in need.

Grollot being Condemned to die, his Sentence was looked upon by all Men, as a prejudication and fore-runner of the Princes. Now upon the Seventeenth of *November*, the King being hunting, that he might not be present at the Execution of this unhappy man, was seized with a heaviness in his head, which in some dayes turned to an imposthume voiding it self by his Ear. The first Five or Six dayes the Distemper did not appear so dangerous, in the mean time they carried on the Process against the Prince, with so much hast and precipitation, that stepping over many formalities, they Condemned him to loose his Head. The Sentence was signed by the greatest part of the Councillors of State and Men of the Robe, excepting the Chancellor, and the President *Guillard de Mortier*, who observing

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observing the encrease of the Kings malady, were so crafty as to spin out the time and defer it. Amongst all the Knights of the Order and the Lords, so much were they devoted to the *Guises*, there was not one but the Count *de Sancerre* who refused it, notwithstanding three express Orders from the King.

At the same time this terrible Sentence was forging, the Physicians, who in the case of Persons of so eminent a quality, never give their Judgment clearly till the extremity, declared that the King was very near his end. Then did the *Guises* do their utmost to oblige the Queen to have the King of *Navarre* secured likewise: but she having taken advice of the Chancellor, could not resolve to give her consent. That prudent Minister made her very sensible how the detention of those two Princes would necessarily leave and confirm all the Authority in the hands of the *Guises*, whereas she ought to get it all to her self, and over-rule both Parties, by keeping them in equal balance.

And indeed both of them dreading her became her suppliants, the Princes for their Lives, which she had at her disposal, the *Guises* for their Grandeur which she could soon pull down with the assistance of the Princes, and submitted themselves to such Conditions as she pleased. *Anthony* promised under his hand to yield the Regency to her, which belonged to him as first Prince of the Blood, reserving only the Title of Lieutenant General; and the *Guises* swore to serve her for and against all.

Things being in this posture, the King gave up his last gasp of breath the Fifth day of *December*. He was Aged Sixteen years, ten Months and a half, of which he had Reigned only one year and five Months, wanting five dayes. He had no Child by *Mary Stuart* his Wife, who the year following returned into her Kingdom of *Scotland*.

His Servants, because of the Innocency of his manners and disposition, called him *The King without Vice*, a Title much more glorious then any other can be bestowed, when it hath for its Foundation not the imbecillity of mind and understanding, but Wisdom and Vertue.

His death hapning favourably for the Princes and for the *Montmorancies*, gave an occasion to their Enemies to say it had been hastned by *Ambrose Paré* his Chyrurgeon, who was a Creature of the Constables, and had injected Poison into his Ear. Others, but a long while afterwards, observing the perverse ambition, and the Conduct of Queen *Catherine de Medicis*, suspected her as guilty of that Crime, as well as of the death of the Dauphin * *Francis* his Brother in Law, and of *Charles* * Vide in the IX. his second Son. Those that judged with more modesty, found the cause to be in himself, and said that having been generated of corrupt blood, his Mother conceiving him after ten years sterility, which proceeded from a suppression of . . . he had ever been indisposed, especially in his Head, which did at no time discharge it self by the ordinary Channels, so that the pituitous matter corrupting there, caused that Imposthumption whereof he died.

* Vide in the Reign of Francis I. King LVII.

All the Court Grandees were so busie about the contriving of their own Affairs, that neither his Mother, nor his Uncle took any care for his Funeral. Of so many Lords, and so many Bishops as were then at *Orleans*, there were none but *Sanfac* and *la Brosse* who had been his Governors, and *Lewis Guillard* Bishop of *Sens* (who was blind) that conducted his Corps to *Saint Denis*. His Heart was left to the Church named *Sainte Croix* at *Orleans*.

The *Guises* excused their not attending it upon the necessity there was for them to stay with their Niece to comfort her.

But they were not exempted from reproach, such as had more sence of Honour then Ambition, much blamed them for not paying that little devoir to him from whom they had received so much honour. And indeed, some body tack'd a Paper upon the Pall that cover'd his Coffin, wherein were these words, *Taneguy du Chastel, where art thou?* This *Taneguy*, as was well known, tho banished from Court during the Reign of *Charles VII.* his Master, came generously back again thither to make a Funeral for that King at his own charges, shewing his gratitude thereby and making it appear to all the World that his thankfulness for the favours he had received, were above his fear of the resentments of *Lewis XI.* a mortal Enemy to the memory and Servants of his own Father.

The Constable who had been sent for several times, but crept along slowly by little Journeys, having heard the tydings of the Kings death, doubled his pace, and Arrived the Eight of the Month of *December* at *Orleans*. Entering into the

1560. the City he made use of the power belonging to his Office, and commanded away the Guards that were at the Gates, threatening to send them to the Gallows if he found them any more besieging, or investing the King in that manner in a time of Peace, and in the very heart of his Kingdom.

As for the Prince, though he had free liberty as soon as ever the King expired, nevertheless he refused to go out of Prison, till he knew who were the prosecutors against him and who his accusers. There were none durst undertake to play so desperate a Game; and the *Guises* replied, that all had been done by express Command of the King, but did not produce any Order by vertue whereof he had been so prosecuted. So that Thirteen dayes afterwards he came forth, and went to *Ham* in *Picardy*, attended with Honour and respect by those very men, that had served as Guards upon him in his Confinement.

CHARLES

CHARLESIX.

King LX.

POPES,

- | | |
|--|---|
| PIUS IV. Five Years under this
Reign. | GREGORY. XIII. Elected the 13.
of May, 1572. S. 13. Tears want-
ing one Month, whereof two years
under this Reign. |
| PIUS V. Elected the 7 January,
1566. S. 6 Tears 3 Months and
24 dayes. | |

Those hopes many had conceived that King *Francis* II. being near the time of his compleat Majority, might possibly extinguish, all the Factions, were now by his death changed into a just fear of finding them rather more enflamed, and heightened from a Sedition to a Bloody War; wherefore the Tumults increasing every day, they made hast to Assemble the Estates, from whom the silly vulgar expect a redress of all their grievances and troubles.

The first Session was held the Thirteenth of *December* in a great Timber Hall expressly built in the place called *P'Estape*. The Chancellor begun it with a Speech becoming his gravity. He blamed the violent proceedings in matters of Religion, told them the only means to reclaim such as went astray, was a good exemplary Life, and sound Doctrine, exhorted them earnestly to lay aside the injurious names of *Lutherans*, *Huguenots*, *Papists*, and desired every one to forbear all hatred, and own no passion but for the publick good, in which consists the benefit of all particular Persons. There was nothing else done at this first meeting, only the three Orders were sent to confer together about their Papers and Instructions.

Some who were inspired with a bolder zeal, had a mind to confer the Regency upon the King of *Navarre*, but withal to leave the Education of the young King to his Mother, to set bounds to the Government, and make choice of a good Council for the management of all Affairs of State. The Queen Mother took the Alarm; caused the Kings Council to make a Decree, which forbade the Deputies to intermeddle with the Government, and made use of so many intrigues, that the *Navarrois*, a Prince very inconstant and irresolute, was perswaded to confirm what he had promised her during the Imprisonment of his Brother.

The second of *January* was the second Sessions of the Estates. The three Orders made their Harangues: *John de Lange* Advocate of *Bordeaux*, spake for the Third Estate, *James de Silly* Earl of *Rochefort*, for the Nobility, and *John Quintin* a Canon of *Autun* and Doctor *en Decret*, for the Clergy. The two first laid great stress and weight upon the Vices of the Ecclesiasticks, the cause of all the disorders; The last endeavour'd to defend them, retorted all upon the new Secretaries, and reflected particularly upon the Admiral, who demanded reparation.

Quintin

1561.

1561. *Quintin* was obliged to do it in a set Speech at the closing up of the Estates.

Whatever accord there could be between the *Navarrois* and the Regent, yet there was danger that the Estates, if they consider'd their power, might put some Fetters upon this Woman who was a stranger, and besides they began to perceive that the Princes were forming parties, and tryed to foist in certain propositions for their own interests, or concerning their private quarrels. Amongst others, the King of *Navarre* put them upon calling for an account of the Finances, and a particular of all the Gifts bestowed in the Reign of *Henry II.* himself proffering to surrender all that were given him.

This touched the Constable and the Marechal de *Saint André*, more then the *Guises*, as having expended more in the Kings Service then they had gained. The Regent soon perceived where it pinched, and joyning them to her self upon this consideration, easily adjourned the Estates to the Month of *May*, and the City of *Pontoise*, and ordained, that she might be at less Charge and trouble to bribe them, that there should come but two Deputies from each Government.

In the Month of *February* the King being come to *Fountainbleau*, the Prince of *Condé* appeared there with a slender attendance, that he might give them no jealousy. The next day being admitted to the Privy-Council, and having spoken of his innocency, he asked the Chancellor whether there were any proofs against him; the Chancellor answered No, and all the Princes and Lords having testified that they were satisfied of his innocency, the King commanded him to take his Seat. The Council did after make a Decree which declared him wholly innocent, and sent him back to the Parliament of *Paris* to get a more Authentique one, as he did in a few days afterwards.

The courage of the *Guises* did not sink upon the rise of their enemies: they were supported by the Catholick Party, and the Catholicks by them. It is most certain but for them the old Religion must have given place to the new Sect. The Regent favour'd them in show, that they might not fly out to extremes. In the mean time the *Navarrois* desiring to enlarge his power, began a quarrel by demanding to have the Keys of the Kings House brought to him, not to the Duke of *Guise*, that honour being his due in respect of his Office of Grand-Maitre. The pretence was but slight, but the King of *Navarre* carried it on so high, that he was upon leaving the Court with all the Princes of the Blood and the Constable, to come to *Paris* and deliberate concerning the Government of the State. What did the Queen? She regains the Constable, and that he might have a plausible excuse to break their intended project, prevailed with the King to command him, in presence of the Four Secretaries of State, not to forsake or leave him. So that the *Navarrois* apprehending they might perhaps do well enough now without him, was advised to stay, and came to an agreement with the Queen, who augmented his power of Lieutenantcy.

From that time the Constable began to fall off from the Princes of the Blood. The same proposition concerning the repetition of gifts, being renew'd in the particular Estates of *Paris*, he was made believe it was chiefly aimed at him, because he had in truth received an Hundred Thousand Crowns under *Henry II.* whereof he had given no account. To the apprehension he was under of being obliged to repay this Sum, were joyned the several exhortations of his Wife, the Dutches of *Valentinois*, *Honorat de Savoy* Count de *Villars* his Brother in Law, his Son *Henry* Lord of *Danville*; all which under the specious pretence of preserving the Catholick Religion, persuaded him to enter into a League with the Duke of *Guise* and the Marechal de *Saint André*; the remonstrances of the Prince, the *Coligny's* his Nephews, and his Son the Marechal, esteemed one of the wisest Lords in the Kingdom, were not so prevalent as to hinder it. The *Huguenots* named this Union the *Triumvirat*.

These Brouilleries had hitherto retarded the Kings Coronation. When these three Lords were thus united, they carried him to *Reims*, where he received the Crown the fifteenth day of *May* from the hands of the Cardinal de *Lorraine* Archbishop of that Sec. The Duke of *Guise*, pursuant to the ancient Order of the Kingdom, which gives place according to the dignity of their Lands, or antiquity of Peerage*, not according to their birth, did there precede the Duke of *Montpensier* a Prince of the Blood; the Queen-Regent having so adjudged it,

* *Pairies*.

though

though on the other hand she would have *Alexander* * *Monsieur* her second Son, precede the King of *Navarre*, who had a more eminent Title: which was not so practised at the Coronation of *Francis II.*

1561. His name was after changed to Henry, and he was King.

It had been agreed by the Treaty of the general Peace, that within three years, the right of the Kings pretensions to the Territories of the Duke of *Savoy*, should be Examined and settled by Commissioners on either part. King *Francis II.* and the Duke had named Deputies for that end in the year 1560. *Anthony Segnier* President in Parliament, and *Anthony de Chandon* Master of Requests, who were for the King, made Six Demands. 1. The County of *Nice*, which they said was a Member of the County of *Provence*. 2. The Cities of *Turin*, *Cony*, *Montdevis*, *Albe*, *Querasque*, and *Savillan*. 3. The County of *Ast* which had been given in Dower to *Valentine de Milan*, Wife of the Duke of *Orleans*. 4. The Dependancies of the Marquis de *Salusses* specified in an Arrest, or Decree of Parliament in the year 1390. 5. Homage of that Duke for what he held in *Daupiné*, on this side *Guyers le Vis* and elsewhere, in *Focigny*, and in *Genevois*; and the inheritance of *Louisa* Mother of *Francis I.*

They produced their Titles, and their Pleas; the Deputies for the Duke their exceptions and their answers: but seeing on either side they acted rather as Advocates then Judges, they could not agree upon any thing, and made their reports severally, and diversly.

The Duke could not therefore obtain any thing till the year following, when he was so earnest with the King, that by Letters Patents of the eight of *August*, he commanded that they should restore to him, *Turin*, *Chivas*, *Quiers* and *Villa-Nuova d'Ast*, excepting only the Ammunitions and Artillery, in exchange for *Pignerol*, * *Perngia*, *Savillan*, and * *Perouse* with all the Lands within their Limits. *Imbert de la Platiere Bourdillon*, the Kings Lieutenant beyond the *Alpes*, started many difficulties, sent warm Remonstrances to the Council to prevent the Execution of that Order, and would not obey till after three exprefs Commands, and upon the most solemn and authentick discharges that could be imagined. Which yet would have availed but little, if the Dukes had not paid all the Arrears that were due to the French Garrisons in the said places, and had not moreover lent a Hundred Thousand Crowns to the King.

The Ambiguous conduct of the Regent fomented the Troubles. On the one side she feigned to give a favourable ear to the *Huguenots*, for she permitted *John de Montluc* Bishop of *Valence*, and *Peter du Vall* Bishop of *Sées*, to Preach even in the Kings Family, such Doctrine as was very much like theirs; She wrote a long Epistle to the Pope, wherein she said that till there were a General Council, they might safely be admitted to the Communion of the Roman Church, since they held or taught nothing contrary to Holy Scripture, or the seven first Oecumenical Councils, She set forth an Edict which commanded all men to leave them in peace, and released from Prison, and call'd home from Banishment all such as had been prosecuted upon that single account. (This was the first they ever had in their favour;) and on the other side she incited the Constable to complain aloud and openly of these things thus done to the prejudice of the Roman Church.

Honour would not allow the Constable to joyn himself openly with the Duke of *Guise*, whilst the Prince of *Condé* continued to be his Enemy; wherefore he begg'd the Queen to make an accommodation between them. Both of them being therefore commanded to come into the presence of the King, the Princes, Cardinals, and great Officers, the Duke of *Guise* Addressing his Speech to the Prince, assured him he had no way contributed to his imprisonment: the Prince replied, he held him for a Rascal and a Traitor whoever were the Author of it; the Duke answer'd he believed so to, and that this did no way concern him. This past, the King Commanded them to embrace, and promise each other a sincere and cordial amity. An instrument hereof was drawn up in writing which was signed by the two Secretaries of State.

The Parliament was in such a heat against the Edict the Queen had obtained in favour of the *Huguenots*, because they had sent it only to the Presidials and not to them, that they made a Decree quite contrary. Whereupon the King made another in *July* referring the Cognizance of all Crimes of Sedition and unlawful Assemblies to the Presidial Courts, and those of Heresie to the Judges Ecclesiastical, by whom the Parties convict should be delivered up to the Secular Power; who should not however condemn them to any thing above banishment.

1561.

They had often discoursed of a National Council: till that could be called, it was thought convenient to have a Colloquy or Conference, between the Catholick Priests and the *Huguenot* Ministers. The Cardinal *de Lorrain* was one of the chief Promoters, whether to hinder the National Council which did not at all please the Court of *Rome*, or to make ostentation of his learning and eloquence. The Ministers did likewise promise much advantage to themselves: for by this means they were made equal with Bishops, whereas in a Council they could have had no place. Besides they thought themselves able enough to throw Dust in the Catholicks Eyes: and they reckon'd they must needs have the better of it, seeing the two Bishops of *Sées* and of *Valence*, who were of the most knowing Prelates, leaned towards them.

1561.
in May.

In the interim, the Assembly of the States which had been adjourned to *Pontoise* in *May*, began to fall to work. Whatever the Regents Emisaries had been able to do, there was yet so much of the ancient *French* spirit left in the heads of the Deputies, as would not suffer them to let a Woman have the Regency: the King of *Navarre* was forced to go thither himself to let them know he had yielded up his right, and together with the Mareschal *de Montmorency* Governor of the Isle of *France*, intreat them, they would speak no more of it. This was not sufficient, but for fear they should bring it again upon the Stage, it was judged necessary to dismiss the Assembly till the Month of *August*, and to appoint it might be held at *Saint Germain en Laye*, where they did meet.

The King was present there sitting on his Throne, the Queen-Mother at his left hand with her Daughter *Margaret*, and somewhat lower the King of *Navarre*, the Cardinal *de Bourbon* and the Prince of *Condé*; before these on the right hand were the Constable, on the left the Chancellor, the Duke of *Guise* as grand Chamberlain, lay at the Kings Feet. The Cardinals pretended to take place before the Princes of the Blood, and had often had it in other Assemblies: but it was now judged otherwise in favour of those Princes. The Cardinals *de Chastillon* and *d'Armagnac* did acquiesce: and the old Cardinal *de Bourbon* remained there also, who having the right of birth before the Prince of *Condé*, had likewise the precedence: but the Cardinals *de Tournon*, *de Lorrain*, and *de Guise*, would not submit to it, and so withdrew.

The Admiral being the person that had persuaded the King of *Navarre* and the Deputies of the Estates, to confirm the Regency to the Queen-Mother, She would in recompence, whilst She stood in need of him, favour the *Huguenot* party; and according to that Air wherewith She had inspired the Court, or to intimidate the Clergy and incline them to give Money, it was observed that in this Assembly every thing was turned against the whole Body of them. Those that spoke in the name of the third Estate, and the Nobility mentioned, no other thing but their irregularities and disorder, and concluded, (as the Hereticks ever do, and all such as have more Policy than Religion) not so much to reform them, as to retrench their vast Riches, and take away their Temporal Jurisdiction, and adjudg the possessions of Religious Rents to the King. They added, that a National Council ought to be called, and in the mean time did tolerate the Religionaries to Preach with all freedom in such Temples, where the King should appoint, and give leave.

After these Harangues they considered and debated the propositions contained in the Deputies papers and instructions: wherein some Reglements were made by way of satisfaction. But the Regent did not forget to take those advantages which the Council of Kings is ever wont to draw from such Assemblies, that is to say, great Sums of Money. For the Clergy having a hot Allarm, gave consent they should raise four Tenths in Six years, and the third Estate five Solz upon every Tierce of Wine that was carried into any Walled Town. An impost that hath encreased ever since that time to this very day.

The day for the Colloquy being come, there met six Cardinals, and four Bishops at *Poissy*, with a good number of the Most Learned *Theologues* amongst others *Claude d'Espence* and *Claude de Saintes*; that which made the number of these Prelates there so great, was their being sent for to advise about the place and time for a Council, and to deliberate concerning the publick Affairs of the State. Now before the Ministers were come, they had propounded several things amongst themselves in order to restore the Discipline, supposing, as it was true, that the corruptions thereof had given rise and birth to the present heresies: but they came to no result of any importance.

Some

1561.

Some days afterwards ten or twelve Ministers arrived there, the most famous of them were *Theodore de Beze*, *Augustin Marlorat*, *Francis Morel*, who compiled the first Articles of their Religion, *Peter Martyr* and *John Viret*. The King and the Regent were present with the Royal Family, the Princes of the Blood, the Bishops, Cardinals, Council of State and the Grandees of the Kingdom both of the one, and the other Religion, all seated according to their Qualities and Degrees within a place enclosed with rails: the Doctors were behind the Bishops upon low Forms. The Ministers would have gone within the Enclosure, but they were excluded, and remained without, and standing.

Though the Colloquy was appointed upon the Tenth of *August*, it did not however commence till the Fourth of *September*. After the Chancellor had open'd it, the Cardinal *de Tournon* desired since the thing was new and without a President, he might deliberate or consult of it with the Clergy. The Queen-Mother would not allow it, and commanded *de Beze* to speak: for they had resolved to treat of and handle the questions by discourses and harangues, not by argumentations and syllogismes, which suited very well with the desire the Cardinal *de Lorrain* and *Beze* had to shew their Eloquence.

September.

We may say of *de Beze* on this occasion to say no worse, that he had neither the prudence, nor the moderation he ought to have shown. For upon the point touching the Holy Sacrament his zeal transported him to such expressions and discourses as horribly grated the Catholick Ears, saying that the Body of *Jesus Christ* was as far distant from the Eucharist, as Earth is from Heaven. The Prelates trembled with horror of the expression, the Cardinal *de Tournon* made a great deal of noise, and called him Blasphemer, in so much as *Beze* was ashamed of it, and endeavour'd to excuse himself to the Queen, and filed his rough and grating Proposition a little smoother.

It had been resolved to reduce all the dispute to two heads, the one of the true Church, the other about the Eucharist. The Sixteenth of *September* the Cardinal *de Lorrain* made a discourse as learned as it was eloquent, and full of solid reasonings both upon the one and other point; which he concluded with this, that there could be no re-union of the Sectaries with the Church, if they did not believe the reality of the Body of *Jesus Christ* in the Eucharist. The other Prelates rising up applauded this proposition, declared they would live and dye in that belief he had explained, and besought the King and Queen to persevere, and to defend it, protesting they would break off the Colloquy if the Ministers refused to yield that point.

It was continued nevertheless for some time longer. The Four and Twentieth of *September* *Beza* strained hard to reply to the Cardinals discourse, then entred into dispute with the Catholick Doctors, as did his Companions afterwards each in his turn. Father *Jacques Laynes* a *Spaniard*, and Superiour General of the *Jesuits*, whom the Cardinal *de Ferrara* the Popes Legat (who arrived not till a good while after this Conference was begun) had brought along with him, would not confer with the Ministers: but treated them with the epithets of Wolves, Monkeys, and Serpents, and boldly told the Queen that it did not belong to her to hold Assemblies for matters concerning Religion, especially since the Pope had convoked a Council. The disputes were not discontinued for all that till in fine the alteration having so exasperated and heated their spirits, that they were capable of nothing but downright quarrelling, they broke up the Conference the five and twentieth day of *November*.

November.

Some believed the Cardinal *de Lorrain* had chiefly promoted this, who having some kind of correspondence with the Lutherans of *Germany*, thought to make himself head and as it were Pope of that Party opposed to the *Roman* Church, which however as to the exterior differs not much; and in this prospect had promised them to engage the Ministers of *France* by this Colloquy, to subscribe to the *Ausburg* Confession. And indeed towards the end of the Colloquy there came some Lutheran Ministers to *Paris*, and the King of *Navarre* overpersuaded by the Lawyer *Francis Baudouin*, Tutor to his Bastard-Son, joyned with that Church: but seeing those of *France* held at too great a distance, and made the difference too wide, the Cardinal *de Lorrain* despairing to bring his ends to pass, became equally an utter enemy both to the one and the other.

As in this Colloquy the *Huguenots* had for the first time, the liberty allowed them to dispute the controverted Articles of Religion: they thought they might have every where that of exercising it, and began to open their Temples in eve-

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1561.

ry Province. The Queen-Mother in retribution of the services paid her by the Admiral, lent him, or feigned to lend him her helping hand in many occurrences, and even sent orders to the Kings Ambassador at Rome, to be instant with the Pope and Cardinals, for obtaining the Communion in both Species, and the allowance to pray to God in French; which she could not obtain, perhaps because as she demanded it openly, she obstructed it underhand.

The *Triumviri* could not endure the great credit the Admiral was in, and retired from Court, making Religion the pretence of their discontent. The King of Spain who affected the Title of Catholick, express'd a great deal of Anger for that they favoured the *Huguenots*, and particularly against the King of Navarre, thereby to have a *Salvo Conscientia* not to do him right concerning his Kingdom, and a pretence to intermeddle with the Affairs of France: to which he was invited by some of the most eminent, in whom the passion to govern and to supplant their Enemies, was more prevalent then love to their Native Country, or the honour of this State.

A short while before a Priest was taken going into Spain with a Petition to King Philip in the name of the Catholics, together with certain very dangerous instructions; He was carried to the common Goal. The Parliament considering the quality of the persons involved in this business, durst not search too deep, but thought fit only to condemn him to make *amende honorable* in full Audience, bare-head and his feet bare, with a Torch lighted in his hand, and to be shut up between four Walls in the Convent of the *Chartreux*.

Likewise a Batchelor of Sorbon named *Tanquerel*, having maintained some *Thefts*, wherein he asserted the Pope had an absolute power over all Kings, as well in Temporals as in Spirituals, and that therefore he might depose them if they deserved it: the Parliament ordained that he should make *amende honorable*; and because he absented himself, it was said the Beadle of the Faculty should do it for him in the School of the Sorbon before a President, two Counsellors, and the Solicitor General, and in presence of the Dean and Doctors, who were enjoined to be there, upon pain of forfeiting all the Privileges to them granted by the Kings.

The Holy Fathers greatest fear was lest he should lose his Authority in France by a National Council, the interest of the King of Spain was to gain some Authority by rendering himself necessary, and that of the Regent to preserve her own and encrease it. The King of Navarre shared in this with her, and therefore they could never well accord: but all the rest endeavoured to adjust themselves with that Prince. The Constable served as mediator to reconcile him with the Duke of Guise, and he to bring him to a correspondence with the Pope and the King of Spain. His Sentiments concerning Religion were a great obstruction, nevertheless they had the Art to manage him so well that they brought him to their bent.

They propounded to him first, if he would repudiate *Jane d'Albret* his Wife, as he might lawfully do, said they, because she was an Heretick, that then he should be Married to Queen Mary Steward, who would bring him the Kingdoms of Scotland and of England, and when they found he could not resolve upon that Divorce, they gave him verbal assurances that the King of Spain would give him up the Island of Sardinia, which they described to him as a Country abounding in all things of delight and use, in recompence of Navarre. This charming illusion was the bait that drew him into their snare.

1562
January.

In the Month of January of the Year 1562. the Regent who desired to support her self by the *Huguenots*, got an Edict in their favour, containing amongst other things the revocation of that in July, permission for them to Preach in all parts of the Kingdom, excepting in Wall'd Cities, namely in Paris. An Assembly of the Notables authorized it; the Parliament of Paris verified it, not without great difficulty, and with this Clause, *in consideration of the present juncture of the times, but not approving of the new Religion in any manner, and till the King should otherwise ordain.* The other Parliaments prescribed several modifications.

When the *Triumviri* had absented themselves, the Admiral appeared most powerful at Court, and was effectually so for some days: but he afterwards lost himself in the Queens good opinion, by his own fault. For too much prosperity having made him lay open his heart too much, he would needs make it appear to her the strength of the *Huguenots* was much greater then in truth they were,

were, demanding Temples for Two Thousand One Hundred and Fifty Congregations. He did it with intent to persuade her that she might find amongst them strength enough to maintain her self against all the World: She pretended to believe it, and charged him to take an account how many Men those Churches, upon occasion of necessity, could furnish her with fit to bear Arms; but they prudently denied to discover their whole strength: and in the mean time the Queen imagined he would have her depend solely upon his Credit; so that she put her self upon her Guard towards him; and resolved though she did make use of him yet, not by subjecting her self.

Now he and the Prince of Condé, observing withal a potent League was preparing to attack them, believed it was lawful to joyn the German Princes to their party, since their Adversaries had taken the *Spaniards* into them. The Duke of Guise and the Cardinal his Brother having notice of it, labour'd with great assiduity to prevent such assistance: themselves went to *Savoy* to discourse with the Duke of *Virtemberg*, from whom the Prince hoped to get a considerable party. They craftily feigned a great propensity to *Luthers* Doctrine, and made him believe that if they had but some good correspondence with the German Princes, who generally were of that Church, they would bring both the Catholics and * *Zuinglians* to reason, and by that means restore the Church to Unity. The Duke of *Wirtemberg* was cajoled with this specious pretence, and fell from the *Huguenots* the more readily, for that in truth the *Lutherans* hate them but little less then the *Roman* Catholics do themselves.

At his return from *Savoy*, the Duke of Guise having sojourned some days at his Castle of *Joinville*, was desired by his Confederates to come speedily to Paris, because the *Huguenots* being countenanc'd by the Regent, the Prince of Condé, the Admiral, and their Governor the Marechal de *Montmorency*, would needs be uppermost. They were permitted to Preach in the *Fauxbourg Saint Merceau* and in that of *Saint Antoine*, the Chevalier du Guet, or Captain of the Watch, had order to Guard them with his Archers, and they had disarm'd the people of Paris, for fear they should run open-Mouth upon them; which had so raised their courage, that the Priests could not carry the Holy Sacrament along the Streets without danger of an up-roar.

About the latter end of the foregoing year there hap'n'd a great Tumult in the *Fauxbourg Saint Merceau*, where they broke open the Church Doors of *Saint Medard*, pull'd down the Images, kill'd divers persons, and dragged the Priests most shamefully to Prison, because some Catholics had abus'd a man, whom they sent to bid them leave off jangling their Bells, which hindered their hearing the Minister. The Parliament having taken Information upon complaint of either party, found the *Huguenots* guilty, and punish't their insolency with the death of two or three of them.

Now the first day of March, as the Duke of Guise was passing thorough the little Town of *Vassy*, it hap'n'd that some quarrel arose between some that were of his Train, and the *Huguenots* who held their meeting in a Grange, and he going thither to pacifie them, was wounded on the Cheek with a stone. His people seeing his face all bloody, their rage grew to such a height, that they slew near threescore of them, and wounded above two hundred. This is what the *Huguenots* have called the *Massacre of Vassy*, and which in effect proved as it were the first signal to all those bloody Wars for Religion which afterwards afflicted this unhappy Reign, though it were a pure accident, without any design or fault in the Duke of Guise.

After he had taken with him the Cardinal his Brother in his passage by *Reims*, he came to *Mantuil*: his friends came to him in Crowds, and the Constable sent to Complement him. In the mean time the Prince of Condé was gone to *Monceaux*, to make Complaint to the King about the Murthers at *Vassy*. The Regent found her self mightily perplext, She promised the *Huguenots* to do them justice, wrote to the King of Navarre who was at Paris, to provide for the safety of the King and Kingdom, sent for the Duke of Guise to come to Court without any Company, and enjoyned the Marechal de *Saint André* to repair to his Government of *Lyonnais*. But the *Navarrois* sharply reproved the *Huguenot* Deputies who carried him the complaints from those of *Vassy*; the Duke of Guise replied that he was busie and could not yet appear at Court, and the Marechal told the Queen to her face, that in the posture things then stood, he could not abandon the Kings Person.

Shortly

1562.
February.

* The Huguenots followed the Doctrines of Zuinglius and Calvin.

Beginning of the war for Religion.

March.

1562.
March.

Shortly after the Duke of *Guise* came to *Paris* attended by a Thousand or Twelve Hundred Horse. His Enemies would have made it a Crime de *Lèse Majestatis* for having Marched in by the Gate *Saint Denis*, thorough which the Kings make usually their Entry, as likewise because the *Prevost des Marchands*, and the *Eschevins* who went out to meet him made him a Speech, and the People made loud Shouts and Acclamations as to the King.

It is not credible the Queen had any suspicion that the Duke aimed at the Crown: but she imagined that he and his Confederates intended to snatch the Government out of her hands. This apprehension putting her into extreme trouble, she had recourse to the Prince of *Condé*, who was retired to his House, and wrote several Letters to recommend her Son to him, as likewise the Kingdome, and her self with expressions so affectionate and so full of Compassion, hinting that the Confederates kept her in Captivity, as gave him just cause to arm himself, though he had not had the least inclination to it.

Their principal aim was to bring the King back to *Paris*, that they might have him entirely at their devotion. The *Prevost des Marchands* who was for them, came to *Melun* to request it of the Queen, and demand the *Parisians* might have their Arms again restored, to defend themselves against the *Huguenots*. The last particular was granted, and the other was promised in time convenient; mean while the Confederates so contrived it that the Commission for the Government of *Paris* was given to the Cardinal de *Bourbon*, the Marechal de *Montmorency* being suspected by them.

When the *Parisians* had recover'd their Arms again, the Prince of *Condé* was the weaker and durst not Challenge the upper hand, or dispute the Wall with the *Triumvirs*: but to save these sores, a Composition was made by means of the Cardinal his Brother: That the Heads of both Parties should leave the Town at the same time. He therefore retired to his House de la *Ferté-Aucou* near *Melun*, and the Duke of *Guise* went to *Fountainbleau* where the King was, carrying so great a Convoy along with him, that he made the Queen quickly sensible his Forces were much more numerous than the Princes.

She was gone thither, amidst her irresolution which she ought to chuse, either to cast her self into the Arms of the Prince and follow him to *Orleans*, for he was to be there upon her first notice, or to suffer her self to be carried to *Paris* by the Confederates. Either of these made her a Captive, the first was the more odious, because of the great peril she would have put the Catholick Religion into, and the latter appeared to her the more dangerous.

March.

She would willingly have been in a Capacity of keeping them in equal balance on both hands, and for that purpose had sent for the Prince, who having gotten his friends together; was Travelling towards her and had passed over the River at *Saint Cloud*. His approach put the *Parisians* in Arms, as if they might have been besieged by a handful of Men, and gave occasion to the Confederates to let the Queen know it was necessary to remove the King to *Paris*, lest he should fall into the *Huguenots* hands. The King of *Navarre* carried her this unwelcome Message, and she seeming to hesitate, he told her plainly that if she were not pleased to go along with them, she might stay behind. She had not leisure to consider upon it, but must follow or else loose the Party: for at the same moment they carried the weeping King to *Melun*, the next day to *Bois de Vincennes*, and then to *Paris*.

Thus were all Addresses from that Queen fruitless, and all the prudent Counsels of the Chancellor de l'*Hospital*, which tended but to prevent a Civil War, that he foresaw would be inevitable as soon as ever the King was in the hands of either Party.

1562.
April.

In effect, the Prince of *Condé*, partly out of spight and revenge for having been deluded by a Woman, (for so he guessed it,) partly anger to see his Enemies Masters of the Kings Person, and fear likewise of being left to their Mercy, or suffer the zeal of his Friends and the *Huguenot* Party to grow cold, ran post hast with two thousand Horse to *Orleans*, where *Dandelot* had sily seized upon one of the Gates the day before, which was the first of *April*.

This was as it were the place of Arms and Capital Seat of all his Party. Now to keep them in Unity and under good Discipline, the only bonds necessary to all establishments, he took an Oath from all that were there; That they would remain united for the defence of the Kings Person, and of the Queens, for the reformation and the benefit of the State; That they should lead a Life without

out reproach and Christian-like observe the Laws of the Land and Military Rules, and should take care to provide Ministers to Preach the word of God to them; That they should own him for their Head, should obey all his Orders, serve him with their Persons, and should furnish him with Armes and Money.

He afterwards wrote to all the *German* Princes, setting forth the cause of his taking up Arms, and then sent the Queen Mothers Original Letters, to persuade them thereby to send him some Assistance, and lend a friendly and helping hand to redeem both the King and her from their Captivity. At the same time he published a Manifesto to all the Kingdom to the same purpose, and some dayes after sent after it the Copy, whether real, or supposed, of a League made between the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the *Guises*, to exterminate all the Sectaries of the new Religion.

This was a strong motive to draw those Princes to his side who made profession of it, and to retain and bind fast to him the *Huguenots* of *France*: for the Kings Council, thinking to dis-unite, or lull them asleep by a deceitful security, put out a Declaration upon the very same day directed only to their Bailiffs and their Lieutenants, which confirmed the Edict of *January*, granted Indemnity for all that was past, forbid the molesting or doing them any injury for matters of Religion, and gave them the Liberty of exercising the same in all places, excepting within the City and Suburbs of *Paris*.

When the Prince had declar'd himself, the Officers that took his part, and the *Huguenots* of themselves, seized upon several Cities, as *Mans*, *Angers*, *Vendosme*, *la Charité* upon the *Loire*, *Angoulême*, *Lyons*, *Valence*, *Romans*, and almost all those in *Dauphiné*, a great number of those in *Guyenne*, and *Languedoc*: In *Normandy*, upon *Rouen*, *Caen*, *Dieppe*, *Havre de Grace*, *Bayeux*, *Saint Lo*, *Vire*, *Falaise*, and many others. *Matignon* the Kings Lieutenant in that Province under the Duke of *Bouillon* who was Governor, saved *Granville* and *Cherbourg*. This was a signal Service, for those Ports would have given an easie entrance to the *English*.

Wherever the *Huguenots* were Masters, they utterly abolished the exercise of the Catholick Religion, overturn'd the Altars, broke the Images in pieces, burned the Reliques, and cast the ashes into the Air, Tormented and Massacred the Monks and Priests, not observing that equality and moderation herein, which they expected should be measured to themselves, but rendring their Party execrable to the People by the horrible profanation of all things Sacred. The Prince neither by Intreaties, nor by Remonstrances, nor even by punishment, had power to stop their fury, which he knew must be very prejudicial to his cause. And indeed they were even with them in many Cities, where they Massacred huge numbers, as particularly at *Cahors*, *Sens*, *Amiens* and at *Beauvais*; and their pulling down and plundering continuing, the Parliament by a Decree of the last of *June*, enjoyned all persons, to fall upon them and destroy and slay them in all places wherever they should find them, as People that were mad, and declared Enemies both to God and Man.)

Though all the Kingdom were in a flame, the Chancellor a right good *Frenchman*, endeavour'd to remedy that evil he could not prevent, and sought wayes for an Accommodation, which did not seem impossible to him, since their Forces had not yet engaged, nor any Blood as yet been drawn but what was spilt in Tumults and Seditions. The Queen consider'd likewise, finding the *Huguenots* Masters of so many places that the *Triumvirs* might seize upon the rest, and so both her Son the King and she, might be wholly stripped of all: and therefore she sent the Baron de la *Garde* to find out the Prince, and intreat him earnestly to come to Court, assuring him that whatsoever had been done against the Protestants, was much against her will, and that with his Assistance she would endeavour to repair it.

The Prince began to listen to it, and was inclined to condescend, when news was brought him, that the *Huguenots* coming out of Church at *Sens*, were all Massacred, and their Houses sacked by the Soldiers, the fault whereof was charged upon the Cardinal de *Lorraine*, Archbishop of that City. The Prince having heard the particulars said to his People that they must hope for nothing now but from God and their own Courage; They then caused white Callocks of Cloth to be made for all their Cavalry, and endeavour'd to animate and keep up their Spirits by Printing several little Books, some for their Justification, others to bespatter the House of *Guise*, and particularly the Cardinal de *Lorraine*.

1562.

April.

Their own An-
thors blame
them for it, and
say, that by this
furious zeal, they
drew upon them
the Peoples hate
and Massacres.

Yet

1562.

Yet there were many Envoyez, and propositions sent from the one to the other. The Prince demanded the Edict of *Jannary* should be observed, that there should be Justice done for such as were Massacred, and that the *Triumviri* should quit the Court. They to repel these Attakes, presented a Petition that there might be no other Religion in *France* but the Catholick; That all Servants belonging to the King, all Governors, Officers, Magistrates, &c. should make a publick Profession of it, or be deprived of their Employments. That all such as had laid violent hands on things Sacred, should be punished for their Sacrilege: That no man should bear Arms, but such as were Commissioned by the King of *Navarre*, upon which Conditions they offer'd to retire from Court.

June.

These Messages having effected nothing towards a reconciliation, the Queen would needs confer with the Prince her self, the place was assigned at *Toury*, where either came accompanied with about Fifty Horse, and all the necessary precautions. The King of *Navarre* was with the Queen. The Gentlemen belonging to them (who were kept at Eight Hundred paces distance lest they should chance to quarrel) could not be restrained from running to embrace each other, weeping to express both the joy for their present meeting, and the sorrow for that fate which threatned to change this friendship into a Scene of fury, and these Salutations into the necessity of cutting suddenly one anothers Throats. In fine, the Queen could not gain her ends. The King of *Navarre* and the Prince picqu'd each other with reproaches, and the Conference broke off.

The Prince had a good part of the Nobles and Soldiery for him. The Confederates had the *Parisians*, the Name and Person of the King, which are necessarily followed by the Great Officers and Parliament. The Six and Twentieth of *June* the Parliament declared all such as had seized those Cities before mentioned, Rebels, and guilty of Treason. However they excepted the Prince of *Conde*, as if it must have been supposed that the Huguenots detained him by force.

The Armies on either part took the Field, and these being the one in the Country of *Orleanois*, the other in *Dunois*, the Queen made one Essay more which was like to have succeeded to the destruction of both the Factions. She proposed to the Prince, by the advice of *Valence*, to make the *Guises* and the Constable quit the Court if he would lay down his Arms, and come and put himself into hers and the King of *Navarre's* hands. The Prince running inconsiderately into this toyl, goes to the Queen at *Tully* as soon as ever he heard the * *Triumviri* were retired, and by a second imprudence promised to leave the Kingdom, if they returned not to Court.

* By this word is meant, the Duke of Guise, the Constable, and the Marechal de Saint Andre, and by Confederates, they and the King of Navarre.

The Admiral de *Coligny* and the other Chiefs of his Party, mightily in pain and disquiet both for him and themselves, came the next day, and made him sensible he could not in honour engage his word to the prejudice of what he had promis'd them, and was in Conscience bound to make good; and thus they obliged him to recal it at the next Conference which was held the following day, and brought him back again to his Army. Every one admiring the Queen Mother had not taken the whole Covey as she might easily have done with one fair draught of her Net; which she could not possibly have forborn had it been for her Interest so to do.

June and July.

The number of Cities the Huguenots had seized were too many for their Forces, and kept them scattered at too great a distance from each other: they soon lost most of them again together with a great many of their Men. *Blots* and *Angers* were forced with all the Cruelties attending the fury of a Civil War, *Mans* and *Tours* were abandoned. The Duke of *Alencon* who Commanded the Kings Armies in *Normandy* (for the Duke of *Bouillon* was suspected of Huguenotisme) recover'd all the places about *Rouen*, and the Duke of *Estampes* Governour of *Bretagne*, *Valongne*, *Vire*, *Saint Lo*, and *Bayeux*. At *Vire* were the greatest Cruelties committed, because the Huguenots had been most cruel there.

During the Negotiations and the many difficulties there are in Cementing together the several Members of a new made Party, where most times three break off whilst they are foddering one: the heat of the Princes zealots began to grow cool. Most part came to him full of resolution, and with the hopes and expectation of being led on to Battle immediately, expecting that a few moments either would give them Victory, or a brave and glorious death: but when they found things were drawn out in Length, many desired lieve to return; so that being unable to keep them longer together there with him, he sent *John de Partenay*

Soubize

Soubize to *Lyons*, *John de Hangeft-Yvoy* to *Bourges*, the Count de *la Rochefoucauld* to *Angoulesme*, *Dandelot* into *Germany*, and *Briquemault* to *England*, the two last to hasten those Supplies which had been promised him in those Countries.

The Kings Army was increased to Five and Twenty Thousand Foot, and Five Thousand Horse, they were divided in two bodies, one of them, with whom the King was in Person, commanded by the King of *Navarre* and the Duke of *Guise*, went to besiege *Bourges*; the other commanded by the Marechal de *Saint Andre*, was sent to *Poitiers*. This last place was taken by Battery, in fewer dayes then the Soldiers had to pillage it; it was gained on the first day of *August*. The other was reduced by Composition the Nine and Twentieth of the same Month. They had sustained near upon a Five Weeks Siege, and might have held it longer, if *Yvoy* who defended it with Two Thousand Men, had not suffer'd himself to be prevailed upon either by fear, or the cajoleries and allurements of the Court. And indeed, he soon after quitted the Party and retired to his own home.

Bourges being taken, most part of the Chief Officers were for going directly to *Orleans*, where they might have coop'd up the Prince, and by that means cut off the greatest head of the Faction. The Queen would not have it so, the Duke of *Guise* himself thought the enterprize too difficult, and favouring the *Parisians* in what they most desired, was of opinion they should lay Siege to *Rouen*. The Army Arrived there about the Twentieth of *September*; and just in a nick of time to hinder that Progress the Huguenots might have made with the help of the *English*. For on the same day a Treaty of Confederation was signed between Queen *Elizabeth* and them at *Hampton-Court*, specifying that she should furnish them with Six Thousand Men, one half to be put into *Havre de Grace*, which should be delivered to her, and which she should keep for the King, and was to serve for a place of retreat and refuge to the Huguenots, which in a few days afterwards was Executed.

The Fort *Saint Catherine* was taken by Storm. The City maintained their Attakes with all possible Resolution. They proffer'd them such composition as was reasonable enough; and for three several times the Queen Mother hindred the Duke of *Guise* from giving the Assault, being perswaded by the prudent Counsel of the Chancellor, that nothing can be more prejudicial to a Sovereign then to make Conquests upon himself, and pillage his own Cities. But when they found the Besieged did continue to reject with Stubbornness those favours and that mercy they were importuned to accept, the Kings Council gave the Duke lieve to let loose the *Reynes* to Victory. He therefore gave a general Assault the Five and Twentieth of *October*. Their resistance was not equal to their obstinacy, they abandoning all at the first Shock. The Soldiers pillaged them above eight dayes together, which proved the more cruel, because they were extremely rich.

Montgomery, who had a Galley lying there ready upon all occasions (it was one of the Kings which hapned to put into *Rouen* when the Huguenots master'd the Town) soon got aboard of it with his Friends together with the *English*. The Slaves to whom he had promised their Liberty, rowed with such force that it slid quite over the Chain they had laid cross the River at *Candebe*.

They hanged up *John du Bose d'Esmandreville* President of the Court of *Aydes*, two Councillors belonging to the City, *Marlorat* the Minister, and Eight or Ten Captains: amongst others *du Cros* who had been Governor of *Havre de Grace*, and deliver'd the place up to the *English*.

By way of Reprizal or Retaliation, the Prince caused the Heads of some Catholicks to be cut off that were in his Hands, amongst others *John Baptist Sapin* Councillor of the Parliament of *Paris*, and *John de Troyes* Abbot of *Gastine*, who were taken in *Vendosmois*, as they were on their way to *Spain* from the King. *Giles les Maistre* first President of the Parliament, revenged the Death of *Sapin* who was his Nephew upon some unfortunate Huguenots that were Prisoners in *Paris*, whom he sent to the common Place of Execution. These retaliations had gone on to infinity, if the Captains of the Catholick Party, (who apprehended the like Reprisals, should they have fallen into the Enemies power) had not engaged their Chiefs to desist from such kind of Process, and to make good the usual Rules of War and Martial Customs, and Laws.

The Five and Twentieth of *October* the King of *Navarre* had been wounded in the Trenches, (while he was making water) by a Musquet shot in his left Shoulder. The City being taken, he would needs be carried in his Bed by his

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1562. *Swiss* Soldiers, to make a Triumphant entrance thorough the breach. His wound was not Mortal: but his too assiduous entertainment of the *Damoiselle du Rquet*, (one of those *Sirenes* the Regent employ'd to enchant that poor Prince withal) heated his blood too much; after which his impatience to be Cured making him venture by Boat to *Paris*, he was seized with a Trembling, and afterwards fell into a cold Sweat, the Symptoms of approaching death, as indeed it proved; for the Boat stopping at *Andelis*, he there resigned his last breath the Seventeenth day of *November*, shewing himself in this last Act, as he had done in all the other Four, wavering and irresolv'd between the Catholick Religion, and the Confession of *Ausbourg*: but discovering enough the bad opinion he had of the Government, by an express order he gave to fore-warn his Wife from coming to the Court, to stand well upon her Guard, and Fortifie her places.

The trouble the Prince was in for the bloody Conquest of *Rouen*, was yet augmented by the unwelcome News brought him from *Guyenne*. *Duras* had raised Five Thousand Men for him in that Country: this Army of Fellows pickt up at random and most Robbers, living without order, were charged by *Montluc* and cut in pieces near the Burrough *de Vere* between *Perigueux* and *Sarlat*. Which brought the Prince two great dis-advantages, the one that he lost this considerable Supply, the other that *Montluc's* Forces, having nothing else in those Parts to fear, joyned with the Kings Army some dayes before the Battel of *Dreux*.

There have been many Volumes Printed of all the Minute passages, in every Province, particularly in *Guyenne*, *Languedoc*, and in *Dauphiné*, the surprizing, taking and retaking of Towns, a World of little Fights and Skirmishes, the Barbarities and Massacres committed on both sides, the Insolencies and furious rage of the People, which, to say the truth, they were but too much and too highly provoked unto by the *Huguenots* in divers places. I shall therefore only observe in grofs that *Sommerive* for the Catholick Party, made a rude War in *Provence* against his Father the Count *de Tendes*, who held with the *Huguenots*. That in *Dauphiné* the Baron *des Adrets* having taken up Armes for these, and the Count *de Suse* for the other, pursued each other by turnes very close and smartly, and that the Baron made himself Terrible by his enormous Cruelties, Precipitating, Massacring, and Drowning without Faith or Compassion such as resisted him in any place; That *Tavanes* a zealous Catholick having retaken *Chaalon* and *Macon*, preserved for a time, all *Burgundy* from being any further involved in the Civil War; That *Normandy* was all laid waste and desolate, the higher by reason of the Sieges of *Rouen*, and *Havre*, and the lower by the Count *de Montgomery*, and the *Breton* Troops which the Duke *d'Estampes* had brought in thither to make head against him; That *Joyeuse* preserved one part of *Languedoc* in the Ancient Religion; That *Montluc*, as we may find in his Commentaries, rendred the King great Service in *Guyenne*, but that he exceeded the bounds even of severity it self against the *Huguenots*.

I shall add that their Party had the disadvantage almost every where, unless in *Languedoc* where they held all the best Cities, excepting *Toulouse*, which intending to seize upon in the Month of *May*, they were drove thence after an obstinate Fight of many dayes, and the loss of Three Thousand of their Men, not reckoning about Two Hundred more who were dispatched to the other World by several sorts of Death and Torments. That at *Lyons* they defended themselves against *Tavanes*, and afterwards against the Duke of *Nemours*, who besieged that City the one after the other; That above Fifty Thousand of theirs were Slain, as well in Battle, as in Tumults, Seditions and Up-roads; and that wherever they were strongest, they broke or melted all their Shrines, Reliquaires and sacred Vessels of Gold and Silver, which the Prince Coined into Money with the Arms and Effigies of the King, and this made Money much more common in France then ever it had been known before this War.

The dread the Pope was in lest they should hold a National Council in France, obliged him to assemble the General Council of Trent. The Cardinal de Lorraine went thither this year upon the fifteenth of November with great equipage, accompanied by forty Bishops and a good number of the most learned Doctors. His Holyness had some reason to take the Alarm upon it: the power of this great Cardinal gave him so much jealousy, that he called him the Pope on the other side the Mountains; And apprehended

1562. he would bring the Doctors of the Ausbourg Confession into the Lists. For he had given some hints and tokens, at least in appearance, that he did not disapprove their Confession altogether, and they well knew that in his passage by *Inspruc*, he had conferr'd with the Emperor. So that the Pope as if he had been to deal with the greatest enemy of the Church, Muster'd up all his Forces, sent for all the Bishops in his own Dominions, where they are very numerous, borrowed even of his Neighbours, and pray'd the King of Spain to assist him with his to strengthen his party in the Council, that he might be able to make head against those of France and Germany.

Though Philip had lost his cause at Venice about precedency, he failed not to revive it again in the Council. Claude Ferdinand de Quinones Count de Luna his Ambassador, before he would come to Trent, had demanded of the Pope what place he should have there: the Pope instead of giving a direct answer, eluded and referred the decision of that right to those Legates who presided for him in the Council. The Cardinal de Gonzague, who was chief of them, found an expedient to satisfy the Spaniards, and not much prejudice the French. Which was that the Ambassador of France, should keep his place next the Emperor, and in their Congregations, he of Spain, should by provision only, have one apart by himself, either next to Ecclesiastiques, or on a Seat distinct just opposite to the other Ambassadors. The Cardinal de Lorraine, out of the apprehension he had lest this dispute should break up the Council, obliged Lansac the Kings Ambassador to accept of this condition, and to allow the Count should have a Seat apart near the Secretary to the Council. He took this place therefore, and having Commanded his Orator to speak, went out the first of any for fear of some dispute at the Door.

But the difficulty was not determined as to the other Assemblies, particularly the Sessions of Council, and at solemn Masses, where the Seats were not placed in the same manner: so that the French denied the Spaniard the like favour there. The Legates durst not decide it of their own heads: but when they had received Orders from the Pope to give him the like rank at all ceremonies, they contrived another expedient. Upon Saint Peters Day the Fathers of the Council being at Chappel, there appeared a Seat between the last Cardinal, and the first Patriarch, and the Spanish Ambassadors sat there. They had likewise given private Order to have two Censers that they might give the Incense to the French and him at the same time. The French would not suffer it, the Divine Service was interrupted, the Legates, the Ambassadors, and some Bishops, to prevent the scandal, endeavour'd to find a Medium which was, that they should omit the giving of Incense, &c. that day.

After this Council, the same controversy was renewed at Rome, by Lewis de Zuniga Requesens Great Commander of the Order of Saint James, Ambassador of King Philip; Henry Clutin de Oysel who was so for the King, courageously maintained the right of France. The Spaniard caused divers expedients to be propounded, whereby he aimed to preserve an equality: but they were all rejected by the French, who would not only keep his ancient place and station, but would have the Spaniard do so too, that is beneath him. So that the Pope after he had vainly sought to find out expedients, did most solemnly adjudge the precedency contended for to belong to the French, and maintained him in the possession of it. Which was performed on the day of Pentecost in the year 1564. Requesens having protested against this Judgment, and not appearing at the Celebration of that Festival.

Notwithstanding since that time the Ambassadors of Spain have many times disputed for the Precedency with those of France, though for the most part to their own shame, as well at Rome, as in other Courts of Princes, till in our dayes, the most August King Lewis XIV. upon a contest hapned in England between his and one from Spain, obliged Philip IV. expressly to renounce it by an Authentick Instrument in Writing.

The 12th of November, Dandelot Arrived at Orleans with Twelve Cornets of Reisters making Six and Twenty Hundred Horse, and Twelve Ensignes of *Lansquenets*, under them near Three Thousand Men, whom the Landgrave of Hesse had furnished him withal, and some few dayes before *Duras* had brought in the Remnants of the Battel *de Vere*.

This Crime of bringing strangers into the Kingdom, was in some sort excusable in them by the example of the contrary Party, who had first caused both Horse and Foot to be raised in Germany by the Rhingrave, and Count *Rocandolf* who were Protestants, and had likewise called in some Spaniards, which they might very well have let alone, since there were above an hundred Catholicks in France for every *Huguenot*.

1562.

The Princes Army being Twelve Thousand fighting men, took the Field: Their resolution was to go directly to *Paris*, believing that upon the first and sudden fright they might force them before the *Triumviri* could return, or put the Queen in so much dread that she would be brought to a more reasonable accommodation. The event made the vanity of this Design plainly appear: he could not so much as take the little Town of *Corbeil*; and besides when he was lodged at *Arceuil* and other neighbouring Villages, the Queen engaged him in divers Conferences, wherein she pretended mildly to yield to him in divers points, to hinder him from falling upon the Suburbs, till the Parisians were recover'd from their terrible consternation) and to debauch his best Officers; amongst which number was *Genlis* who retired to his own home, but yet remained ever a *Huguenot*.

When he had consider'd therefore that it was a foolish enterprize to take *Paris* for *Corbeil*, he decamped the 12th day of *December*, and took his March towards *Normandy*, to joyn with the *English* who were at *Havre*, and receive some *English* Money to pay his *Germans* ready to Mutiny. The *Triumviri* followed him so close that at his seventh or eighth halt, the two Armies found themselves engaged to give Battel near the City of *Dreux* the twentieth of *December*.

In the beginning the *Huguenots* had some advantage, they defeated the main Battel of the *Catholicks*, took part of their Cannon, and even the Constable, being wounded with a Pistol Bullet in the Face: but they afterwards falling upon the Baggage, and their gross of Reserve which consisted of twelve hundred Reitres, disbanding likewise to get their share, the *Catholicks* had their full revenge.

The Duke of *Guise* in appearance commanded only his Company of *Gensd'armes*, and a Body made up of some friends of his who were *Voluntiers*: and yet his desert and quality made his advice and counsel pass for Orders. The *Mareschal de Saint Andre* led the Van-Guard; the Duke who stood on a rising Ground and reserv'd himself for the Crowning of that Day, beholding the Enemies scatter'd, and scarce keeping any order, detached some parties from that Body to charge the Infantry who were defrauded of their Cavalry: then Marching himself turned upon their Horse and put them to the rout. The Prince of *Condé* who never gave Ground, was taken Prisoner by *Danville* the Constables second Son; the *Reiters* trotted away into a Neighbouring Wood: the Admiral joyned them with Four Hundred Horse whom he had rallied; and with these was resolved, if the *Germans* had but had so much courage, to have begun the Charge afresh the next day.

They Counted Eight Thousand dead upon the place, as many almost of the one party as of the other. The Field of Battel remained to the Duke of *Guise*, who did not judge it fitting to pursue the Admiral, but left him to make his retreat towards *Orleans*; whither they caused the Constable immediately to be carried fearing he might be rescued from them. In the Fight the *Mareschal de Saint Andre* (being by a great Body of Horse, made Prisoner of War while he pursued the Victory too eagerly) was kill'd with a Pistol-shot by a Cavalier named *Bobigny-Meziere* Son of a Register belonging to *Paris*, whom he had used too ruggedly in some *Ren-comre*.

The Duke of *Guise* rendred all imaginable honour to the Prince of *Condé*, they supped and lay together with so many demonstrations of amity, that one would have guessed they had laid aside and forgotten all their quarrels to live together like Cousin-Germains * as they were in intire confidence, as they had before done under the Reign of *Henry II*.

When the main Battel of the Royal Army was first defeated, there were some run-aways that rode Whip and Spur even to *Paris*, Proclaiming that all was lost. Of these was *d'Osun*, who had acquir'd the name of brave in the Wars of *Italy*; and indeed the rage he fell into afterwards when he found his mistake had so betray'd his courage as to blemish the Lustre of all his former Actions, himself condemned himself to death, and underwent the execution of his own Sentence by an obstinate resolution never to eat or drink more.

Upon the first news the Dutcheff of *Guise* who had a numerous Court about her, found herself abandoned in a moment; and as for the Queen without being overmuch moved or concerned, she only said, *well, we must then pray to God in French*, & began highly to caress those that were friends to the Prince and the Novel Opinions. But next day the contrary being certified by a Cloud of Eye-Witnesses, & Let-

* They were
Sons of Brother
and Sister.

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ters from the principal Officers, the crowd about the Dutcheff of *Guise* was greater then ever, the *Huguenot* Cabal play'd the Diver, the *Catholick* one took the upper-hand and clapp'd their wings and crowed, the Queen ordered Bon-fires to be made, though with some reluctance, and gave with all the apparent willingness she could counterfeit, the command of the Army to the Duke of *Guise*, on whom the Army themselves had already conferr'd it.

In like manner the Princes Army intreated the Admiral to accept of the Office of General. When he had refreshed himself for some days at *Paray*, he descended into *Vendosmois*, and crossing the *Loire* at *Baugency*, lodged his Men in the Countries of *Soulogne*, and in *Berry*, where he knew the Duke of *Guise* would have Lodged his, in order to the Siege of *Orleans* which was resolv'd upon.

Having left his Brother *Dandelar* in the City with Two Thousand Soldiers, as many Inhabitants well arm'd, and a great number of Nobility, he repass'd the *Loire* at *Gergeau*, and takes his way towards *Normandy*. In that Country he ransomed divers little Towns for Sums to entertain his Men, received the Money from *England*, and Muster'd his Forces. Being invited by the *Huguenots* of *Caen*, he besieged the Castle wherein was the Duke of *Elbeuf* Brother of the Duke of *Guise*, and *N. de Bailloul Remouard*, whom he had taken at discretion, had not the important news from *Orleans* obliged him to return that way.

The Duke of *Guise* had laid Siege to it the sixth day of *February* 1563. The Queen was at *Baugency*, and had shut up the Prince (whom she still lugg'd along with her) in the Castle of *Onzain*. Already the Suburbs were lost with eight hundred of the besieged, already the Bridge-Tower was gained; and the *Huguenots* in such consternation they could expect no help but some sudden blow from Heaven or from Hell, when a Gentleman named *John Poltrot Meré*, prompted by a fatal and detestable Zeal for the defence of his Religion, watching his opportunity when the Duke of *Guise*, who had been to meet his Wife, returned to the Siege mounted upon a Mule and slenderly attended, shot him with a Pistol into the shoulder, whereof he died six days after; In so much reputation, even amongst his Enemies, as to be allowed the most generous Prince of his time, and the best head in Christendom, endued with all the heroick virtues, and scarce tainted with any vice, either as Prince, or Courtier.

The Murtherer after he had rid hard all night, thinking he was far enough from thence, found himself by day-break; at the Bridge d' *Oliver* *, his Horse being tyred, he went into a House to repose himself, where the same Morning he was taken by one of that Dukes Secretaries.

Interrogated what were the Motives, who the Instigators made him commit that Crime? he said, as to the first, his zeal for Religion had push'd him on to destroy him whom he judg'd to be their Persecutor: touching the other point he varied much, accusing sometimes one, sometimes another: but in all his Answers and Confessions, and at his very death, he taxed the Admiral. That Lord, to little purpose, purged himself by publick Writing, and made oath he detested that Act; In vain he Petitioned the Queen by Letters, not to hasten the Execution of that Assassin, that he might be confronted with him: the House of *Guise* believed he was Guilty: and whether he were really so, or not, the Children of that Duke took the most bloody revenge that we read of in any History of the World.

The Admirals request to the Queen seem'd reasonable enough; nevertheless *Poltrot* being carried to *Paris* the sixteenth day of *March*, was in few days judg'd, the Parliament condemn'd him to the same punishment as those that attempt the Sacred Person of a King; which was to have his Flesh torn off with red hot pincers, and drawn to pieces by four Wild-Horses. The same day the Duke of *Guise*'s Corps was brought to *Paris*, deposited at the *Chartreux*, from thence born to *Nostre-Dame* with great lamentation and the real mourning of the whole City, and then inhum'd in the Sepulchre of his Fathers at *Joinville*. *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine* made a solemn service for him at *Nancy*, and the Pope another in his Chappel at *Rome*, with Funeral Oration, which certainly might be very noble without any mixture of Flattery.

The justice and moderation of that heroick Soul appeared yet more eminently in the last moments of his Life: for he justified himself of the Massacre of *Vassy*, expressing a deep Sorrow that that accident should have given occasion for a Civil

1562.

1563.

January.

1563.

February
and March.* Half a
League from
Orleans.

1563.

Civil War, and advised the Queen to make a Peace, telling her positively that whoever obstructed it were Enemies both to the Kingdom in general, and to the King in particular.

And indeed, while he was yet living, she had begun to Treat about it, first at Saint *Meslin* with *Eleonora de Roye* Wife to the Prince of *Condé*, whom she caressed extraordinarily, giving her even hopes that her Husband should have the Lieutenantcy as the King of *Navarre* his Brother had before: Then with the Prince and the Constable in the Isle *aux Boeufs* near *Orleans*, to which place they both were brought under a strong Guard. And as the Constable stood stiff not to allow of the Edict of *January*, and the Prince was as resolute on the contrary, the Queen permitted the Prince to go into *Orleans* to communicate with the Heads of his Party.

The Ministers insisted that at what price soever, he should maintain the Edict of *January*. The Officers who were weary of the War, and himself who already longed to enjoy the sweet Air of the Court, and the softer pleasures of Women, relaxed in many things, and contented themselves with a more moderate Edict. It allowed such as were Lords High Justices to have a place for public Preaching in their Territories, and to others that have mean or low Justice, to have private ones in their own Houses, only for themselves and Family, provided withal they did not dwell in Burroughs or Parishes that held of any other Justice * but the Kings. Moreover it gave them Liberty to Preach within such jurisdiction, whence appeals may be made to the Parliament without any other Medium; as likewise in such Cities where they had enjoyed that Liberty till the fifteenth day of *March* last; and together with this it also contained a general Amnesty, a discharge to the Prince for all the Royal Money he had taken, or caused to be taken, and an acknowledgment whereby the King owned that he was his faithful Kinsman and affectionate to the good of the Kingdom, and that all those that had followed him had acted nothing but with honest intentions and for his service.

The Queen did so earnestly press the conclusion of this Treaty, that it was Signed on either part the eighteenth of *March* before the Admiral was returned from *Normandy*. He made bitter complaint to the Prince for having so ill managed the interest of his Party in a juncture of time when he might have mightily improved it: but the thing was done, and those complaints served for no other purpose but to evaporate his Choller. The Edict was published in Parliament about the latter end of *March*. That of *Toulouse* delay'd till they were commanded more than once, and moreover constrain'd to revoke all the diffamatory Decrees they had made against the Counsellors belonging to that Body, and against the Capitous.

The Soldiery that were at *Orleans*, having first celebrated their Communion in the Church called *Saint Croix*, Marched out of the City. They did the same in many others which they held in divers places, leaving them in a most desolate condition, having ruined their fairest Churches. Commissioners were sent into the Provinces by the King to restore the *Huguenots* to their own, and put the Edict in Execution: but the most part made all the difficulties in it they possibly could, excepting such as they could gain by force of presents.

If this liberty of Conscience which was allowed them, were a just cause for the Clergies complaint, an Edict made in the Month of *May*, at *Saint Germain en laye* for the Alienation of a Hundred Thousand Crowns Sol of their Revenue in fund, which was executed with great severity, made their complaints rise much higher and louder.

1563. Some while after the Chancellor *de l'Hospital* to still their out-cries a little, April, &c. granted them power to buy the same again, and caused another Edict to be published whereby it was ordained that the Tenth should be paid to them, which without doubt proved very effectual towards the strengthening and fixing the Catholick Religion; for had the *Huguenots* been exempt from those payments, the greater part of those whose Estates lay in the Country, would have gone over to them that they might at once have gained the tenths of all their Estates.

The Duke of *Guise* being dead, and the Peace made, the Queen lived somewhat more at her ease. Nevertheless four grand Affairs did yet perplex her mind; the Princes conduct, *Havre de Grace* which was still in the hands of the *English*, the dissatisfaction of the Parliament of *Paris*, and the eager pursuit and sollicitation of the Dutchers of *Guise* and her Children to have justice done them for the death of their Father.

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1563.

Whatever Artifice she could make use of it, it was impossible for her to separate the Prince from the Admiral, nor to daze him with the fine Visions of the Kingdom of *Sardinia*, wherewith she had enchanted the King of *Navarre* his Brother: but *Eleonora de Roye* his Wife hapning to die, she endeavoured to chain him to the Court with the Charms of a voluptuous life, and the tempting beauty of one of her Maids of Honour, who having refused nothing to serve her Mistress, found her self incommoded for nine Months after, and was for a time the discourse and entertainment of the Court, where the like accidents affords matter for more sport and divertisement then scandal. The Widdow of the *Mareschal de Saint André*, upon another Motive, which was the hopes of Marrying him, endeavour'd likewise to inspire him with love, but entertain'd in her own Breast so great a passion for him, as made her purchase her own satisfaction, at the Price of her Lands at *Valery*, which she bestowed upon him.

The Admiral observing that these Debaucheries, in the head of the Party, decayed even all the Party it self, and fearing withal lest there should some new beauty appear whose persuasive Eloquence might prove more powerful then his Preaching Ministers, made him such earnest Remonstrances, that he obliged him to break all those Bonds and Fetters of idle and pernicious wandering loves, by tying a second time the sacred conjugal Knot, taking to his lawful Bed *Frances* Sister of *Leonor* Duke of *Longueville*.

Every thing was in a readiness for the recovering of *Havre* by force, for it was a plain case that Queen *Elizabeth* intended to keep it as a recompence for the loss of *Calais*. After she had therefore refused to surrender it, a War was declared against her by a Herald, and the King being at *Gaillon*, *Brisac* began the Siege; the Constable and his Son the *Mareschal* came thither fifteen days after. The *French* went about it with much resolution, the *Huguenots* with more forwardness yet then the Catholicks, to take away that reproach laid at their doors of having introduced those Forraigners into the Kingdom.

Ambrose Earl of *Warwick* was Governor there with a Garrison of Four Thousand Men. The assailants press'd hard upon them from without, and the Plague made so rude a War and such havock amongst them within, as kill'd forty or fifty of them every day, and had cast down above two thousand on the Bed of Sickness, and of sorrow for being now useles: but that which amazed them more then all this, was to find that even the *Huguenots* whom their Queen had so much assisted were become their roughest Enemies. These considerations forced them to surrender the place the twenty seventh of *July*, with all the Artillery and Ammunitions belonging to the King, and all the Ships and Goods belonging to the *French*. The next day there appeared a Supply of Eighteen Hundred Men within sight of the Port, which in few days had been seconded with a Navy of Threescore great Ships Commanded by Admiral *Clinton*: but finding the Capitulation concluded he returned again.

The *English* revenged themselves for this loss upon the Merchants Ships. That was all they could do, as being unable to commit further mischief upon *France* after the loss of *Calais*, but only to turn Pirates. They continued this War at Sea for some Months: after which they consented to a Truce, which was converted into a Treaty of Peace the ninth of *April* in the year 1564. wherein it was said that either of them should preserve their rights and pretensions. This was to be understood with respect to the *English*, as to the City of *Calais*, which King *Henry II.* by a Treaty made in *Anno* 1559. was obliged to restore within eight years, during which time nothing was to be attempted on either part. Now the *French* pretended the *English* had violated this condition, and had therefore forfeited their right as to the recovery of *Calais*.

During this Siege King *Charles* entred upon his fourteenth year. The Declaration of King *Charles* the wife, which perhaps was never well understood, will that the King be declared in Majority at fourteen years; and it was the Queens intent to do it at the soonest, thereby to arrogate to her self the whole authority under the name of the King, and exclude the Prince and the Constable. Now by common right the age of majorities ought to be full and compleat. The Chancellor *de l'Hospital*, the Queens only Council in these matters, persuaded her there was no necessity to wait the plenitude of fourteen years, and said that in a favourable account, the year commenced was reck'ned compleat: but whether he suspected the Parliament of *Paris* would not be of that sentiment because they might justly doubt whether it would be favourable or prejudicial to the

1563. the Kingdom, or apprehended that Senate would set up a Council for this King as they had done for *Charles VI.* he was of opinion they should carry him to the Parliament of *Rouen* to pass this Act.

September. The King sitting therefore in his Seat of Justice, was there declared Major the Fourteenth of the Month of *August*; and at the same time he caused them to pass an Edict, which was after verified in all the other Parliaments, ordaining that the Edict he had made for Liberty of Conscience, should be observed till such time as the Questions should be decided by a Council, or else by him should otherwise be ordained; That whosoever should violate the same should be Treated as a Rebel; That all Persons should lay down their Arms, and renounce all Leagues and Communication with Strangers.

The Edict of the Kings Majority was not Registered in the Parliament of *Paris* but with great difficulty. They sent to make great Remonstrances to the King by their First President accompanied by two more of their Members; He represented it was contrary to the Custome of the Kingdom to carry any Edict to another Parliament before it was passed in that of *Paris*, which represented the Estates General, which is the Court of *Paris*, the most August Throne of their Kings, the true Parliament of the Kingdom, whereof the rest are all but little Sprouts. The King whose countenance and voice they had composed to a studied Severity, answer'd them, that they were to obey, that they should meddle no more with publick Affairs, and that they should lay aside that old and vulgar Error, That they were the Tutors, or Guardians of their Kings, defenders of the Kingdom, and keepers of the City of *Paris*. The Deputies having made their Report to the Court, they were equally divided; *Peter Signier* President in the Grand Chambre, and *Dormy* President aux Enquestes, carried their Division, to the King, who ordered that the Edict should be Published and Registered without delay, and that all the Presidents and Councillours should be present upon pain of Interdiction.

The King would not return to *Paris* till the Parliament had obey'd. The Mother, the Widdow and the Children of the Duke of *Guise* with a great train of Mourners, came to him at the same time to demand Justice upon the Authors of the cruel Murther of that Prince; It was well enough known they pointed at the Admiral. Some time before the Prince of *Condé*, and the Marechal de *Montmorency* had declared they would maintain his Innocency with and against all; and because he had some suspicion of the Parliament of *Paris*, the King had taken the business upon himself, and then referr'd it to the Grand Council, whence he had withdrawn it again to bring it before the Parliament. It was not possible to go thorough with it without raising a Civil War again: and therefore they found it expedient to suspend the prosecution for three years.

Before the Peace, the People of *Toulouze* had Mutinied against the Parliament upon occasion of some wall which they were making to enclose the Palace. Their thundering Decrees could not stop the Insolency of those whom themselves had nursed up in Blood and Licentiousness, by letting loose their rage against the *Huguenots*. Divers of their Members ran great hazard of their Lives in those furious Tumults; which afforded a specious pretence to the Cardinals d' *Armagnac* and de *Strossy*, to *Teraide*, *Negrepelisse*, and *Fourquevaux* to make a League, by which they were engaged amongst themselves, (after they had Communicated the thing to the Lord de *Joyeuse*) to stand united for the defence of the Religion of their Ancestors, against all Rebels, Sectaries, disturbers of the publick quiet, and that in each *Seneschaussie*; (or Jurisdiction of a *Seneschal*) they should take an Account of what Arms there were, and how many fit to bear them. The Articles were drawn with consent of the Solicitor-General, and by a Decree made, the Chambers being Assembled, entred into the Register of the Court, but yet with this Clause, according to the good pleasure of the King.

December.

This was in my opinion the first League that was openly made amongst the Kings Subjects for the business of Religion. By this example divers others were formed in several Provinces; and out of all these at least from the disposition this Imprinted in the minds of the People, that great League was framed which gave *Henry III.* his death, and infinite troubles to his Successors.

During this apparent calm, the Chancellor labour'd in contriving most excellent Reglements for Polity and Justice. All Curates were declared exempt from Lodging and Providing, or quartering of Soldiers. There was an Edict that such as were Plaintiffs in Law, should lay down a certain Sum before they were

1563. were admitted to plead: but the Parliament made great opposition; and, in fine, whether it were that this Tax hindered Law-Suits and Process, or whether on the contrary they thought it scandalous and unjust in the King to turn the Obligation he had to do Justice freely, into a toll: this Edict was abolished by Non-usage, though it were never repealed.

Another in the Month of *December* established a Court of Judicature for Merchants, composed of one Judge and four Consuls, who were chosen out of a Hundred Citizens called together by the *Prevost des Marchands*, and the *Echevins*, to determine upon the place (and without any formal and tedious proceedings) all disputes or demands concerning Trade and Commerce, to the value of Five Hundred Livers absolutely and Sovereignly, and above the said Sum by way of Provision upon giving Security; The Appeal to be made to the Parliament. After this Example of *Paris*, Ten or Twelve of the chiefest Cities in the Kingdom would needs have the like Jurisdiction, and found it to be very good and useful. In effect, if there were one in every City, and the Sovereignty of their Power extended to give Judgment as far as a Thousand Crowns, it would prevent frauds, dry up deceit at the Root, and rid them of all those paltry Splitters of causes, who long so much to have a finger in the rich Merchants purse and to taste of that fruit of Trade.

The Fourth of *December*, the Council of *Trent* was closed, where the Cardinal de *Lorraine*, who Composed and Sung their Acclamations, (though according to ancient Custome, it was rather the Office of a Deacon then of a great Archbishop) seemed not to have regarded the Honour of *France* as he ought, forasmuch as I know not upon what considerations, he named only the Emperour in particular, and in grofs the Christian Kings and Princes, although in the Address of the Bulls for convocation, the King of *France* was by name express'd as well as the Emperour.

December.

The one and Thirtieth of the same Month, which was the last day of the Year, was so likewise of the Marechal de *Brissac*, one of the greatest Warriours of his Age.

In another Edict given the year after at *Paris*, amongst many Rules contained therein to prevent delays in Suits of Law and reform their Decrees and Judgments, it was ordained that the year, which till that time in all Civil Affairs had still taken its beginning at *Easter*, should from thenceforward be changed and begin upon the first day of *January* according to the usage in the Church.

1564.

This was observed the following year in the Kings Council and the *Chambre des Comptes*: but the Parliament, which is as it were Guardian of the Ancient Orders of the Kingdom, opposed it, and could not be perswaded to follow this Reformation till after the Assembly at *Moulins*, to wit, in the year 1567.

By virtue of an Edict given at the Instance of the Queen at *Saint Maur des Fosses*, bearing that the void places in the City of *Paris*, namely that of the Palace des *Tournelles*, should be sold for the benefit of the King. She caused that Palace to be pulled down together with that of *Angoulesme* very near the other, under colour of abolishing the very Memory of that fatal place where her Husband was wounded to death: but in truth to avoid, I do not know what sinister accident, with which she seemed to be threatned there. She gave part of it to the publick for a Horse-Market, and sold the remainder to private Persons to build Houses: and then began to Erect the Palace of *Tuilleries*.

Although the Factions seemed to lye asleep, notwithstanding the Heads of both Parties, turned every Stone under-hand to keep their Friends firm to them, to maintain the Zeal and Courage of their Parties, and to strengthen themselves with Foreign assistance. The King of *Spain* was privately courted by several of the Catholick Chiefs, who were very willing thereby to support themselves, that he should have some hand in the management of the Affairs of *France*. Upon their Solicitations he sent a Solemn Embassy to the King, amongst whom were likewise Deputies from the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Duke of *Lorraine*: to perswade him to depute some in his behalf at *Nancy*, where the Assembly of Christian Princes was assigned to consult about the most necessary means and ways to make the Council of *Trent* to be received, and owned, and to extirpate all Heresies out of Christendom: but the Queen Mother who foresaw the consequences of this demand, illuded it by many delays, and sent the Ambassadors back again with an ambiguous and indeterminate answer.

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Upon

1564. Upon this occasion Master *Charles du Moulin*, the most profound of all the French Lawyers, put forth a Consultation, wherein he undertook to prove that the said Council was Null and Vicious in all its parts, contrary to the Ancient Decrees, prejudicial to the dignity of the Crown, and the Liberties of the Gallican Church. The zealous Catholics would not let this attempt, of so profane a Fellow, escape unpunished, but having accused him in Parliament of dangerous opinions and sentiments concerning matters of Faith, got him confined to a Prison: but the King by a Decree of Council set him at Liberty, with an injunction to write no more without his express Order and Permission, and forbid the Parliament to take any Cognizance of this matter.

The Five and Twentieth of July, the Feast day of the Apostle Saint James the great, the Emperor Ferdinand I. Brother of Charles V. died at Vienne of a lingering Fever, attended with a Dropsie: He had lived Sixty one years, and governed the Empire Seven years. Maximilian his Eldest Son, who was already King of the Romans, succeeded him.

July. The whole Kingdom was full of Factions, and Tumults: from all quarters complaints were brought to the King of the one and the other Party. The Queen Mother desiring to know the Strength of the Huguenots, and the different dispositions of Mens minds, or having some more secret design under deck, thought good to take a Progress with the whole Court to every City in the Kingdom, taking along with her the King, *Alexander* * Monsieur the Elder of his Brothers, and leaving *Hercules* the youngest at *Bois de Vincennes*. The Prince of *Condé* had retired himself to his House of *Valery*.

* He was 13 years old.

1564. The Court began their promenade about the end of Winter, visited *Champagne*, *Barrois*, *Bourgogne*, *Lyonnois*, *Provence*, *Languedoc*, *Guyenne*, making solemn Entries in all the great Cities, and arrived at *Bayonne* the Tenth day of June of the following year 1565.

1565. During the Kings absence, a controversy between the Cardinal de *Lorraine* and the Marechal de *Montmorency* Governor of *Paris* and the Isle of *France*, was very near breaking out into another War. The King had forbid all his Subjects wearing of any Arms, the Cardinal notwithstanding had a Licence under the Great Seal, to have a Guard that might bear them. The Marechal knew it well enough, but he expected the Cardinal should send to Compliment him upon it, and the Cardinal pretended that it belonged to the Marechal to pay him that Civility. Now when upon his return from the Council of *Trent* the Cardinal would have passed thorough *Paris* with the Duke of *Aumale* his Brother, and the Duke of *Guise* his Nephew, the Marechal de *Montmorency* knowing he drew near the City, sent to Command him by a Prevost des *Marechaux*, to make his men give up their Arms; the Cardinal went on, the Marechal well Accompanied goes to meet him, charged him in the Street *Saint Denis*. (The Duke d' *Aumale* was gone by *Saint Martins Gate*.) The Cardinals People were scatter'd here and there, and he escaped into a Shop with his Nephew. At Night they went all to the *Hôtel de Clugny*, which was the Cardinals House.

The next day the Marechal passed and repassed in a bravado before his Door. The City of *Paris* being just on the point to rise: the Prevost des *Marchands*, on behalf of the Parliament, endeavour'd to find out some means for an Accommodation between them. He prevail'd with the Cardinal to go out of Town, and with the Marechal to permit that Princes Guard to wear their Arms, according to the Kings Licence, a Copy whereof he shewed. The Duke d' *Aumale*, nevertheless hovering about *Paris* with a numerous Train of Friends whom he had called to him, the Admiral was likewise sent for by the Marechal his Cousin, and brought a Thousand or Twelve Hundred Gentlemen along with him; and thus both Parties being in Armes, it was feared every Moment they would charge each other: but the King having heard the Complaints of both sides, sent a Command they should lay down their Armes, to which they obey'd.

* She was called Peace because she was Married to King Phil. 1559. as a pawn for the Peace.

The Queen Mother being so nigh the Frontiers of *Spain*, desired to see her Daughter *Isabella* * de la *Paix*, Wife of King *Philip II*. The King sent his Brother the Duke of *Anjou* to meet her, who being attended with the Flower of the French Court, passed over the River *Marquere*, which is beyond *Saint John de Pied de Port*, and parts the two Kingdoms, met the Queen at *Arvanis*, and accompanied

accompanied her to *Saint Sebastians*, where *Ferdinand Alvara de Toledo* Duke d' *Alva* came and waited on her with a great Attendance. 1565.

He brought the Order of the Golden Fleece for the King: who went to receive his Sister at the Banks of the River *Bidassé*, and there gave his hand to help her out of the Boat. The Queen Mother had past over the River, whether so agreed upon, or impatient to embrace her Daughter, whom they set upon a Palfrey, Monsieur, and the Cardinal de *Bourbon* walking on each side, and so led her to *Bayonne* where she remained about Three weeks with her Mother.

During that time, all what the Luxury and Pomp of the Court of *France*, which surpasses all others in those profusions, could invent and contrive for Balets, Feastings, Caroufels and Bravery, were employed to let them see theirs was as stately and proud, and much more ingenious then that of *Spain*. The Queen Mother would have had it thought this residence of the Court at *Bayonne* was only to divert her Daughter: but her design was quite another thing; For under pretence of going to visit her by means of a close Gallery purposely built from one House to the other, she every Night held Communication with the Duke of *Alva*; and the event did afterwards plainly discover that all those Conferences tended to make a secret Alliance between the two Kings, to extirpate the Protestants.

The Huguenots who had piercing Eyes and quick Ears, imagined the Duke of *Alva* had advised the Queen to draw them all together to some great Assembly and dispatch them without Mercy. They said, likewise that he let these words fall, *That the Head of one Salmon, is worth more then all the Frogs in a Marsh*; and they believed that even at the Assembly of *Moulins*, the Queen had then given the fatal blow if all things necessary thereto had concurred as she desired. Now whether these things were true or imaginary, it is certain, they lost all that little Credit and Confidence there had been between them, so that they could never afterwards take any measures with her, and thus the Spaniard attained the end he aimed at, and so greatly desired, which was to maintain an irreconcilable Division in *France*.

The Court at their departure from *Bayonne* passed by *Nerac* where they restored the Exercise of the Catholick Religion which Queen *Jane d' Albret* had banished thence, visited afterwards *Agenois*, *Perigord*, *Angoumois*, *Poitou* and *Anjou*, and from thence going up the River of *Loire*, came and concluded the year in the City of *Blois*, and assigned an Assembly of the Grandees of the Kingdom, and the first Presidents of the Parliaments in the City of *Moulins* for the Month of January in the following year, 1566.

This was Memorable for the Famous Siege of *Malta*, which was fiercely Attacked by the Turks four Months together, and yet more Valiantly defended by the Grand Master *John de la Valeta Parisot*, and his brave Knights. *Mustapha*, Bassa of *Buda*, landed on the Island the Seventeenth day of May. *Piali Bassa* was Admiral or Captain *Bassâ*, the renowned *Dragut* and the old *Occhiali*, whom they called *Louchali*, both terrible for their Piracies, came and joyned the Fleet with more Ships belonging to the Corsairs of *Africa*, *Garcias de Toledo* Vice-Roy of *Sicilia*, had promised Relief to *Parisot* in the Month of June: but he performed it not till September, the Fort *Saint Elmo* being then taken, and that of *Saint Michael* and *du Burg* being both reduced to Powder; so that it was the indefatigable Courage of the Knights that saved it rather then his Assistance. The Barbarians after they had lost four Months time and labour, Seventy Eight Thousand Cannon Shot, Fifteen Thousand Soldiers, and Eight Thousand *Marriners*, retired in great Confusion. The following year they seized without resistance upon the Island of *Chio* which was in the possession of the *Justiniani*, a *Genoese* Family.

In the Spring time of the same year, 1566. *Solyman* enraged that his Force and Arms had so unfortunately split against that Rock of *Malta*, would revenge it upon Hungary, and fell upon it for the Fifth time. It was his last Expedition. Having besieged *Ziget* a place built in the midst of a Lake indifferently deep, and which consisted of two Towns and three Castles, he died of an Apoplexy the fourth day of September which was the second Month of the Siege. *Mehemet* his Grand Visier concealed his death with so much Artifice, that his Janisaries knew nothing of it till the place was taken by Storm; which was but three dayes after. The generous Count de *Serini*, who was Governour thereof, finding himself reduced to the last Castle, and environed on all sides with Flames (for the Turks had set Fire to those Fortifications of Wood) would

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1566. May, &c.

Emperor Maximilian II. and *Selim II*, Son of *Solyman*. Religned 8 years 2 Months.

needs

1566. needs go forth with his Sword in his hand, resolved to die gloriously or pierce through his Enemies. But he was overwhelmed with too great a number upon the Bridge to escape, and the place was afterwards taken and sacked and all put to the edge of the Sword. However the Infidels had no great cause to rejoice, when they found how that little handful of Earth, or Ashes, had cost them Seventeen Thousand Spanies, and Seven Thousand Janizaries.

1566.
January,
&c.

* Or distinct
Courts of Judi-
cature.

In the Assembly of *Moulins*, the Chancellor having represented how the King had spent almost two years in visiting his Kingdom to find what disorders the War had produced, declared that the greatest and indeed the source of all others, was, that all those that were in Office did not only make advantage of their administration and their management as of their own proper Goods, but moreover abused of it to the damage and ruine of the publick, the contempt of Religion, of the Law and of their Prince. He afterwards treated and made mention of several particulars whereby Grievances might be remedied, as to retrench the multitude of the Chambers * of Parliament, and reduce it to its first institution, to give honourable Salaries to the Judges, that they might take no more either Spices, nor Vacations, nor Presents, upon pain of destitution; that they might be only Triennial in each Parliament, and before they went off, to give an account of their Conduct before certain Censors chosen for that purpose.

Upon these excellent Propositions (and many more besides, which may well be desired but little expected ever to be put in practice, the Presidents of Parliament, and Councillors of State having delivered their Opinions and endeavour'd to out-vie each other, to shew their capacity) was made that celebrated *Edict of Moulins*, given at *Paris* the tenth of *July*, which in the whole contains 86 Heads, some whereof were to confirm the *Edict* made at *Paris* two years before, and that of *Roussillon* which explained it; the other to make some certain Regulations in matters of justice. Amongst others, that a Debter * though he have not engaged his person, may be detained Prisoner, if he do not make satisfaction within four Months, after Judgment signified to him, and be confined till either he hath paid or delivered up his Goods; that in the Civil no proof by * Witnesses shall hereafter be received or held valid for any Sum above an hundred Livers; that all substitutions * made before the Ordonnance of *Orleans* which went to infinity, should be restrained to the fourth degree, (this Ordonnance had reduced them for the future unto the second;) That they shall be published in Court and Registered in the next Registers Office belonging to the King; that donations between persons living should be insinuated within four Months in such Registry's nearest to the habitation of the parties, upon pain of Nullity.

1566.
February,
&c.

Before the Court parted from *Moulins*, they patcht up an accommodation between the *Guises* and the *Colignis*. There being no clear proof the Admiral had any hand in the Murder of the Duke of *Guise*, and having purged himself by Oath, the King enjoyed them to embrace, forget and lay aside all enmities on either part. Which was performed between the Admiral on the one side, and the Widdow of the deceased Duke of *Guise*, and the Cardinal de *Lorraine* on the other. The young Duke was not there, he being gone to make his first Campaigne in *Hungary*, from whence he returned not till the latter end of this year.

In the same place the reconciliation betwixt the Cardinal de *Lorraine*, and the Marechal de *Montmorency* was likewise made; the former having declar'd that it was not in contempt of the Kings Authority he had omitted to produce his Letters Patents which allowed him to go abroad armed; the latter that the Method he had proceeded in was not with any manner of design to affront him, but purely to observe the Kings *Edict*, as he was in duty bound by his Office.

In this year must be placed the beginning of the Civil Wars in the Low-Countries, which lasted till the time of the Peace of *Munster*, without any relaxation save during the Truce which was obtained by *Henry IV.* The fear and dread of the Inquisition was the principal cause of it. It was extremely detrimental and ruinous to the *Flemmings*, for besides the too violent severities used against those that were tainted with the new Opinions; it wholly interrupted all Commerce, and frightened away the Germans, Danes and English from the City of *Antwerp* and other maritime Towns of the Low-Countries. The Clergy were but little less aggrieved by the erecting of Seven Bishop-

ricks

ricks dismembred from the *Metropolitans* of *Reims*, *Triers*, *Colen*, and the Bishopricks of *Liege* and *Munster*, because they united to them the richest Abbeyes of the Low-Countries and put in Prelates wholly devoted to the Council of Spain. So that under pretence of maintaining the ancient Religion, they laboured to set up an absolute and unlimited power, over those Provinces, who owed no further obedience then according to their Laws and Priviledges.

The procedure of the Cardinal de *Granvelle*, who treated the *Grandeess* of the Country very imperiously, exasperated them yet more. Divers Conspiracies were contrived against him, the fear of which forced him to retire to *Besanson*: but his Spirit Reigned in *Flanders* still, and perswaded the Council of Spain, not to abate in the least, but proceed and carry on the work with the utmost severity. The Council of State of the Order of the *Fleece*, and Governors of the Provinces, wherein *Margaret Dutches* of *Parma* Governess of the Low-Countries presided, thought good to send *Egmont* into Spain, to represent the ill Consequences that would attend the publication of their too severe *Edicts*. He returned with fair words and great caresses: but *Philip* sent Orders to the Governess to publish the Council of *Trent*, and set up the Inquisition.

The States of *Brabant* opposed it, the Religionaries heated the people, the Governess apprehending a revolt, was constrained to put forth a Declaration which revoked the Inquisition, and would not suffer the Council to be published but with restrictions conformable to the Priviledges of the Country.

But the Populace, for the most part pre-possessed with the Doctrine of the Sectaries, were not satisfied with that, but threatened to fall foul upon the Nobility: in so much as the Lords of the Country dreading their fury, or pretending so, assembled at *Gertrudenberg*, and made a League amongst themselves for the preservation of their Liberties. The Governess being much amazed at this Conspiracy, the Count de *Barlaimont* who hated them mortally, told her they were only a Company of Gueux *. The Conspirators hearing of it, took that Epithet, or word, for the name of their Faction, and a nick name began to wear upon their Coats the figure of a wooden Porringer or Dish, with this Inscription, Servants of the King, even to the Budget. Immediately, as if that had been the Signal for their rising, the Religionaries broke loose in every part of the Country. They began to hold Assemblies, to destroy and break in pieces all what the Catholics esteem most sacred, and to seize upon some Towns, as the *Huguenots* of France did formerly, with whom they had kept intimate correspondence for several years.

Of two Opinions debated in the Council of Spain touching the Method to extinguish this Flame, *Philip* chose that of the Duke d' *Alva* as most suitable to his merciless humour, and his desire of absolute authority; which was to use the utmost severities to quell those Tumults, and not to receive the people to any kind of Mercy, till they had given up their Priviledges, their Estates, and even their Lives to his discretion. Wherefore, after he had pretended for three Months together, that he would go personally thither, to settle that people, he sent the Duke of *Alva* with Orders to execute those sanguinary resolutions of which he was the Author.

He Marched by *Savoy*, *Breiss*, the *Franche-Comté* and *Lorraine*, with the Forces of *Milanois*, and of the Kingdom of *Naples*. Whilst he was yet in Italy he advised *Queen Catherine* to arm on her part to exterminate the *Huguenots*, at the same time as he would destroy the Gueux. In effect she raised six thousand Swiss, and ordered the Governors of Provinces to send the Companies already on foot (called d' Ordonnance) and to levy new ones, but it was under pretence of Coasting the Duke, to observe and hinder him from undertaking any thing upon the Frontiers of the Kingdom.

Before he left Spain the Marquis de *Bergue*, and *Floris* de *Montmorency* Montigny were arrested, having been sent on the behalf of the States of the Low-Countries to make their Remonstrances to King *Philip*. The first died either of grief, or some morsel prepar'd for the purpose, the second had his head cut off, though both of them were very staunch Catholics, which made it apparent that the Council of Spain intended no less against the liberty of the Low-Countries, then against the new Religion.

Now it is certain that the Duke of *Alva's* Army kindled the flame of Civil War again in France. The *Huguenots* seeing them march imagin'd, That the Pope and the House of *Austria* had conspired their ruine; that this design was evident, because they every day restrained them more and more of that liberty which had been granted them by *Edicts*, so that it was almost reduced to nothing, that

1566.

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1567.
June, &c.

1567. that the people fell upon them in all places where they were the weaker, and where they were able to defend themselves the Governors made use of the Kings Authority to oppress them; that they dismantled those Cities that had favour'd them, that they built Citadels there; that they could not have justice done them either in Parliaments, nor by the Kings Council; that they Massacred them impunitively; that they restored them not to their Estates and Employments.

These were in substance the complaints they carried twice or thrice to the Prince of *Condé* and *Coligny*; who having met them two several times, still answered them, that they must endure any thing rather than take up Arms again; That a second disturbance would make them become a horror to all *France*, and the particular object of hatred to the King, in whose mind it would make so deep an impression of prejudice against them, in his blooming youth, as nothing hereafter would be able to blot out. But when one of the Chief Persons about the Court had given them certain notice, that it was resolved on to seize upon the Prince and the Admiral, the first to be detained a perpetual Prisoner, the other to be brought to the Scaffold: *Dandelot* the boldest of them made them resolve not only to defend themselves, but to attack their Enemies by open force, and to that purpose drive away the Cardinal *de Lorraine* from the King, and cut the *Swiss* in pieces: this was their first aim: but no man alive, nay not themselves could have told to what height their success might have carried them, had it proved such as they desired.

The little City of *Rosoy* in *Brie* was Assigned for Rendezvous of the Nobility of the Party, on the eighth and twentieth day of *September*. The Prince with the Admiral, *Dandelot* and the Count *de la Rochefaucant*, seized upon it without any difficulty, there being Arrived several Gentlemen from divers parts, one by one till they made up the number in all of Four Hundred Masters. They had a mind to surprize the Court which was then at *Monceaux*, on the Feast day of Saint *Michael* when the King was to have held the Chapter of his Order: but the Queen having Information that they were upon their March, immediately retired with the King to *Meaux*. And to give her *Swissers* time, who were quarter'd in the Neighbouring Villages, to get into the Town, she sent the Mareschal *de Montmorency* to amuse the Prince of *Condé* who was making ready to Charge them, and had no doubt cut them all off as they lay then scatter'd. The Mareschal having demanded what business brought them thither? carried back a Petition from them, which they had drawn up to present to the King.

1567. *September, &c.* The Constables advice was, that the King ought not to remove from *Meaux*, because they could not convey him thence without hazard of a Battel, whereof the event must be uncertain. The Chancellor said the same, and added, that if once both parties drew their Swords, there could never be any more accommodation, for the King would have an eternal resentment, and the Huguenots who had offended him, be under the perpetual necessity of keeping still in Arms against him. The ill-favour'd destiny of *France* was more prevalent then those prudent Councils: they rather adhered to what the Cardinal *de Lorraine* said, and so the King was by night persuaded to take his flight towards *Paris*. He was placed in the midst of his *Swiss*, who cover'd him on the right and left, together with eight hundred Horse belonging to his Train, more likely to hinder and embarrass, then to fight.

At the first birth of day, when he had Marched four Leagues, the Prince appear'd with four or five hundred Horse well armed. The Constable fearing an Engagement, sent the King away before with two hundred Horse out of the common road; so that he got safe to *Paris* that very night. The Princes Cavalry, who knew nothing of this fell upon the *Swiss*: but having often struggled to break in amongst them found them stand so firm, that he only followed them to *Bourget*, disturbing them now and then in their rear.

The Princes party rested four days at *Claye* waiting for an answer to their Petition. In the interim Forces came to them from several parts, with which they designed to seize upon the Avenues to *Paris*, particularly *Montereau Faut-Yonne* above, and Saint *Denis* below, which lies near the River of *Seine*, and commands all the Country on that side. In the former they placed a Garrison; the Prince himself lodged in the latter. In his March he burnt all the Mills between the Gates of the Temple and Saint *Honoré*, but without any other effect save only that it encreased the Kings Anger and the *Parisians* hatred.

For

1567. For eight days together there was nothing but Messages to and fro, the Constable and Chancellor desiring to try all means whereby to prevent the *French* from cutting one anothers throats. The first nevertheless would relinquish nothing in prejudice of the Catholick Religion, and always stood upon it with the *Huguenots* that the Edict of Pacification which they urged, was but provisional. Thus wrangling upon that point, which was indeed the most essential they broke off all Conference.

Some Troops being come out of the Provinces to the Huguenots, they seized upon the Bridge at *Poissy*, and of *Argentueil*, and a great many small Castles on the other side the River with whom they made a communication by means of certain Pontons, (or Bridges) which they had at Saint *Ouins*: so that they commanded and beat about all the roads to *Normandy*, the Countries of *Perche*, *Mayne*, and *Anjou*, and stoppt all provisions which come in vast quantities to *Paris* from those quarters. The people began therefore to cry out against the Constable, as if he had some correspondence with the Admiral his Nephew, and their murmurs not ceasing, even after he had retaken all those Posts, he was so nettled that they should suspect his fidelity, that he resolved, though he had ever been a wise Cunctator, to go forth and drive the Enemies from all their Lodgments. They held three, Saint *Ouins*, *Aubervilliers*, and Saint *Denis* which lay between the two others.

He did not believe that they durst stand him in the Field, having but a handful of Men, for they were in all but twelve hundred Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse, mightily harassed and most of them ill armed, having instead of Lances only some kind of Poles they got at Saint *Denis* which they armed with Iron heads. I do not reckon the five hundred which *Andelot* had at *Poissy*, who could not come to the Fight because the Pontons at Saint *Ouins* were sunk by the Kings Soldiers. The Royal Army consisted of sixteen thousand Foot, and three thousand Men at Arms, without including the City Companies, who did much more encrease their number, then their strength.

The day before having resolved to attaque them, he caused them to be harassed all the day and all the night long by fifteen hundred Horse, as well to discover as to tyre them. The following day being the tenth of *November*, he Marches out with his Forces, having told the *Parisians* that very day should shew proof of his fidelity, and that they should not see him again but either dead or victorious. His Son the Mareschal broke in amongst the Enemies and cover'd the Field with their slain: but as for himself the Body he Commanded was routed, and he abandoned by most of his Men. However he did not forsake himself, but did all that belonged to a General, and a resolved Cavalier, till he was wounded in six places, the last of which was mortal: This was a Pistol-shot which *Robert Stuard* discharged in his Reins. *D'Anville* his Son and the Duke of *Anmale* disengaged him. Night put the Combat to an end and saved the Huguenots who were defeated on the right Wing, and very much shaken in the left.

But few of the Infantry fell upon the place, of which the most were Huguenots, and six or seven hundred Cavaliers, amongst whom were near two hundred Gentlemen, as many of the one as of the other party.

The night after *Dandelot* Arrived from *Poissy*, and passed over the River at Saint *Ouins* upon those Pontons which he weighed up from the bottom of the water and patched together. He was of Opinion that to stop the report which was spread abroad of their defeat, it were fit they should draw their Forces up in Battalia, and with them he with a marvellous resolution charged the Enemies to the very Walls of *Paris*. From the top of the Walls and Envoy of the Grand Signors who beheld the Fight, observing them return so often to the Charge, said to those that stood about him; That if his Master had but Six Thousand Horsemen equal to those white Coats, he would soon conquer all *Europe*.

1567. *November, &c.* The Field and Spoil was the Catholicks, but the Honour was the Huguenots; who without Cannon and being so small a number had withstood the effort of a Royal Army that had *Paris* to back them. The Constable died the next day of his wounds, with a courage truly heroick, and a virility of strength in his almost decrepit age. It is said, That a *Cordelier* importuning him with his tedious exhortations, he desired him to leave him in peace, telling him, That he had not liv'd fourscore years, without learning to die a quarter of an hour. At his Funeral Pomp they

1567. they carried his Effigies, which is an honour done to none but to Kings and to the Sons of France.

The Queen very glad to be ridd of him who alone did in a manner limit her power within bounds of reason, would not fill up that Office of Constable, but that she might retain the general Command of the Armies in her own hands, gave it to her Son the Duke of Anjou, who was not yet fourteen years of age, and placed trusty people about him to dispose both of his person and that great Command as she directed.

The fifth day after the Battel the Huguenots fearing they might be overwhelmed by those of Paris, took their March towards Montrean to meet John Casimir Son of Lewis, Elector and Count Palatine, who brought them an Army from Germany. The Royal Army did not pursue them, but kept within Paris, there being since the death of the Constable no General as yet appointed.

The Queen-Mother had by Lansac and Bochetel Bishop of Rennes her Ambassadors, declared to the Protestant Princes of that Country, that in this War Religion was not at all concerned, (since the Huguenots were allowed all manner of liberty) but the Regal Authority, which they directly opposed; so that the Electors William Duke of Saxony and Charles Marquiss of Brandenburg, had denied the Prince to make any Levies in their Territories, but had allowed it to the King. The Palatine being also prepossessed had for a while kept back those Forces, his Son was to command: but being afterwards otherwise informed by an Envoyé who accompanied Lansac to the Court of France, and who upon his return saw the Prince of Condé, he exhorted his Son to go on with his March.

1567. They sojourned at Montrean fifteen days to wait for the Troops which their Chiefs were raising in several Provinces; as the King had likewise ordered his part to encrease his Army. Those that were raised for them in Poitou, Angoumois, and Saintonge had for Commanders, Francis de la Rochefoucault, Claude de Vaudré-Mony, Giron de Luzignan Bessey, and Francis de la Nouë, whose wisdom and probity was held in admiration amongst the very Catholics. In their favour the City of Rochel by means of Truchard their new Maire, and perhaps by the connivance of Guy Chabot Tarnac who was Governor for the King, entred into their party, whereof it hath been as it were the strongest Tower and Asylum for sixty years together.

In their March la Nouë being detached to get Orleans for them, managed the Business so well, that with the help of the Inhabitants who were of the Religion, he made himself Master of it the eight and twentieth of September, and forced out the Governor who had cantoned himself at the Porte-Baniere. From Orleans they Marched towards Montrean, and forced Ponts Sur-Yonne. The Admiral having joyned them there with a grose of Cavalry, would try the City of Sens: but he there found the young Duke of Guise, who having season'd his courage in the War of Hungary, endeavour'd to let him see that he should find in him an Enemy as brave and more dangerous then his Father.

Those of Languedoc were employ'd by James Crussol d'Acier in taking the Castles of Nismes and Montpellier, they having the Towns already by means of the Inhabitants. Those of the Countries of Foix, Albigeois, and Lauraguais, conducted by the Vicount *, (those were seven Gentlemen bearing that Title) having joyned him, assisted him in the taking some places about Avignon and in Dauphine. From thence they went to Orleans, where by their Arrival they freed the Princess of Condé and the Wives of the other Chief Commanders from the great fear and trouble they were in, who having but few Soldiers, were every hour under some apprehension of being taken with the Town it self.

As for the Forces of Auvergne, Forez, and Beaujolois, led by Poncenas and Verbelay, they received a check in the Country of Forez from Terride la Valette, and Monsalez, who were bringing some Levies out of Guyenne to the King: but however they made a shift to get clear. Poncenas upon another occasion in the night, was kill'd by his own Men.

The Duke of Newers who had an Army of twelve or thirteen thousand Men, six thousand being Swiss, and the rest made up in Piedmont and Italy, took as he was on his way the City of Mascon whereof la Loie was Governor: but as he was passing thorough his own Dutchy of Nivernois, he met with some Huguenot Horse of the Garrison of the little Town of Antrain; he charged them, and pursuing them in their retreat, was wounded in the knee with a Pistol-shot, which made him lame all his life after, and much exasperated against the Huguenots.

The

* Boucicaut Montclar, Paulin, Serignan, Caumont, Rapin and Montaigue.

The Huguenot Army at their departure from Montrean took their March thorough Champaigne by Chaalons, passed the Meuse and went into Lorrain. They were five or six dayes in great pain that Prince Casimir appeared not, and no less afterwards, when upon his first Arrival he demand d an Hundred Thousand Crowns the Prince had promised to pay him when he could joyn him. At this time hapned what had never till then been known; the Princes Soldiers, even to the very Snap-fack boys, freely disburled to make up part of the said Sum; and thus one Army paid the other, which consisted of six Thousand five Hundred Horse and about three Thousand Foot.

With this considerable Re-inforcement the Confederates returned into France. They took the Garrisons of Joinville and Chaumont, passed the Marne, and crossing the Bishoprick of Autun, came to the head of the Seine, the Forces under the Duke of Nevers, not being able to hinder their passage over it. From thence they steer'd their Course by Auxerre, Chastillon and Montargis; whence they extended into la Beausse. The Prince having been at Orleans to receive those Troops were brought him from Guyenne, marched Twenty Leagues in one day to lay Siege to Chartres. He thought when he should have taken this Town, he might promise to himself, it being one of the Granaries of Paris, that he might return to Block up that City its self: so deep the Imagination was imprinted in him, that he should never attain the ends he designed, but by mating that great City by Famine, and other inconveniences attending War.

The enterprize proved more difficult than he expected. Antony de Lignieres was got into Chartres with a Strong Garrison, and had put all things in good Order; If nevertheless he had at first, (which he did not till the latter end) turned the River another way which wrought their Mills, the Besieged would soon have wanted bread.

During this Siege the Conferences for a Peace were again set on foot, the Cardinal de Chastillon going to Longjumeau treated a long while with Charles de Gontaud Biron Marechal de Camp *, and Henry de Mesme Master of Requests; * Or Field. In so much as the English Ambassador and the Ambassador from Florence become- ing friendly Mediators, it was agreed upon the second day of March. The Edict was verified in Parliament the twenty sixth of the same Month. This confirmed and restored intirely that which had been made for them five years before, 1568. revoking and annulling all Exceptions, Declarations, and Interpretations which had been made to the contrary.

The more quick-sighted amongst the Huguenots were not for making this Peace, which scattered them so wide assunder, and exposed them to the mercy of their Enemies, without any other Security but the word of an Italian Woman; and indeed they named it the Boiteuse *, i. e. Lame, and the Mal-afise, al- luding to Biron who was Lame, and Mesme who was Lord de Mal-afise. But the Prince protested he was constrained to it, because the greatest part of his Forces disbanded, the Nobility were returning to their own Homes which were exposed to Pillage, and the Germans might perhaps have sold them for want of pay. The Parliament of Toulouse did not verifie it till after they had four expresse Commands, nor before they did cut off the head of Rapin whom the Prince had sent thither to press the Verification, having raked up some old Crime against him upon which they made his Process in great hast.

In consequence of this Treaty, the Huguenots raised the Siege of Chartres, and gave up several Cities they had taken, amongst others Soissons, Orleans, Auxerre, Blois, and la Charité upon the Loire. Rochel refused to obey, and after their example many others. Prince Casimir led back his Forces into Germany, and went to Heidelberg to give an account of his expedition to his Father the Elector. He there found William of Nassaw Prince of Orange, who having made his escape from the Low-Countries, implored his Assistance for the maintenance of their Liberty and his Religion against the Duke of Alva.

The Cruelties of that Duke, the Deaths of the Counts of Egmont and Horn, the Troubles of the Low-Countries, and the Foundation of the States of Holland, by the Marvellous Conduct, and unshaken Courage of that Prince of Orange, are the noblest Subjects for History that can be met with in all these latter Ages. And indeed it hath been Treated on by several Authors and of so great Merit, as they have almost equal'd the grandeur of the Theam, and Matter. We shall observe only as the most monstrous

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adventure

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adventure that can be Imagined; How Philip King of Spain being inform'd the Infant Don Carlos his only Son and his presumptive Successor (who indeed was of a roving Spirit, untractable and very dangerous) held Correspondence with the Confederate Lords of the Low-Countries who endeavour'd to draw him into Flanders, clapt him in Prison and deprived him of Life, either by Slow Poyson, or by stifling him; and in a short while after upon some kind of jealousy, Poysoned Elizabeth de la Paix his Wife, making her Perish with the fruit then in her Womb, as Queen Catherine made it appear after the Secret Informations she had taken, and by the Domestick Servants belonging to that Princess when they were come back into France.

In the time of Peace, one of the Admirals principal Cares was to encrease the Navigation and the Trade of France, chiefly in those Countries of the other Hemisphere, as well for the Credit of his Office, as to plant Colonies there of his own Religion. He had sent the Chevalier de Villegagnon to Florida, as believing him fixt in the new opinions: but this man failed him in his promises, and rudely handled those of that Profession. Afterwards in the year 1562. he dispatched John Ribaud thither with two Ships, who Sailing a quite different Course then the Spaniards had wont to do, most happily Landed at Florida. When he had made discovery of the Country, Treated an Alliance with the petty Princes, and given Names to several Capes, Rivers and Gulphs, he built at the end of the Streight at Saint Helens, a Fort, which in honour of the King was Named Fort Charles, and leaving a Lieutenant there together with some Soldiers well arm'd, return'd into France, after he had promised to come again to them as soon as possible, to bring a reinforcement and refreshments.

Not being able to make good his word, by reason of the Civil War that hapned, their Provisions failing they shipt themselves. In the midst of the Voyage they were so pressed with hunger, that they killed one of their own Crew who was Sick, and fed upon him. An English Vessel who fortunately met them, supplied their wants, and carried them into England.

The Admiral not knowing they had quitted the Fort, fitted out three Ships at Haure de Grace to go and relieve them. René Landonniere Commanded this Fleet: he landed at the Golfe to which Ribaud had given the name of May, and made an Alliance with some Petty Kings of the Barbarians: but it hapned, that whilst he was Sick, part of his men debauched by some that were Factious, forced him to permit them to go to New Spain to seek for Provisions, where having taken a huge Vessel fraught with Riches, wherein was the Governor of the Havana, they were afterwards surrounded and seized in that Island, and all sold or carried into Spain.

This Piracy gave the Spaniards a fair pretence (who were already grown very jealous that the French began to settle in those Countries) to fall upon them, and allow no quarter. They pretended those Territories belonged to them, affirming they were the first Discoverers. But in truth a Venetian Named Stephen Gaboury, prompted in Emulation of Christopher Columbus to seek out new Countries under the auspicious favour of Henry VII. King of England, had found out and landed upon those Coasts even in the year 1496. long before there Ponce de Leon, who was indeed the Person that gave it the name of Florida, because he went first on Shoar there upon Palm-Sunday.

When Landonniere was ready to return, he spied Seven Vessels at Sea: this was John Ribaud a very good Sea-man; but an ill Soldier and much worse Captain, who was made choice of by the Admiral as very affectionate to the Interests of his Party. The Spaniards had at the same time sent one Peter Melandez, with some Ships to hinder the French from taking root there. Ribaud quitting his Fort which he left but slightly furnished with Men, went on Board his Ships to Fight them. When he was out at Sea a Hurrican, a strange kind of Storm very frequent about those Coasts, forced and beat all his Fleet in pieces against the Rocks: His men getting to Land with their Long-Boats, fell into the Hands of the Spaniards; who having taken the Fort, slaughter'd them all with a more then Canibal Cruelty, tearing them piece-meal, and plucking out their Eyes. They said they treated them after that manner, not as French-Men, but as Lutherans. Landonniere having pick'd up as many as he could with the Boats he had ordered to creep along the Shoar, set Sail for France.

The

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The King's Council who were half Spanish, not minding to take any Revenge for this Massacre, a private Person, by Name Dominique de Gourgues Native of Mont de Marfan in Gasconne, a man of Heart and great Resolution, offended for that the Spaniards having otherwhile taken him Prisoner in the Wars of Italy had put him in their Gallies, undertook to avenge both his own Injury and that of France. With part of his Estate which he sold, and what his Brother, President of the Generality of Guyenne, lent him, he equipp'd some Vessels with Two Hundred Soldiers, and a Hundred Sea-men, went and Landed in Florida, and joyning with the Barbarians of the Country who mourned and groaned under the Oppression of the Spaniards, attack'd and by Storm took the Fort Charles, and two more which they had raised in two places at some distance. In them were above Eight Hundred men. The Barbarians beat out the Brains of such as thought to escape into the Woods, and he caused all the rest to be hanged who Surrendered at discretion, with this Writing, Not as Spaniards, but as Pirates.

Upon his return into France, the Avenger of his Country, and the Deliverer or Redeemer of Florida, instead of Elogys and Rewards, met with Accuser; and a mortal danger: the Ambassador of Spain demanded his Head, and the Council was ready to give it him; so that he was forced to hide himself, till after the Peace, when the Admiral and his Friends brought him off from all trouble.

Peter Bertrand Son of Blaize de Montluc, gained no less Honour in his Enterprize, but had less a fortunate Success. He had a design to build a place, either by fair means or by force in such a post as he should find most convenient in the Kingdoms of Manicongo, Mozambique, or Melinda, to serve as a Retreat for the French to carry on the Trade of Africa, and the East-Indies, as the Portuguese did. For this purpose he fitted three great Vessels and some Barks, with Twelve Hundred Soldiers. His younger Brother Fabian, and a Cadet of the House of Pampadour, accompanied him.

A Tempest having cast him upon the Coasts of Madera, his men would needs go on Shoar for fresh water: the Portuguese received them with Cannon shot, and made a Salley to cut them off. Bertrand enraged that they should thus violate the common right of Mankind, and the Alliance between the two Crowns of France and Portugal, Lands Eight Hundred Men, goes directly to them whilst his Brother cut off their Retreat, and so slew them all. At the same time he Marched towards the City which bears the same Name as the Island, puts his Cannon in Battery, forced and sacked it: but as he was Assaulting the great Church, where part of the Garrison yet defended themselves, he received a wound in his Thigh whereof he died in a few days after.

Thus was that Enterprize interrupted, which would have been no less useful then glorious. All those that went along with him ran great hazard of their Lives, when they were come back into France. They were fain to hide or keep out of the way a long time: the Credit and Interest of Montluc, nor the power of the Admiral, who stood up stoutly for every thing wherein the Honour of the French was concerned, had much adoe to secure them against the Complaints and Instances of the Portugal Ambassador, who prosecuted them before the King's Council as Pirates.

The intention of those that made the Peace of Chartres was not to keep it, but to take their advantage better than they had done before. So that it could not last long. The Huguenots contravening to the Treaty, retained several places, amongst others Sancerre, Vezelay, Montauban, Castres, Millaud and Rochel, which they Fortified in all hast. They manifestly had Intelligence with Queen Elizabeth, and with the Princes of Germany: and the Admiral had particular Correspondence with the Prince of Orange. A Normand Gentleman Named Coqueville, had raised Seven or Eight Hundred Men in the Country of Caux to carry to him: but being charged and then invested by the Marechal de Cossé in Saint Valéry's, they threw down their Armes, and Coqueville was Beheaded.

On the other hand they did not let the Huguenots enjoy either Peace, or their Liberty of Conscience: they were more in danger than in the time of War. In three Months time above Two Thousand of them were kill'd in divers Places, either by their particular Enemies, as René Lord de Cipierre, Son of Claude de Savoye Count de Tende, and Thirty Persons of his Train, whom Gaspard de Ville-neuve Marquess d'Arts, Massacred in Frejus, as he returned from Nice, whether he

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went to see the Duke of Savoy his Kinsman; or by popular Tumules, as at *Ambiens* near a Hundred People, at *Auxerre* an Hundred and Fifty, many at *Blois*, at *Bourges*, at *Iffondun*, at *Troyes* and in twenty other Places. But nothing seemed more cruel than what the People did at *Ligny* in *Barrois*, where a *Huguenot* upon a Holy-day having refused to comply in some trivial Ceremony, and committed some little Indecency, was haled out of his House by the populace in the Magistrates presence, and burnt upon a pile of Wood which they fetched from his own dwelling.

The Prince was then at *Noyers* in *Burgundy* a Castle of his Wives. A Soldier was surprized measuring the Fosse and the Wall to Scale the place; and that design being detected, the Queen order'd those forces to go into *Burgundy* which were raised for the Besieging of *Rochel*, and to take him by Force, since they could not catch him by craft. At the same time as they aimed at his Person as Head of the Party, so they used all means imaginable to divide the *Huguenots*, and unlink those from him who appeared most zealous to follow him.

On the contrary he endeavour'd to keep them United, and make them all speak by his Mouth. He sent *Teligny*, then *Jacqueline de Roban* his Wives Mother to Court, to supplicate the Queen Mother to maintain the Peace; and the Edicts: but that was what he ought never to have hoped for, when he could not but observe that if any one were of his opinion he was called *Libertine* and *Politician*, as much as to say one that had no true Love to Religion, and that the Chancellor *de l'Hospital* who gave pacifick Counsels, was discharged from Court and confined to his House at *Vignay* near *Estampes*, as suspected to be a *Huguenot*; and indeed, his Wife, his Daughter, and his Son in Law were so. The Seals were given to *John de Morvillier* Bishop of *Orleans*.

Hardly was the Princes Mother in Law gone from Court, when he had News that some Forces by secret Order were drawn about *Noyers* to surround him, and that if he staid four or five dayes longer, he would have no way left him to make his Retreat. *Coligny* penetrating into the designs they were contriving against them, came to the Castle of *Tanlay* belonging to *Dandelat* his Brother. From thence going to the Prince, both of them parted from *Noyers* with a Convoy of a Hundred and Fifty Horse only, in the midst of whom (a Melancholly Spectacle) were their Wives and Children, the most of them as yet in their Nurser Armes, or not out of their hanging Sleeves.

The better to conceal their Retreat, the Prince wrote a long Letter of Complaints and Remonstrances to the King, declaring he would wait for an answer to it; In the mean time he hastned forward, and pass'd the River of *Loire* at a Ford right against *Sancerre*. Scarce was he on the other Shoar, when the *Burgundian* Troops who pursued him, appeared on the higher side at *Saint Godon*. The River was at that time Fordable, but the next day it swell'd so high, that it left them no passage to get over to follow him. Which the *Huguenots* cry'd up for a Miracle.

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September,
&c.

Blaise de Montluc Governour of *Guyenne*, and the King's Lieutenants of *Limosin* and *Perigord*, were up in Armes to intercept his Passage, and the Mareschal *de Vielleville* upon the rumour of his March came to *Poitiers* to know what business led him thither. He out-strip'd them all by his diligence, and Arrived at *Rochel* the Eighteenth of September. The Queen of *Navarre* *Jane d'Albret* came there soon after with her two Children, *Henry* Prince of *Bearn*, and *Catherine*. The Cardinal *de Chastillon* who was at his Castle of *Bresle* in *Beauvoisis*, not being able to get to his Brother thorow so many of the Enemies Provinces, made his escape by Sea into *England*.

There is reason enough to believe that the Prince, or rather the Admiral, who was the *primum Mobile* of the Party, had taken his measures long before: for the *Huguenots* Captains flock'd to *Rochel* from all Parts as if appointed at that very time, and Queen *Jane* brought him near Four Thousand Men. *Dandelat* who was in *Bretagne* had gotten about the like number together out of the Provinces of *Normandy*, *Mayne* and *Anjou*, who were joyned by *Montgomery*, *la Noüe*, and some others. All these together after some Ren-counters they had with *Sebastien de Luxemburg Martignes*, passed the River, *Montgomery* having very luckily lighted on a Ford for them; the Duke of *Montpensier* who Commanded the King's Forces in that Country, nor *Martignes* ever offering to obstruct it.

Together

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Together with their Swords, both the one and the other, made use of the fair pretence of Justice. The Prince drew up the Form of an Oath, whereby all those of his Party engaged upon their Faith to follow and obey his Commands for the Defence of their Religion, and to pursue the Cardinal of *Lorraine* to the utmost, whom they supposed to be the Author of the War, and their sworn Enemy. The Manifesto for his taking up Arms which he published at the same time, expressed the very same thing; It was necessary to set up some mark to Level at, not daring in the least to pretend any Controversie with the King, or the Queen his Mother.

On the other side, an Edict was set forth by the King, whereby he promised to take all the *Huguenots* of his Kingdom into his Protection as much as any other his Subjects, and assured them they should have due Justice done for all the Injuries had been Committed against them, provided they would quietly remain in their own present dwellings. But afterwards when the Queen and the Cardinal *de Lorraine* perceived that this favour was interpreted by them as an Artifice which tended to oppress them separately one after another, did but the more animate them to run after the Prince from all Parts: they put forth another quite contrary which prohibited the exercise of any other Religion but the Catholick, and commanded all *Huguenot* Ministers to leave the Kingdom within fifteen dayes. By a third, all such of them as held any Offices or Employments, were enjoyned to Surrender the same up to the King. The Parliament added in the Verification, That no Person from that time forward should be admitted into any Office, that did not first make Oath to live and die in the Catholick Religion.

During the Month of October the Prince and his People got themselves into possession of most of the places in the Countries of *Aunis*, *Saintonge*, *Angoumois*, and *Poitou*, excepting *Poitiers*. They had proved happy in all their enterprises, if their Forces to the number of twelve Thousand Men who came from *Dauphiné*, *Languedoc*, and *Guyenne*, Commanded in Chief by *Dacier*, had not received a shrewd Check at their Marching out of *Perigord*. *Mouvens* a valiant Soldier, but too presumptuous, had lodged himself alone with three Thousand Men, upon some pick he had with *Beaudiné* Brother to *Dacier*, the Duke of *Montpensier* who was gone into that Country to hinder their joyning with the Prince, gave *Brissac* order to fall upon him, whilst himself would Skirmish with *Dacier* that he might not relieve him. *Dacier* knowing how things stood, sent to *Mouvens* not to stir out of his Quarters that day, for there he could not be forced: but he did not observe those Orders, for *Brissac* making as if he retired, *Mouvens* would needs be going that day, so that he fell into an Ambuscade laid ready for him in his March. He was there slain with a Thousand of his Men, the rest saved themselves in the Neighbouring Woods. *Dacier* pick'd up a Thousand of them the day following, the remainder were scattered or knocked on the Head by the Peasants.

The Prince going as far as *Aubeterre* to meet *Dacier*, it was then *Montpensier's* turn who before pursued him, to retreat to *Chastelleraud*. When the Duke of *Anjou* Arrived at the Kings Army, they were found to be four and twenty Thousand Foot, and four Thousand Horse; the Princes were less in number by a fourth part, but all resolute men, who having forsaken their Families and Estates, had no other hopes but in the keenness of their Swords.

So that the Prince relying on their Valour, sought all opportunities to give Battle; The Duke of *Anjou* avoided it for the same reason, but was in honour obliged to keep the Field. The severities of the Winter Season could not persuade them to go into Quarters, till at length their men overcome by the extremity of Cold, refused to contend any longer with the Frosts and Snowes. Above Eight Thousand on both sides died by the many inconveniencies they met withall.

The Prince wanted Money, without which he could not long maintain his Forces, to plunder was both very odious and casual, what those *Huguenots* that staid at home could contribute to the Cause (so the Party called it) was inconsiderable. In this great necessity, they were mightily relieved by a Loan of Sixteen Thousand Crowns of Gold disbursed by the *Rochellers*, and a Hundred Thousand Angelots*, * Angels of Gold. *Elizabeth* upon the instance of the Cardinal *de Chastillon*.

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But their Piracy made them a greater and a more lasting fund: the Prince inciting both by honour and profit some of the ablest Citizens of *Rochel*, they equipped a small Fleet of Nine Vessels and some Frigats, who went out to make prize of the trading Ships belonging to *Bretagne*, *Normandy*, and *Flanders*, having the Ports of *England* to friend whether they might with security shelter themselves and the Prey they gained, which shewed that Queen did by consequence approve the *Huguenots* taking Armes, and engaged in their cause against the King.

Both Parties had sent to have Men raised in *Germany*, the one in the Countries of the Catholick Princes, the others in the Protestants; those for the King were soonest ready. Which were Five Thousand Five Hundred Horse Commanded by divers Captains, of whom *Frederic* Marquis of *Baden*, the *Rhingrave Philip*, and *Christopher de Bassompierre*, were the principal. The Princes Levies were conducted by *Wolfgang de Bavaria* Duke of *Duke-Ponts*. The Duke of *Annale* with Six Thousand Men, and the Duke of *Nemours* who was gone to joyn him with the Catholick Forces of *Lyonnois* and the Countries adjacent, had orders to stay in *Lorraine* to hinder his passage.

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The Sharpest Frosts being over, the King's Army Commanded by the Duke of *Anjou*, and that of the Princes (we shall call it so since all Orders were given in the names of the Princes) took the Field again. The Royal one was newly reinforced with Three Thousand Men, brought by the Count of *Tendes* from *Daufrin*, that belonging to the Princes was Marching to meet the Troops of the Vicounts conducted by *Piles*. The Duke of *Anjou*, who from *Conflans* in *Limousin* had passed *Vienne* to come *Vertueil*, knowing they marched to *Cognac* for that purpose, and that as soon as they had joyned with those, they would return towards the *Loire* to wait the Succours of the Duke of *Deux-ponts*, resolved to get the Start of them and pass over the *Charente*.

The *Huguenots* held the Bridges of *Jarnac* and *Chasteau-neuf*, and their Forces were lodged much at large in the Country along the River side. The Duke not able to gain *Jarnac* at first brush, went to *Chasteau-neuf*. There were but Fifty Men in it, who immediately surrendered. *Armand de Gontaud Biron* repairs the Bridge with such diligence that half the Kings Army were got over by break of day, which was the Thirteenth of *March*. The Admiral having notice, sent Orders to his Foot and Baggage to file off before towards the Burrough of *Bassac*, whilst the Horse could draw together from their distant quarters. The sluggish delay of some Troops who were not on Horse-back till about Nine a Clock, engaged them to the Combat. *La Noite* who closed up the Rear-Guard with Four Hundred Horse, was rudely handled at the first Charge; *Dandelot* did second him, but yet at the second which was much fiercer, he was beaten off his Horse and taken.

In the mean while the Royalists having made themselves Masters of *Bassac*, the Admiral sent word to the Prince who was retreating with his Van-Guard, that he wanted his presence, and the Prince who never ran from danger, came back upon a round Trot. He fell stoutly upon the first he met; but when all the Kings Army was come up, he was surrounded. His Horse being wounded, falling under him, he presented his Gantlet to a Couple of Gentlemen, *Argence*, and *Saint Jean*, who gave him their Faith. Having set him down at the Foot of a Bush (his Leg being broken with a kick of a Horse) comes *Montesquion* upon a hand Gallop, Captain of the Duke of *Anjou's* Guards, who had left his Master to do this worthy exploit, and kills him with his Pistol.

This act which in the midst of the Scuffle would have appeared brave, being done in cold blood, was looked upon by good Men as an execrable parricide, and worthy the punishment due to such as attempt any of the Royal blood. The Duke of *Anjou* neither blamed nor owned it; but suffer'd the Princes Corps to be carried, whether by chance, or in derision, upon a she Ass to *Jarnac*. He afterwards gave it to the Prince of *Bearn*, his Nephew who caused it to be Interred in the Sepulchre of his Ancestors at *Vendosme*.

After his death the Royalists gave the *Huguenots* chace till Night approached, but there being none but the Cavalry engaged the Slaughter was not so considerable as the Victory. There fell not above Six Hundred of the Princes Party, amongst whom were above an Hundred Gentlemen, and Twelve or Fifteen Lords. The number of Prisoners did far exceed the Slain. The Royalists lost about two or three Hundred of theirs, whereof seven or eight were Persons of Note. The Admiral and his Brother, with the Horse of that Battalion he Commanded, directed

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rected their Course toward *Saint Jean d'Angeli*, and got thither the same day. The Infantry without sustaining any damage, soon passed over the River at *Jarnac*, and breaking down the Bridge, from thence retired to *Cognac*.

To the same place came the other Commanders, with the broken Remnants of the Horse that were left of the Van and the Rear-Guards. The Queen of *Navarre* a Princess endowed with Courage above her Sex, came thither likewise with great speed, bringing the Prince of *Bearn* her Son with her, as also the Eldest Son of the Deceased Prince of *Condé*; both were named *Henry*. Her generous exhortations, and the presence of those two Princes, did somewhat revive their shaken resolutions and drooping Courage.

Two dayes after, this Queen and the Chiefs going to *Saintes*, *Coligny* and his Brother came to them, and there it was resolved they should refresh themselves and wait the success of the Sieges of *Cognac* and *Engoulesme*, wherewith the Duke of *Anjou* had threatned them.

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The noise of this Battel of *Jarnac* was much greater than the advantage. The King arose at Mid-night to have the *Te Deum* Sung, gave notice of it to all the Neighbouring Princes, and sent the Colours they had taken from the *Huguenots* to his Holiness, as if they had fought his Battels. The Duke of *Anjou*, though Conqueror, met with such as knew how to deal with him, he attack'd *Cognac* in vain, where they had Seven Thousand Men in Garrison, and the Intelligence he thought would have prevailed in *Engoulesme* failed his purposes. So that he withdrew into *Perigord*, to maintain his Forces; and this was about Mid-April. *Blaise de Montluc*, and *Francis d'Escars* had besieged *Mucidan*: he sent *Brissac* thither, who redoubled the Assaults, but was unfortunately Slain there. As the Lord de *Pampadour* his Friend, had been some dayes before. The Place Surrendered upon Composition, which was but ill observed: for the death of those two brave Lords had so enraged the Catholick Soldiers, that violating the Faith of the Treaty, they reveng'd it by the Massacre of the whole Garrison. These cruel Infidelities were much used during this whole War.

At this very time, *Dandelot* having a little refreshed the *Huguenot* Forces, who were yet near Four Thousand Horse, besides their Foot, made an incursion by *Poitou*, as far as *Cliffon*. At his return he was seized with a Pestilential Fever, whereof he died at *Saintes*. The Princes gave the Command of Collonel of the Foot to *James de Crussol Daceir*, the King did the like to *Philip de Stroffy*, Son of *Peter*, who had been Marechal of *France*, and was near of kinn to the Queen Mother.

The last day of *February* the Duke of *Deux-Ponts* parted from *Savarna*, and had taken his March by *Alsavia* and *Lorraine*: he had Seven Thousand Five Hundred *Reistres*, and Six Thousand *Lansquenets*; *William of Nassau*, Prince of *Orange*, whom the Duke of *Alva* had thrust out of *Flanders*, and *Lewis* his Brother, came and joyned him with some Troops of Horse, and Fifteen or Twenty *French* Captains of *Daufrin*, with Six Hundred Horse, and Eight Hundred *Urquebusers* they had pick'd up about *Strasbourg*.

The Duke of *Annale* finding he was unable to make head against him, followed him in the Rear almost as far as *Cisteaux*. When they had pass'd the *Saone* at *Montier*, he left them that he might get before them and wait their passage over the *Loire*, where he was to joyn the Duke of *Anjou's* Army which lay at *Gien*. But the Duke of *Deux-ponts**, passed it at a Foord near *Ponilly*, and also took the Town de la *Charité*, a place very weak in those dayes, but of great Importance, upon the same River.

* Duke of
Zwee-Brughen
or Two-Brid-

As soon as the Admiral knew he had passed the River, he drew out a Party of his Forces to go and meet him, having left the care of all Affairs in *Guyenne* to *la Noite*, and sent *Montgomery* into *Gasconne*, as well to reconcile the Vicounts, whom the ambition of Command had set at variance, as to stop the Progress *Montluc* and *Terride* were making in *Bearn*. The Queen of *Navarre* had inveigled all that Country to be of the New Religion. She pretended to be absolute Sovereign there, and yet many of the Nobility adhered rather to the King, than to her.

The Duke of *Anjou* in the mean time advanced to *Limoges*, and placed Guards upon all the Passages of *Vienne*; but the Forlorn of the Duke of *Deux-ponts* Marched over the Bellies of them. Thus after a three months March, this Army of Strangers Arrived in Safety; but the Duke of *Deux-ponts* who was very corpulent, and labouring under the reliques of a Quartan-Ague, died at *Nessun*, within

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within three Leagues of *Limoges*, the Eighteenth day of *June*. By his Will he left the Conduct of his Forces to *Volrad Mansfeld*; and within four dayes after they were joynd in a body with the Admirals.

The two Armies being near, that of the Princes; about *Saint Trier*, the Duke of *Anjou's* at *Roche-labelle*, they had so great a Skirmish, as had almost engaged them to a general Battel. On the Royalists side, *Stroffy* was taken Prisoner, *Roque-laure*, and *Saint Len*, two valiant Captains were kill'd, with four Hundred of their Men. After which the Duke of *Anjou* put his Army into Garrisons, and discharged the Nobility, with Orders to return again about Mid-August.

During all which time, there hapned nothing Remarkable but the Siege of *Niort*, by the Count de *Lude*, Governor of *Poitou*, and of *la Charité* by *Sansac*, where neither of them gained any thing but blows: but *Teligny* seized upon *Chastelleraud*, and forced the Castle of *Luzignan*, no less Famous for the Fables of *Mellusine*, then for the reputation it had of being impregnable.

June, &c.

During this time, *Montgomery* was sent into *Bearn*, to recover it for the Queen of *Navarre*: for the Count de *Terride* had very near subdued it all. Having therefore gotten some Forces together in *Languedoc*, passed the *Garonne* and *Ariege*, surpris'd the City of *Tarbes* in *Bigorre*, he entred that part of the Country where *Terride* at that time Besieged *Navarrius*. At the Noise of his approach, *Terride* makes up his Bundle, and retires to *Ortez*: *Montgomery* besieges him there, and forces him to Surrender. He had four Barons of that Country with him, *Sainte Colombe*, *Pordeac*, *Goas*, and *Favas*, who were comprised in the Capitulation; but *Montgomery* caused them all to be Ponierd, having more regard to the Orders Queen *Jane* had given him to use them as Traytors, than to his own Honour and Faith.

But for the discord which was between *Terride* and *Montluc*, and between the latter, and *Danville* Governor of *Languedoc*, he had not entred so easily into that Country, or at least had never got out again. However *Montluc* not to remain idle, borrowed some Companies of *Danville*, with which together with those *la Valette* had Raised, he forced the City of *Mont de Marsan*, where another *Favas* Commanded, a Native of *S. Macaire*. Whilst this Captain was Treating with him, he caused the Castle to be stormed on the back part, and put all to the Edge of the Sword, in revenge for the death of the Four Barons.

After the taking of *Luzignan* which was followed by that of *S. Maxian*, and *Mirebeau*, the Admirals thoughts were to seize upon *Saumur*, which he would fortifie to have that convenient passage on the *Loire*, and carry the War the fourth time to the Gates of *Paris*. Unfortunately for him, he changed his design, and besieged *Poitiers* a great City, above two Leagues in circumference. The young Duke of *Guise* whom the Duke of *Anjou* had sent to succour *Luzignan*, puts himself into it with the Marquis de *Mayenne* * his Brother, and great numbers of the Nobility, and gained to himself no less Glory than his Father had done formerly by defending the City of *Mets*. The Count de *Lude* Governor of *Poitou*, was likewise gotten in with six thousand Soldiers; but there were very little Stores and Provisions, for so many Mouths.

The Siege began the five and twentieth of *July*, the Attaques the Besiegers made upon them did not give them so much trouble, as the want of Food, Forrage, and Mills did put them to. In the mean time *Montluc* having drawn his Forces together, laid Siege to *Chastelleraud* to make a diversion. The Admiral was glad of such a fair pretence to raise his Siege from before *Poitiers*, where he lost both his time and reputation. He decamped the seventh day of *September*, and approaching near *Chastelleraud*, put in four hundred Arquebusers, who entred by the Bridge conducted thither, and cover'd by the Cavalry of his Van-Guard.

Upon his Arrival the Catholicks drew off their Cannon, and afterwards their Men with so much diligence, that their Army was lodged at *la Celle*, which is six Leagues from thence; and on the other side *la Crense*, before he knew they moved, he follow'd with a resolution to attaque them; but finding them in a Lodgment where he could not bring up his Cannon by reason of the Marshes he repuls'd the *Crense* and *Vienne*, and came and lodged at *Fae la Vienne*.

When Monsieur had remained fifteen days at *Celles* and *Chinon*, and his Forces (whom he had given leave till the fifteenth of *October*, and those of *Poitiers* whom the

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the Duke of *Guise* had refreshed in *Tourain*) were returned to his Camp: he passed the *Vienne* drawing towards *Loudun*: As soon as the Admiral had notice thereof, he decamped from *Faye*, and went towards *Mirebeau*. Monsieur instead of following him, gets before, and taking a cross way, meets him near *Montcontour*, which is a Castle upon a high Ground, with a small Town lying on the descent, at the foot of which Hill runs the River of *Dine*, scarce fordable though but narrow.

Between this River and that of *La Thoulle*, the Admiral had encamped his Army, extending it a little more towards the small City of *Ervaux*, about two Leagues thence. Monsieur having passed over above the head of the *Dine*, the two Armies put themselves in Battalia with intention to fall on. That of the Huguenots was led to fight by necessity and despair, the tedious length of the War being ruinous to their Families & to their Party; that under Monsieur out of a desire of gaining honour, & because they reck'ned themselves the third part stronger.

With these intentions they were ranged in those fair and spacious Plains, intersected with several Valleys, and rising Grounds, which are of much use in a day of Battel. It is observed, that the Ground the Catholick Army stood on was called *Champ-Papaut*, and that which the Huguenots possess'd, *Champ Pied-griff*. Both the one and the other, although they had divided their Armies into Van-Guard and Battalia's, had notwithstanding disposed their Men in such fort, that they might all fight at the same time.

(The Engagement began about eight in the morning, upon a Monday the third of *October*, and lasted two hours. The flight of the French Foot on the Huguenots side; the ill condition their Horse were in, the good order *Tavannes* put Monsieur's Army in, and the Valour of the French Nobility who accompanied that young Prince, gave the Catholicks an entire Victory. Their Enemies lost only three hundred of their Horse, but with them four thousand *Lansquenets*, and five thousand of their French Infantry, almost as many Camp-Boyes, all their Artillery, and the greatest part of their Baggage, without which an Army can scarce subsist long. The Lords de *la Noüe* and *Dacier* were taken Prisoners. On the Catholick side few of their Foot were slain, but above six hundred Horse most of them *Reisters*. Almost as many were wounded. The Admirals *German* Horse, conducted by the Counts *Ludovic* and *Mansfeld* retreating in excellent order, stop'd the pursuit of the Catholicks, and got to *Ervaux*, and from thence to *Parthenay*, which is six great Leagues from *Montcontour*. They arrived there at ten a Clock that night, and the day following went to *Niort*.)

The Wisdom and Courage of the Admiral never shewed it self so much as in times of adversity: the greatest difficulties enlightned him, and dangers made him become more firm. Besides that great shock, which would have made any other let go the helm, he had reason to expect attempts against his own person from all hands: the Parliament of *Paris* had Condemned him to death, and promised to those that could bring him before them either alive or dead, fifty thousand Crowns in Gold for a reward, which should be paid by the Town-Hall of *Paris*. The *Vidame* of *Chartres* and the Earl of *Montgomery*, were also condemned to lose their Heads, and all three Executed in Effigie at the *Greve*. About that time a discovery was made that one of his *Valets de Chambre*, named *Dominique d'Alva*, would have poyson'd him; The wretch was hanged, with a Writing which stiled him, *Betrayer of the Cause of God, his Country and his Master*.

The same night the Battel was lost, having held a Council with his Officers, he sent to the Princes of *Germany*, the Queen of *England*, and the *Swiss*, giving them an account of what had passed, diminishing the loss as much as he well could, and craving assistance both of Men and Money, because upon their success depended the welfare of all other Protestants. These orders dispatched, he retired towards *Niort* to refresh his Men in *Saintonge*, the Countries of *Aunis*, and *Gascogne*, making account to provide the places so well in those Countries, as should hold the Royal Army in play, and allow him time to recruit his own.

The King did not wholly succeed as he projected: for the Garrisons in *Poitou* finding themselves at too great a distance from any relief, agreed together to retire, crossed over *Berry*, and went to *la Charité* upon the *Loire*, which *Sansac* had besieged two several times in vain. The Baron de *Mirebeau* surrendered *Luzignan* upon composition, *Partenay* was abandoned, soon after the Army was gone thence, and *Niort* likewise, when the Lord de *Mony* who undertook to defend it, was slain by a Pistol-shot discharged at him by *Francis de Lowviers*

U u u

* Moreau

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* Not mistake
him for the
Count de Mon-
trevel whose
surname is la
Baume.

* Morenel. This devoted Assassin went from the Catholick Camp to the Huguenots to kill the Admiral, and not finding an opportunity, would needs execute it upon this unfortunate Lord, and then made his escape to the Duke of Anjou as then at Chandenier.

The Protestant Forces who retired to *la Charité*, had accommodated themselves with divers little places in *Berry* and *Nivernois*, nay even in *Soulogne* and *Beauvais*, whereby they commanded all the roads of *Lyons*, *Paris*, and *Orleans*. Those of *Languedoc* and *Dauphiné*, had cantonized themselves in *Anvergne* at *Orillac*. Some of their Commanders had surprized *Nismes* in *Languedoc*, by an *Aqueduct*, the Gate whereof they broke open, and others in *Burgundy* were become Masters of the City of *Vezelay* by means of scaling-Ladders which they fet up just at the break of day, the most opportune and dangerous hour for attempts of that kind. *Sansac* Besieged them twice in the last, but without success.

The best counsel the Catholicks could take after the Battel of *Montcontour*, was to pursue the Princes Forces without intermission, and so utterly disperse and break them: but that old Maxim, *That we must leave no Garrison of the Enemies behind*, being not well understood, made Monsieur fall upon the Siege of *Saint Jean d' Angely*, the loss of which he imagin'd would be the ruine of the Huguenots in all those parts. Captain *Piles* of the House of *Clermont* was in the place with many of the bravest Officers, and Two Thousand Soldiers. The Siege being formed, the King came to the Camp upon the sixteenth of October.

The resolution, the valour, and the indefatigable labour of the besieged, rendered the place much more difficult to be gained than its fortifications; at first nothing less was talked of, but putting all those to the Sword that were within; But when upon several assaults they found it would cost them too much time and blood to get it by force, they offer'd them conditions, to which they refusing to give any ear unless upon a general Treaty, they began one, and immediately news was sent to all the neighbouring Protestant Princes, that the Peace was concluded and even ratified, thereby to hinder those Levies they had commanded for their assistance, and to allay the heat of such as were cantonized in the Provinces.

They perceived the craft of it at the very first beginning of the Treaty, forasmuch as it was plainly declared the King could grant them only a liberty of Conscience, and not the exercise of their Religion. And at the same time they intercepted Letters, written by the Cardinal de *Lorraine* to *Paris*; which imported that they had undertaken this Treaty only to amuse them in expectation of an Answer from the Pope and the King of *Spain*.

All the defence of the place was on the Land-side, the besieged half dead with over-labour, and their Ammunitions spent; they could hold out no longer, yet thought it no way safe to surrender themselves: so that they had resolved to sallie out by night, and force through the Enemies Guard to get to *Angoulesme*, or lose their lives in the attempt. But the Catholicks were yet more tyred and sick then they of this Siege which had lasted two Months, and by Sword or Sicknes had destroy'd them above Ten Thousand Men; amongst others *Sebastian de Luxemburg* Count de *Martignes* who was kill'd in the Trenches by a Musquet-shot.

They therefore renewed the Propositions of Capitulation. The besieged had some confidence in *Biron* Marechal des Camps for the King, who was a Huguenot by inclination, but a Catholick for his interest. It was agreed they should go forth Bag and Baggage, with their Horse and Arms, and Ensigns furled, that they should be convoy'd into a place of safety, whither themselves should choose, but not bear Arms against the King in four Months time. There Marched out but only eight hundred Foot and one hundred Horse. The Duke of *Anmale's* Forces having plundered them, though it were in a Military fury, and wholly against the Officers wills, who could not possibly prevent it; yet this infraction gave *Piles* a fair pretence to hold himself quit of the Capitulation, and immediately put himself into *Angoulesme*.

Nothing therefore was left the Huguenots in *Poitou* and *Saintonge* but *Angoulesme* and *Rochel*. They found themselves beset in the last after they had taken the Islands about it, with *Marans* and *Beauvoir*; and the place it self was put to great inconveniencies by Sea, as well as by Land; the Baron de *la Garde* having brought eight Gallies thither from the *Levant* Seas. Nevertheless they recover'd themselves

themselves by means of their Ships and Piracies, also by the presence and courage of *la Noie*, and the Count de *la Rochefoucauld*; so that they regained *Marans*, *Lucon*, and the Sands d' *Olone*, where they found a rich Booty, and afterwards ran over all *Poitou*. To put some stop to them, the King was forced to send *Pny-Galliard* Governor of *Angers* thither with a small Army.

When the Catholicks laid their Siege to *Saint Jean d' Angely*, the Admiral October, who had appointed the rendezvous for his Forces near *Saintes*, parted from thence the eighteenth of October, resolved to go into *Bearn* to joyn *Montgomery's* to his own, afterwards to pass thorough *Gascogne* and *Languedoc*, ascend into *Dauphiné* and *Vivarets*, where *Montbrun* and some other Chiefs of that Party had promised him considerable recruits of Arquebusiers, then passing by *Burgundy* come to *la Charité*, and maintain'd himself as well as he could till the Arrival of the *Reisters* and the *Lansquenets*, which he expected from the Count *Palatine*, and the Prince of *Orange*. This latter had left the Army a long while before the Battel of *Montcontour*, to go into *Germany* and hasten those new Levies.

They passed the little River of *Drone* near *Brantolme*, that of *P Isle* near November, *Mucidan*, the *Veser* over the Bridge that bears the same name, then the *Dordogne* at *Bourg* which they surprized, deceiving d' *Escar*s who had lined all the Shoar with Soldiers, and the Lot at *Cadenac*; so that they arrived in the neighbourhood of *Montauban* about Mid-November, where they refreshed themselves some days, and met with some Money which had been gathered for the Cause, as well out of the Plunder of Churches, and ransom of Prisoners, as the collected contribution of their Brethren. With this they paid the *Reisters* some Musters.

Towards the end of November, they made themselves Masters of the Passage over the *Garonne* by taking of *Aiguillon*, which is on the confluence of the *Lot*, with that River. The disagreement that continued between *Danville* Governor of *Languedoc*, and *Montluc* Lieutenant for the King in *Guyenne*, proceeding from the haughtiness of the first, and the incompatible and tetchy humour of the second, gave them fair play in those Countries. And indeed, they had designed to take an opportunity by this deviation to seize upon *Guyenne* and the Cities above the *Garonne* and the *Dordogne*, even *Bordeaux* it self: but *Montluc* having made them lose a great deal of time, by breaking down a Bridge they had set up near *Aiguillon*, they changed their design. The Method *Montluc* did take to execute so important a piece of Service, was, by letting loose some Mill-Boats that were chained to the sides of the River, and suffering them to drive down with the stream; The force thereof was so violent that it broke down the said Bridge.

When the Huguenots had rebuilt a new one, and *Montgomery* who was at *Condon*, rich with the spoil of *Gascogne* and *Bearn*, had joyned them, they Ascended along the River *Garonne*, and lodged themselves in the Neighbourhood of *Toulouze*. They set fire to all the Farms and Counsellors houses thereabouts, in whose Ashes the Soldiers with flaming Fire-brands wrote *Revenge for Rapin* *. * Vide before in March, 1568.

The terror of these dreadful Incendiaries, and the incursions they made to the very Suburbs, struck that great City with amazement and horror, *Joyeuse* who was within with eight thousand new raised Men, not being able to dispel their fears, nor daring to stir out of the Town.

From thence being strengthened with three hundred Horse brought from *Rochel* by *Piles*, they Marched farther into *Languedoc*. Being near *Castres* they met with five or six hundred Horse more which came from the same place, conducted by *Bautiné* and *Renty*, who were weary of staying at *Rochel* without Pilgrage. They drew near the foot of the *Pyreneans*, whence they brought some Companies of *Bandits*, then coasting along the Sea-side they repassed the *Ande*, not far from *Narbonne*, and rested in those Countries till the end of January.

Afterwards they directed their March by *Beziers*, *Pezenas*, and *Montpellier*, whose Garrison gave a check to some of their Men that came too nigh. *La Loie* their Field Marshal was kill'd as he lay fast asleep in a Lodgment.

They after this went to besiege *Lunel*, whence they were repulsed, took up at *Nismes* both Money and refreshments, from that place Marched towards the *Vivarets*, reposed themselves for some days at *Aubenas*, passed the *Rhosne* by *Poussin* which they held, and under the favour of a Fort, which *Montbrun* (sent before by the Princes for that very purpose) had built on the other Shoar, then coasting

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along

1570. along that River they in vain Attacked *Montelimar*, and having sojourned a while in *Dauviné*, took their course towards the Country *des Forés*, where they surpris'd the City of *Saint Estienne*.

1570. In this place the Admiral was taken sick of a Fever which put him in great danger of his life, and staid there above three weeks there. When he began to recover, *Saint John*, younger Brother to *Montgomery*, seized the Bridge called *Saint Rambert* upon the *Loire*, and *Briquemaunt* sent by the Princes, brought them from *la Charité* fifteen Companies as well Foot as Horse, which made up fifteen hundred Horse and two thousand Foot. Their Army being thus re-inforced descended into *Burgundy*, and having given the Alarm to *Chalon*, surpris'd *Arnay le Duke* by means of a long March they made in one day for that purpose.

The King's Council could never have believed it possible they should March securely by so many Cities, strong Forts, over Rivers, narrow steights in Mountains, and such hilly and uncouth Countries; or that they could have the strength and good fortune to break thorough so many Garrisons of their Enemies and Multitudes of People risen up in Arms against them, who night and day lay in wait to destroy them, and at the same time endure the severity and inconveniences of a sharp and uncomfortable Winter, the difficulties of the ways, and the opposition of Seven or Eight Provinces. Besides they relied upon a Negotiation for a Peace, to which end there was a perpetual sending backward and forward from the time of the Surrender of *Saint Jean d'Angely*: so that they were much amazed to find they were come so nigh and upon their March directly for *Paris*, threatening to execute the same vengeance as they had done in the *Voisinage* of *Thoulouze*. Then that peril they had neglected whilst they were in distant Provinces, appearing greater by how much nearer it approached, they gave Orders to the *Mareschal de Cossé* to draw the King's Forces together, and go forth to meet them.

In all this long and toilsome March, the Princes had maintain'd their Forces, as well by the plunder of above fifty small Towns which they had taken, and twice as many which they had ransomed, as by the reinforcements of Horse that came to them, and a great number of Arquebusers of those Countries thorough which they Marched, serpentine and turning every way to receive such as desired to joyn with them, and who being scatter'd here and there, could never of themselves have made their way thorough those Crowds of common people who rose up in Arms in every part against them.

But after all, they notwithstanding lost greater numbers than they could pick up: for those that had been in *Poitou*, as soon as they drew near their own habitations retired thither and desired to stay at home both to repose themselves and to protect and defend their Families. The incommodities of the Winter, the fatigues of the March, the wants they met withal in their Lodgments or Quarters, where most commonly there was neither Bread nor Wine, (for the Peasants fled) the continual attempts made upon them by the Catholics, not sparing so much as any one that stray'd never so little from the main Body, had made them lose above six thousand. Of five hundred *English* they had at first amongst them, but twelve were left, above the one half of their *Reisters* were dead, and the rest were most of them disarm'd, for not being able to have Carriages in so tedious a March and thorough such rugged ways, the greater part had left their Corselets and Head-pieces behind them; with all their Horses; as likewise those that belonged to the *French*, were grown so poor and weak they could scarce support themselves. And as for the Foot, their condition was not much better, for a great part of them were but raw Soldiers (in those times they named them *Bisongnes*;) but they had this advantage, most of them were mounted upon little Naggs, that they might be enabled to make long Marches and yet be little tyred.

The *Mareschal de Cossé* having about *Orleans* drawn the Royal Forces together to the number of thirteen or fourteen thousand Men, pass'd the *Loire* at *Deffise* and Marched directly towards the Princes, imagining that being so tatter'd and out of sorts as they were, he need but only attack them, to defeat them. He soon changed his opinion, when he found upon a great Skirmish between the two Armies near *Arnay le Duke*, that they would put him to half the trouble at least. After this he would run no more hazards, but let them go quietly towards *la Charité*, contenting himself with coasting along by them upon the right hand.

During these times there were divers other exploits performed in the other parts of this Kingdom, but the most observable about *Rochel*. The Baron de la

Garde,

Garde, *Puy-Galliard*, and *Puy-Taillé*, press'd mightily upon those that were retired to that place. *La Garde* and *Puy-Taillé* having besieg'd *Rochefort* situate upon the Avenues of the Islands, were cr'dve thence by *la Noüe*; whom notwithstanding they soon afterwards forced to take shelter in *Rochel*. Afterwards *Puy-Galliard* with an Army of ten or twelve thousand Men, took all the Forts the *Huguenots* had seized in *Poitou* after the surprisal of *Mavans*; and to streighten them the more, he built one at *Lucon* upon the Avenue to the *Marshes*. *La Noüe* who understood the consequence immediately laid Siege to it, *Puy-Galliard* draws all his Men together again whom he had distributed in the higher *Poitou*, and Marches up to him, but loses the Battel between *Sainte Gemme* and *Lucon*.

La Noüe follows his blow, Besieges *Fontenay*, and receives it upon composition. He afterwards regains *Oleron*, *Matennes*, *Soubize* and *Brouage*. In those very days *Brouage* was of great importance for its situation upon a Canal very difficult to enter, and wholly surrounded by Salt-Marshes, which produce the greatest Riches of that Country; it was begun to be fortified by *James de Ponts-Mirameau*, who being Lord thereof, would have given it the name of *Jacopoli*. All the Catholics of those quarters were forced to retire to *Saint John d'Angely*. The Baron de la *Garde* having kept the Seas a while with his Gallies, brings them back into the River of *Bordeaux*. To stop the further Progress of the *Huguenots*, it was resolv'd Prince *Henry* Daupin of *Auvergne* Son of *Lewis de Bourbon* Duke of *Montpensier* should go into that Country, and he was preparing himself for that expedition when the news of the Peace discharged him both from that trouble and expence.

The Army of the Princes had pass'd the *Loire* and advanced towards *Paris*, between *Montargis*, *Bleneau*, and *Chastillon sur Loing*. The King's was come to the Valley of *Aillan* as it were to stand betwixt them and home, and barricade the way to *Paris*: when after a Truce of some days, the Negotiation for a Peace often broken, and as often renewed again, finally succeeded to a Treaty of Peace; which was concluded the fifteenth of *August*, notwithstanding the Remonstrances and great Offers made by the King of *Spain* to obstruct it; for he apprehended least after a Peace, the two Armies should be United to fall upon the *Low-Countries*.

The King, the Queen his Mother, the Princes of the Blood, those of the Council, and all the Grandees about him, swore to it solemnly at *Saint Germain en Laye*. On the *Huguenots* part, *Beauvais la Noüe* was dispatch'd to carry the News to *Rochel* and *Guyenne*, and *Teligny* to the Army; where it was Proclaimed the one and twentieth of the Month, and sworn to by all the Protestant Nobility expressly assembled. Five days after it was so likewise in the Catholick Army which Marched towards *Lorraine* to Convoy the *Germans* home again and dismiss them. That of the Princes went as far as *Langres*, when they caus'd theirs to be conducted to *Pot a Monson* by the *Marquis de Renel*: they then returned towards *la Charité*, and from thence crossing *Lincoln* and *Angoumois*, they proceeded to *Rochel*, having Count *Ludovic* with them.

That which was most particular in this Edict, besides the Articles in the former, was, That they allowed them to Preach in the Suburbs of two such Cities as should be Assigned them in each Province; That they should be admitted indifferently in the Universities, Schools, Hospitals and Spittles; as also in all publick Offices, Royal, Seignorial, and belonging to Cities and Corporations. Moreover, that they should have the Liberty to except against an Appeal from a certain number of Judges in all Parliaments in some more, in others fewer, and generally from the whole Parliament of *Thoulouze*, to the Requests of the *Hofel*, who should be Sovereign Judges in those Cases; That (to take away all possible suspicion, doubt or jealousy, they should keep as Pawns for security in their own hands, the Cities of *Rochel*, *Montauban*, *Cognac*, and *la Charité*, upon condition the two Princes and twenty Gentlemen with them would oblige themselves jointly, and swear to surrender them up in the same condition at the expiration of two years. It was likewise stipulated that they should restore to the Prince of *Orange* and *Ludovic* his Brother, the Principality of *Orange*, and all other the Lands belonging to them in *France*, together with all their Titles and Writings that had been taken from them.

The reasons that enclined the *Huguenots* to this Peace were manifest, the long and tedious absence from their Families, the eminent and perpetual dangers they were in, the utter ruine of their Estates and Goods, as well by the Invasions of the

1570. the Catholicks, as the expences themselves were at to maintain the War, their Dwellings exposed to Plunder and Firings, their Wives and Children to Affronts and Massacres with this their ill fortune which had ever disappointed them in their great enterprizes. And in fine, the cutting reproaches to all that were honest amongst them, for flying out so often to Rebellion against their Sovereign, and being looked upon and accounted the glowing Fire-brands of their Native Country.

The Motives which led the Court to this agreement, were variously guessed at and talked of. The Queen-Mother would have it believed that she had considered the prayers of the Princes of Germany, and the Emperor's Advice. (Some fancied she made this Peace, that she might have leisure to think upon the Marriage of her Son; others that she condescended to it out of the jealousy she had to find the Spaniard concerned himself so much in the Affairs of France, not as a friend only, but as one interested, and apprehensive that having subdued the Low-Countries, he might endeavour to bind the French in the same Fetters. Many believed with good probability, that this Princess a great lover of Diversions and Pleasures, was quite wearied with such continual troubles and melancholy consultations, and the eternal danger she was in.

And indeed, never any one that was more fond of, or did more delight in the soft Past-times of the Galantries, Dancing, Hunting, Feasting, and all sorts of Sports than she. Wherever she went, she always carried a complete Equipage of the most voluptuous Diversions in her Train, and particularly two or three hundred of the most beautiful Women of her Court, who drew a Pack of twice as many Courtiers after them. In the midst of the greatest Embraces of War and Affairs, the Balls and Musick must be sure to go on, says Montluc. The sound of the Violins must not be stifled by the Martial Trumpet, the same Teams dragg'd along the Machines for their Plays, and their Engines for War; and in the same Lists were to be seen the Sons of Mars cutting each others Throats, and the fair Off-Spring of Venus at their Carousels where the Ladies freely tasted every pleasure.

Others more penetrating believed that her designs tended to disarm the Huguenots, tyred with the miseries of War, and by degrees calm and lay all their jealousies asleep, that they might the more easily be led into their snares which time and opportunity might direct her to contrive hereafter for them; if perhaps she had not long before resolved which way to bring it about. The event seems to confirm this suspicion, though it is very probable that the many Accidents, different Interests, and various Humours and Minds of those that contributed to such a terrible Council, made them often shift and change their Methods and Resolutions.

She had two excellent Lures to deceive and decoy the Queen of Navarre and the Admiral, and consequently the whole Party; I mean a War against the Spaniards in the Low-Countries, which all the Huguenot Chiefs blindly gave credit to, because they desired it with passion; and the Marriage of Margaret the Kings Sister with Henry Prince of Navarre. This last had been already propounded, but the great Love the Duke of Guise had for that Princess was some obstacle. The King who was extream Cholerick and Violent, having observed it, commanded Henry d'Angoulême his bastard Brother to kill him, when he went out to Hunt; the Duke having a hint of it, was advised to avoid the anger of the King by marrying at soonest, as he did, with Catherine de Cleves, Widdow of Anthony de Croÿ Prince of Portian.

Some Months before Lewis de Bourbon Duke of Montpensier, had for his Second Wife Married in the City of Angers, Catherine Sister to that Duke. The Cardinal de Lorraine negotiated this Alliance to gain the said Prince, who before was much an Enemy to his House, though at the same time he had a mortal Aversion to the Huguenots.

It was high time likewise to Marry the King who was in his One and twentieth year. His Mother with vast and Chimerical designs rowling in her Head, had some thoughts, thereby to acquire the Kingdoms of Scotland and England, of getting for him Mary Stuart his Brothers Widdow. Then finding Affairs did not succeed well with her, she next made her Address to gain Queen Elizabeth for him, and propounded a League with her in Order to a Conquest of the Low-Countries. This Negotiation lasted near two years, at the end whereof, Elizabeth having made answer, That the King was too great and too little, That is to say, too great

great a King to go and dwell in England, and too young for her who was Eight and Thirty years old, the Queen cast her Eyes upon another Elizabeth, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian II. a good and virtuous Princess, but whose Innocency, for she was scarce 16, and whose Simplicity could create no jealousy in her.

The Match had been propounded the foregoing Year. The Marriage being contracted by Proxy, he sent his two Brothers, and with them the Duke of Lorraine, the Duke of Guise and of Anjou to receive his Spouse at Sedan, and himself went to Mezieres where the Archbishop of Trier put her into his Hands. The next day being the Six and Twentieth of November, the Nuptials were Celebrated in the same place.

At his return from thence being at Chantilly, he gave Audience to the Ambassadors of the Protestant German Princes, who came to Congratulate with him, for the Peace he had granted his Subjects, and to exhort him to maintain it, shewing him plainly by many reasons and examples the Errour and mistake of those who aver, that the Calm of Peace and a diversity of Religions are incompatible, and cannot be maintained or made to live quietly together in the same Kingdom.

With this year ended in Spain the War with the Moors, after it had lasted above three years. The obstinate remainders of the Moors mixed with some Jews, were revolted, and had created a King; then, he being slain, another. The Marquis de Montdieu, and de loz Velez Commanded in the beginning of this War: John of Austria Bastard Son of Charles V. and then the Duke of Sesse continued it, and afterwards Lewis Duke d'Arcos finished it. This last was the Chief of the House of Ponce de Leon.

The Queen Mother had the Alliance with England much in her Head, or at least she feigned so, the better to lull and blind the Huguenots, and hinder Queen Elizabeth from lending them Assistance; She therefore makes a fresh overture of Marriage between that Princess, and her Second Son the Duke of Anjou. Now whatever intention she had, she neither spared cajolleries, nor addresses, nor advantageous offers to the Queen, nor caresses and presents to her Ministers to win their Hearts. They proceeded even to the Treating about the Conditions; there was but one they could not agree upon, that the Duke might have the exercise of the Catholick Religion in England, at least in his own Chamber. This difficulty put the business to a stop till the Massacre on Saint Bartholomews, which broke it absolutely off.

In these years, 1570. and 71. was that memorable War between the Turks and the Venetians for the Island of Cyprus. Selin who succeeded Solymán his Father, having a design to build some Mosques and some Hervan-Sarays or Hospitals, his Mufty had told him that he might not do it but with the Spoils conquer'd from some Christians. Consulting then which way he should bend his Force, the desire he had to possess a Country that produced excellent Wine, after which he was very Liqueurish, made him determine to Conquer the Island of Cyprus, which bears of the best in the World. His pretence to break with the Venetians who were in Possession, was that they allowed those Pirates to harbour in their Ports, who plyed and robbed upon the Coasts of Asia and Syria, and that their Governors did not shew him that respect they ought. He likewise added, as some kind of Title, which those Barbarians however do but little regard, that the Kingdom of Cyprus was a Dependance on that of Egypt, which his Predecessors had Conquer'd from the Mamalukes.

The Bashaw Mustapha who Commanded Selim's Army, Landed on the Island with Fifty Thousand Men in the month of July, and laid Siege to Nicosia a Mediterranean City Seated at the Foot of the Mountains and very well Fortified. The Venetians set out an Hundred nimble Gallies and Eleven great ones: but the Plague having destroyed above one half of their People that manned them, and the Bashaw Piali General of the Turkish Gallies, being in those Seas, they durst not go near the Island. So that after a Siege of Eight and Forty dayes, the City was taken, and Nicholas Dandolo who Commanded was slain at the taking of a Fort. Mustapha ordered his head to be cut off, and planted upon the top of a Pike within sight of Famagusta.

In the mean time, Marc Antonio Colonna and Doria, this General of the King of Spain Gallies, the other of the Popes, had joyned the Venetian Armada; and lay upon

1571. upon the Coasts of Caramania, together making up above Two Hundred Gallies and great Vessels: but Doria sailed them at need, and upon the News of the loss of Nicotia, carried back his Fleet to the Kingdom of Naples.

In the following Spring, Famagusta, the Capital of Cyprus, and the best Port in the Island, was assaulted. Marc Antonio Bragadin defended it with extraordinary Valour, and did not Surrender it till the utmost extremity. Mustapha enraged at his too long and too great resistance, satisfied his Faith, and cruelly caused him to be flea'd alive, after they had cut off his Nose and Ears. Bragadin appeared more invincible yet under his Torments than in his Fighting, and Triumphed over the Treachery and Cruelty of his more than brutish Enemy by his generous Sufferings.

* Or Light Gallies.

At the instant pursuits of Pope Pius V. at length a League was concluded between him, the King of Spain, and the Venetians, their Vessels or Fleet together made up Two Hundred Twenty Five Gallies Sottili, * Six Galleasses, and Twenty Five great Ships. Whilst the Chiefs were contending with each other about Place and Authority, Famagusta was lost. Don John of Austria Bastard Son of the Emperor Charles V. Commanded the Forces of Spain, Marc Antonio Colonna the Pope, and Sebastian Venier those belonging to the Venetians. Don Juan was declared Generalissimo, and in his absence Colonna was to have the same Authority. Venier having craftily engaged Don Juan to enter the Gulf of Lepanto, otherwise called the Gulf of Corinth, a famous Battel ensued, the most Memorable that ever the Christians Fought upon the Sea. It was within the Streight between those little Islands named the Echinades, and the main land, some Threescore Miles off the Promontory Actium, so Famous by that Battel which decided the Roman Empire, between Octavius Caesar and Marc Antony. The Arm of the Almighty was stretched out against the Infidels, they were wholly vanquished. One Hundred and Seventeen of their Gallies taken, above Twenty sunk, Five and Twenty or Thirty Thousand Men swallowed up in the Sea, near Four Thousand made Prisoners, all their Chief Commanders either Slain or Drowned, excepting the Bassa Perthaw who made his escape to Lepanto in a Skiffe, and old Louchali * who got off with Two and Thirty Gallies. So great an advantage ought to have produced many others: but it was so ill pursued, by reason of the misunderstanding amongst the Confederate Christians, that the Venetians were at last constrained to have recourse to the mercy of the Barbarians, and Treat a Peace with them.

* Uluzzali.

1571.

After many Earth-quakes hapning in Tuscany and Lombardy, which almost wholly ruined the City of Ferrara, there followed most furious Floods of Waters in several Countries. The Rhosne quite drowned the Suburbs de la Guillotiere at Lyons, and its Streams by their rapid Violence, having torn away a Rock from the Mountain near the chops of the Sluce, made a Bank against themselves, which stoppt their Passage, and forced them to flow back against the usual current, so that the Mills along that River had their Wheels turned the contrary way.

The Winter was so hard from the end of November in the Year 1570: till the end of February following, that during those three whole Months, it Froze the Rivers so much that they drove Carts upon them, and blasted the Fruit-Trees, even in Languedoc and Provence, killing their very Roots.

Notwithstanding the Edict of Pacification, new occasions of quarrel and strife arose every day between the Catholicks and the Huguenots, under colour of remedying it, the King dispatched to Rochel the Marechal de Crosse, and a Master of Requests, who conferr'd with the Heads of the Huguenots: but as it appeared afterwards, it was but only to make them the more tame and gentle and confiding. And indeed at this very time were those two Baits thrown out above mentioned, the Marriage of the King's Sister with the Prince of Navarre, and the design of making War upon the Spaniards in the Low-Countries. The Admiral passionately desired it, as well to Revenge the affront he received at Saint Quintins, as to uphold the Protestants, and restore the Princes of Nassaw, that so they might be enabled to give each other mutual assistance.

These Seeds of deceit thus cunningly sown amongst them began to allay their Suspensions, the Huguenots Deputies followed Cossé to Court, and received all manner of Satisfaction, though at that time the King's Council were framing a terrible design, but he feigned a most profound Tranquility. The King made his Entrance into Paris the Fifth day of February by Saint Denis Gate, without it, he on a Scaffold heard the Harangues of the Sovereign Companies, and Body of the City. The Twenty-Ninth of the same Month the Queen was Crowned at Saint Denis.

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They went on in the mean while with the grand design of drawing the Huguenots into the Trap, by all the alluring and specious semblances proper to decoy the most wary and jealous. They began kindly to use all such as they guessed to be joyned by Alliance, or Interest, or Amity with them, on the contrary they slighted and rejected all those that were their Enemies or suspected by them; Their Deputies carried back all the imaginable tokens of affection and good usage. The King interceded with the Duke of Savoy to restore those Lands belonging to Jacqueline Countess d'Entremont, which that Duke had seized, because she Married the Admiral contrary to his Commands, being Widdow of Claude Batarnay Anton, who was Slain in the Battle of Dreux.

So many favours did a little startle the Admiral, he sends Count Ludovic of Nassaw to the King, to prie into his disposition and Treat concerning the Low-Country War. The King expresses an incredible Joy, and would needs have him come Incognito for fear of giving Jealousie to the Spaniards. He found the King at Fontenay in Brie, who welcomed him with a Thousand Caresses, pretended to lay open his whole Heart to him, and gave him up his Castle of Orange, where till that time, he had kept a French Garrison. And to succeed the better with the Admiral they made use of the Credit of Teliney his Son in Law towards him, a young Gentleman upon whom he had bestowed his Daughter mecerly for the esteem he had of his great Wisdome.

Teliney therefore carried him word that the King had resolved to give his Sister Margaret to the Prince of Navarre as a pledge of his promises to all the Huguenot Party, and that he had taken a Resolution to free himself from the Captivity of his Mother and his Brother the Duke of Anjou; against whom he had indeed conceived so much Jealousie, that he could endure him no longer. This Machine, as we may term it, drew in the Admiral, he came to Court in the Month of September, and with the greater boldness they being then at Blois, and he permitted to come with Fifty Gentlemen his Friends well Armed. The King embraces him, kisses him, admits him into his Council, restores his Estate and Pensions to him, gives him an Hundred Thousand Livers in Consideration of his lost Household Goods, then at a Months end permits him to go and see his House at Chastillon.

September.

At the same time the Cardinal his Brother then in England, preparing to take Shipping for his Return into France was Poysoned by one of his Valets de Chambre with a perfumed Apple. The discovery of which Crime came not to light till two years after, when the same Fellow being Surprized at Rochel where he served as a Spy, was Condemned to be Hanged, and Confessed the Fact at the Gallows.

Scarce had the Admiral been five Weeks at Chastillon but the King sends him word his Presence was necessarily required to assist about the Treating of a League with England, and to renew the Alliance with the Protestant Princes of Germany. This second time he had yet a more favourable reception than at the former, they heap Caresses, Presents and other advantages upon him; The Courtiers murmur'd at it, the Clergy trembled with indignation to behold him who had destroyed and burnt so many Churches, stand in the highest rank of Favour, the People cry'd out, the King was in the high Road to Huguenotism, and the Guises themselves, though they had a hand in the design, apprehended lest the King, who did not over-much love them, should turn all this dissimulation into a Storm that might at last fall on their Heads.

After he had sojourned for some time at Court, they gave him his Liberty to be gone for the second time, but the King Corresponded with him by daily Letters, and took his Council in his most private Affairs. There was none now but the Duke of Anjou that made the Huguenots afraid, it hapned that to take away those Jealousies and Suspensions the King had of him, and which might have produced most dangerous effects, the Queen Mother began her Practices to obtain the Crown of Poland for him, which she undertook by the Advice and Intrigues of Montluc Bishop of Valence. For although Sigismund Augustus their King was yet Living, it was time to think of another, he being very Infirm and having no Children.

When by many oblique turnings and windings they had Convey'd this News to the Huguenots Ears, they were wrapt with Joy, and assumed a much greater Confidence. Then the Queen of Navarre entirely satisfied and assured came to Court to make up the Match for her Son. Pope Pius V. to prevent this Marriage

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riage which he looked upon to be very prejudicial to the Catholick Religion, sent a Legate, who perswaded and disposed the King of Portugal to demand this Princess in Wedlock, and from thence passed into France to make that Proposition to the King, and to exhort him to enter into the League against the Turks.

The Portuguese put a just value upon this Alliance, and proceeding generously made known to the King that he desired no other Dowry, but only that he would renounce that with the Turks. The King made answer that he was engaged elsewhere for the Marriage of his Sister; He excused himself likewise to the Legate upon all those other things the Holy Father demanded, but conjured him to assure his Holiness of his filial obedience, and gently squeezing his Hands added these words. *O that I might be permitted to explain my self more!*

At the same time Jane Queen of Navarre, over-perswaded by the Admiral who was but too much so himself, came to Court; It was then at Blois. The King and Queen strove to give her a more then ordinary Reception. After some debates concerning the Place, and the Ceremonies of the Marriage, and that Jane had consented it should be perform'd at Paris, in a certain form, not much differing from that of the Roman Church, the Articles were Signed the Eleventh day of April. There wanted nothing but the dispensation from Rome because of their near Parentage, to compleat the Nuptials.

Amidst these Transactions Ludovic returns to Court, he was more hugg'd and soothed then ever. The King promised him he would send the Admiral into the Low-Countries with a powerful Army, there was a division made of those Provinces how they should be shared between France and the House of Nassau; they drew together Six Thousand Soldiers, with a great Train of Artillery for that Enterprize; they sent Siroffy and the Baron de la Garde upon the Coasts of Bretagne to hinder any Supplies that might come from Spain to the Duke of Alva; they dispatched the Marechal de Montmorency into England to Treat about an Alliance with Queen Elizabeth, Schomberg into Germany to exhort the Protestant Princes, and Francis de Noailles Bishop of Dags as Ambassador to Constantinople to stir up the Turks to fall upon the Coasts of Spain.

The Cardinal de Lorraine and the Cardinal de Pellevé were already gone towards Rome, upon pretence of being there at the Election of a new Pope, for Pius V. died the first day of May. In his Life time he refused the dispensation for the Marriage of the Prince of Navarre, with Madam Margaret; Gregory XIII. his Successor, less rigid, or better inform'd, easily agreed to it. The Wedding day was therefore assigned upon the first of June: but upon some difficulty started by the Cardinal de Bourbon, it was put off to the Eighteenth of August. In the mean time the Queen of Navarre having over-heated her self by hurrying about to get all things ready, hapned to die, not without suspicion of being poyson'd by a certain pair of scented Gloves she bought at a Perfumers, who was a Milanese and one of a very ill-favoured Reputation.

Though the Admiral held himself secure upon the faith and word of the King, he could not however resolve to expose himself in Paris to the Mercy of that populace furiously exasperated against him, and in the midst of his most mortal Enemies. But here the last bait was made use of and proved so taking, he could notwithstanding it. The King dismisses Prince Ludovic whom till then he had detained in Court, gives him a good round Sum of Money and two Officers of great Note, i. e. la Noüe and Genlis, who were in great Credit with the Admiral, to go and try whether by Intelligence they could secure some places of the Low-Countries. Ludovic Surprised Mons, la Noüe Valenciennes, whilst many other Cities in Holland and Zealand took part and stood up for the Prince of Orange.

He judging this to be certainly an open War between the two Crowns did no longer hesitate, but came to the King and into Paris, where hitherto he durst not trust himself. That which assured him more yet, was a permission allowed Genlis to Levy Four Thousand Men to go to the Relief of Mons. However they no sooner entred into Haynault but they were defeated, and their Leader taken by the treachery of the French themselves.

The Admirals example drew all the other Lords into the Net. (The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé Arrived at Paris the Twentieth day of July, bringing a great Train of Noblemen with them, as well of such who desired to appear at the Nuptials of the first; as others who had been assistant at the Prince

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of Condé's with Mary of Cleves, which was Celebrated in the Castle of Blandy near Melun. This Mary was one of the three Daughters of Francis de Cleves Duke of Nevers, and Sister to the Dutchesse of Nevers and Guise.

The exceeding Caresses they made them were so extravagant and so visible, that if God had not blinded both their Eyes and their understandings, they might easily have perceived those Knives they were every hour whetting to cut their Throats. The Rochellers sent Messenger after Messenger to advise the Admiral he were best to withdraw himself out of that Gulf of Paris, that it was a tempting of God too far by confiding in a King who was violent and passionate even to the height of fury, and an Italian Woman, who had endeavour'd the destruction of all that was great in the Kingdom. But he replied that he would sooner resolve to be dragg'd throw the dirt and mire of Paris, then by his leaving it give any the least occasion for a fourth Civil War. It was upon the same foot of Resolution that he stood up so obstinately for the Surrender of the Four Places of Security above three Weeks before the Term was expired. There was only Rochel that refused to obey, under pretence of their Priviledges. The Marechal de Montmorency much clearer sighted then the Admiral, feigned himself sick and disordered with his England Voyage, and obtained leave to retire to his House at Chantilly.

The King of Navarre was betroathed the Seventeenth of August, and Married the day following: the Cardinal of Bourbon tyed the Nuptial knot on a Scaffold erected before the Church Door of Nostre-Dame, according to a Form agreed upon betwixt them. The said King having Conducted his Mistress into the Quire, by a Gallery made purposely thorow the body of the Church, retired while they were saying Mass. When that was ended he returned, and having kiss'd his new Spouse, led her into the Bishops Palace where Dinner was prepared for them. Four dayes were spent in Feastings, Turnaments and Balets or Dancing, where the King and Queen appeared so busie that they had scarce time to sleep.

But during all this loud noise of Voices and Violins they deliberated on what manner to execute their bloody Butchery! What the first Project was in the Kings Council is not well known, amongst whom were the Queen Mother, the Duke of Anjou, the Count de Rais, and Birague Keeper of the Seals, (for Morvilliers to whom they were given in Custody when they dismissed the Chancellor de l'Hospital, had discharged himself of them into his hands)

It is said the first Resolution for this Massacre, chiefly upon the Instance of the Duke of Guise, and his Partisans, was taken at Blois in the very Chamber where that Duke himself was Massacred Fifteen years after; and that some difficulties arising they held another Council in the House of Gondy at Saint Cloud, whereat the Duke of Anjou presided, who afterwards (being King Henry III.) was unhappily Murthered in the very same place, and as some affirm upon the very same day.

The Queen Mothers aim was quite different from the Kings, and from that of the Guises; it was believed that Vindicative Woman, with the Count de Rais her intimate Counsellor, had a Prospect far beyond theirs. For she thought, that by causing the Admiral to be assassinated (which the two other Councils had resolved) the Montmorency's would stand up to revenge that Injury, and fall fowl upon the Guises, whom they would certainly Judge to be the Authors of it; That these two Parties should be left to grapple with each other; Then when good store of Blood had been drawn and either had half destroyed the other, the King should Salley out of the Louvre with his Guards, and exterminate them both, as Seditious Traytors; That after he had thus destroy'd them he would remain absolute Master, Reign according to his own fancy, and set himself above all Laws of the Kingdom.

Now whether this were true, or no, that Morevel who had before Assassinated the Lord de Moüy, was employ'd to make away the Admiral. On Friday the Two and Twentieth of August he posted himself for this purpose at the Cloister S. Germain de l'Auxerrois in a Chamber of the House belonging to Peter Pile of Villemur a Canon of that Church, and who had been Tutor to the Duke of Guise. He takes his stand and fits his gears at a low Window that was barr'd with Iron and faced the Street called des Fosses S. Germain; and as the Admiral came from the Louvre on Foot, and was going to his own House in the Street de Betizy, walking slowly, because he was reading some Papers, he made a Shot at him

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with

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The King who was playing at Tennis with that Duke in the *Louvre*, falls into a rage, throws down his Racket and leaves off his play: but the Project did not take as they imagined, for the Admiral without shewing any great concern withdrew to his own House, and neither the *Huguenots*, nor the *Montmorencies* ran to their Arms. The King of *Navarre* and the Prince only went to beseech the King he would give them leave to go out of *Paris* for their own Security: but both he and the Queen Mother plaid their Game so cunningly and cover'd the business so well with their deceitful pretences, promising to bring the Assassin to exemplary punishment, and naming Judges to take immediate Information, that it calmed the just fears of those two young Princes, and obliged them to stay.

Afternoon the Admiral having informed the King that he had somewhat to tell him which was not to be trusted to the knowledge of any other but himself alone, the King went to visit him at his House accompanied by the Queen Mother, the Duke of *Anjou*, Duke of *Guise*, Count of *Rais*, and some others. After some general discourse, he entertained him near an hour, and seemed to take much delight in what he told him concerning the War of the *Low-Countries*; In fine he carried his dissimulation on so far that the Queen had some jealousy of their great Intimacy; and asked her Son what it was the Admiral had told him in private; to which he replied, with an Oath, that he had advised him to reign by himself, and make himself Master of all Affairs.

The same day, as if he had indeed earnestly desired to have the Assassin apprehended he caused all the Gates of *Paris* to be shut up, except two, and under colour of securing the Admiral from all popular Commotions and Attempts of his Enemies, Re-inforced his Life-Guards with Four Hundred Men, quarter'd his Regiment within the City, and gave charge to *Cossens*, who was their *Mestre de Camp*, to set a Court of Guard of his best *French* Soldiers before the House of the Admiral, and another of *Swiss* within it. He had likewise wished all the *Huguenot* Gentlemen to Lodge thereabouts, and made the King of *Navarre* believe that he apprehended some rising on the *Guisian* part, for which reason he desired him and the Prince to come and remain in the *Louvre* with the bravest of their Men, to strengthen and defend him in Case of necessity.

The Admirals friends held divers Councils in his House upon the accident of his hurt: *John de la Ferriere Vidame* of *Chartres* had from the very first given his opinion that they should Convey him to *Chastillon*, and that they were yet strong enough to beat their way thorow the common Rabble before they were in Arms: but the Admirals repugnance, and the contrary Remonstrances of *Teligny* his Son in Law, who oppos'd every one that shewed the least suspicion, or gave Council tending to the securing themselves, made them lay aside those Resolutions. Now the *Vidame*, plainly perceiving by the muttering of the People and divers other Indications, that danger was very near at hand, returned once more to the charge, and insisted the more upon it, because the Admiral found himself somewhat better and might endure a Horse-Litter.

This was apparently that which hastned their ruine: for a Gentleman who was present at this Consult, went immediately to the Palace des *Tuilleries* to make his Report to the King, who had called his Council together in the Queen Mothers Closet. The Duke of *Anjou*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the Bastard of *Angoulême*, the Keeper of the Seals *Birague*, the Counts of *Tavannes* and of *Rais* were of it. There upon the Report made by the Gentleman, it having been consider'd, that if the Admiral escap'd, they should fall into greater perplexities then ever, it was concluded that both he and all the *Huguenots* should be dispatch'd, excepting the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*. It hath been said, that at the first they spake only of the Chiefs and principal Men; but that the King, after he was with much ado persuaded to resolve upon it, added swearing in his wonted manner; *Well then, since it must be, I will not have one left alive to reproach me with it.*

They then gave out Orders to Execute such their Resolution that same Night; and the Duke of *Guise* was made the Chief Manager, as well because the People had more Confidence in him, as because he was animated with the Repentment of the death of his Father, and had drawn together a great number of People Armed

Armed for that purpose. (Wherefore about Ten a Clock at Night he sends for the *Swiss* Captains of the Five little Cantons, and some of the *French* Companies, orders them to put themselves all in Armes; and to *John Charon Prevost des Marchands*, as also to *Marcel* who was newly out of that Employment, to Arm the Citizens, and first draw them together within some Houses, then bring them into the Market places, to light Flambeaus in all their Windows, to wear a white Scarfe or Linnen on their left Arm, and a Cross of the same upon their Hats, and when they were in readiness then to begin the Butchery at a Signal given them, by Ringing out the great Bell belonging to the Palace, which is not wont to be used but upon some extraordinary Occasion of rejoycing.)

The Orders given, he returned to the *Louvre*, where the Queen Mother, the Duke of *Anjou*, *Nevers* and *Birague*, used their utmost Endeavors to resolve the King's Mind, for the nearer he came to the Moment of Execution, the more he was troubled in his Soul, so that the very Sweat ran down his Forehead, and his pulsation was like one in a Fever. They had much ado to force a positive and precise consent from him: but as soon as ever they had obtained it, the Queen Mother hastned the Signal above an hour, and caused the Bell to be rung at *Sainte Germain de l'Auxerrois* as the Alarum agreed upon. When he heard this, and the report of some Pistols fired at the same time, he was so moved that he sent orders they should forbear a while longer: but word was brought back that they had proceeded too far; and indeed the Duke of *Guise* had caused both the Admiral and *Teligny* his Son in Law to be Massacred in their Lodgings, and the fierce Wolves being unchained and let loose ran to every House, and filled all with Blood and Slaughter.

To draw the Picture of this Horrible Massacre in little, it lasted seven whole dayes: the three first, which was from *Sunday* the Feast of *St. Bartholomew* till *Tuesday*, in it's greatest fury; the other Four till the *Sunday* following with somewhat more of abatement. During which time were Murthered near Five Thousand Persons by divers sorts of Deaths, and many by more then one, amongst others Five or Six Hundred Gentlemen. Neither the Aged, nor the tender Infants were spared, nor Women great with Child, some were Stabb'd, others hewn in pieces with Halberts, or Shot with Muskets or Pistols, some thrown Head-long out of the Windows, many dragged to the River, and divers had their Brains beaten out with Mallets, Clubs, or such like Instruments. Seven or Eight Hundred had thrust themselves into the several Prisons, hoping to find shelter and protection under the Wings of Justice: but the Captains appointed for this Execution, caused them to be haled out and brought to a place near *la Valée de Misere* (or the Valley of Misery) where they beat out their Brains with a Pole-Axe, and then cast them into the River. A Butcher going to the *Louvre* upon *Tuesday*, told the King that he had dispatched an Hundred and Fifty the Night before, and a Gold-Wyre drawer often boasted, shewing his Arm, that he had kill'd Four Hundred for his share.

The most Eminent of the Massacred, besides the Admiral and *Teligny* were the Count of *la Rochefoucauld*, the Marquess of *Renel* Brother by the Mother to the Prince of *Porcean*, the Baron of *Lavardin*, *Beaudin* Brother of *Dacier*, *Francis de Nonpar Caumont la Force* and his Eldest Son, the brave *Piles*, *Francis de Quellevé*, *Pontivy*, *Brion*, *Pruviant*, *Pardaillan*, *Montalbert*, *Valavre*, *Guerchy*, *Peter de la Place* First President of the Court des *Aydes*, *Fransour* the King of *Navarres* Chancellor and *Lomenie* Secretary to the King. (Who could believe it? of so many Valiant Men, not one died with his Sword in Hand besides *Guerchy*; and of Six or Seven Hundred Houses that were plunder'd, but only one that made Resistance.)

The Earl of *Montgomery* and about a Hundred Gentlemen, who either more suspicious, or more happy then the rest, had Lodged themselves in the *Faubourg Saint Germain*, hearing the hideous noise that was made all over the City, and being privately informed of what passed, could not possibly believe it: they fancied that the *Guisians* together with the People had Attaqued the *Louvre*, and ran to the Water-side to cross over by Boat: but perceiving some small Vessels full of Soldiers making towards them, (for they could not find the Keys of the Gate *Bucy* soon enough) and the King himself from the farther side of the River, with his great Fowling-piece, endeavouring to bird them, they fled back to their Lodgings, and getting immediately on Horse-back, most of them without Boots, some even in their drawers, made their escape with all possible speed into *Normandy*. Those

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Those that were Lodged in the *Louvre* it self were not spared. After they had disarmed and hunted them out of the Chambers they lay in, they cut the Throats of them all one after another, and exposed their Bodies stark naked at the Gate of the *Louvre*, the Queen Mother being at a Window feasted her Eyes with the horrid Spectacle.

This deluge of Blood swallow'd up many Catholicks likewise, who were dispatched by Order of the Higher-Powers, or at the Instigation of some particular Persons. It was enough to make them *Huguenots*, if they had Money, or a wish for Employment, or vindictive Enemies, or impatient heyres. Some called this Massacre *The Paris Matins*, as they had formerly called that in *Sicily*, Anno 1281. *The Sicilian Vespers.*

Whatever diligence they used to find out the *Huguenots*, there were more escaped then were killed for number. Divers saved themselves by Money, by Friends, by good hap, and by their craft; the Duke of *Guise* in his own Hostel sheltered above an Hundred of those he believed he might bring over to his Party; And the King spared the Lives of some who were so only out of Interest. The *Montmorencies*, *Cossé*, and *Biron* were in the black List: but *Montmorency's* absence, he being at *Chantilly*, secured the Lives of his Three Brothers, the Prayers and Tears of the beautiful *Chastel-neuf*, *Monsieurs* Mistriks, saved *Cossé* his Allie, and *Biron* Great Master of the Ordnance, having loaded and levelled or appointed some Culverins at the Gate of the *Arsenal*, stopt the impetuous Torrent of the Massacrers, and let in some of his distressed Friends; amongst others *James* second Son of the Lord *de la Force*, who being then but Ten or Twelve years old, had craftily hid himself between his Fathers and his Eldest Brothers Corps, Murther'd in bed where they all three lay together.

When the Admiral was kill'd, they threw his Body down into the Court, the Duke of *Guise* who stood below, wiped the Blood off which cover'd his Face to know if it were he. After that an *Italian* cut off his Head and carried it to the Queen Mother, who causing it to be Embalm'd, sent it to the Pope, as the *Huguenots* say. The Populace fell upon the unhappy trunk of his Body; They first cut off the Hands and Privities, then left it on a Dunghill; in the afternoon they return to it again, dragg'd it three dayes about the Streets, then to the River side, yet did not throw it in, and at last to *Montfaucon*, where they hung it up by the Feet with an Iron Chain, and made a Fire underneath, which half consumed it. This miserable Relick hung there till the Mareschal *de Montmorency* got some to steal it away in a very dark Night, and laid it to rest in his Chappel at *Chantilly*.

About Noon on the Sunday the Massacre first began, a white-thorn growing in the Church-Yard called *Saint Innocents*, half wither'd and stript of all its Leaves, put forth great store of Blossomes. This wonder much heightned the phrensie of the People: the Fraternities Marched along with Drums beating, and strove who should Massacre most *Huguenots* in a day; the King himself would needs see that Prodigy. Most People would have it to be a Miracle, and those of either Religions interpreted it to their own advantage. The less credulous attributed it to the nature of the Tree, which does many times Blossom when ready to die. We might say that the same cause which heated the Peoples Brains and excited them to so much violence and fury, was that which heated this Tree likewise, whether proceeding from Vapours out of the Earth, or the Influence of the Stars and Planets from above.)

It had been resolved in the King and Queens most private Council, to charge the *Guises* with all the Malice and Odium of these Massacres, and report that the Admirals Friends intending to revenge the hurt he had received, it begot so furious a Sedition that the King could not allay or hinder it; and to this effect they had agreed and appointed that they should retire to their own homes as soon as ever the Chiefs of the *Huguenots* were dispatched. Upon this Foot the King had written to all the Governours of Provinces, commanding them to assure the People he would not break the Edict of Pacification; and in one Letter he said expressly, *That he was joyned with the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé, to revenge the death of the Admiral, his Cousin.* But the *Guises* apprehending, as they had reason, lest the Queen Mother should some time or other lay this Crime to their charge to ruine them, insisted so resolutely upon it, having the power in their own hands, the Catholick Nobility, the Duke of *Montpensier*, and the *Parisians* to back them, that they obliged him to change his Note, and to send

word

word every where, *That what had been done, was by his Order, to prevent the effects of that detestable Conspiracy the Admiral and his Friends had plotted to destroy him, and all the Royal Family, as also the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé.*

Wherefore upon Tuesday the Third day of the Massacre, after hearing of Mass to return solemn thanks to God for the precious Victory obtained over Herefie, and commanded Medals should be Coynded to preserve the Memory thereof, he went and sat on his Royal Seat of Justice in Parliament, where he owned the whole Action. Some dayes after he sent orders to that Assembly to employ all the Authority of the Law to justifie it; and to that end to proceed immediately without delay to make Process against the Admiral, and his accomplices.

For this a Chamber, or Court, was purposely set up during the Vacation, by whose Sentence the Admiral was declared Attainted and Convict of the Crime *de Lese Majestatis*, Chief Head and principal Author of a Conspiracy against the King and his Kingdom, ordained that his Body, if it could be found, if not, his Effigies, should be drawn upon a Hurdle, and hanged upon a Gallows at the *Greve*, from thence carried to the Gibbet at *Mont-faucon*, all Pictures of him to be mangled and trampled under Foot by the Hang-man, his Armes dragged at a Horses Tail about the Streets of *Paris*, his Estate Confiscated, his Children declared Plebeian and Ignoble, Intestable and unworthy to hold any Office, Dignity, or Estate in the Realm, his House of *Chastillon* razed, and an Inscription set up there graved on a Copper Plate containing this whole Sentence and Decree against him. It was added that from thence forward upon the Four and Twentieth day of August should be yearly observed a general Procession to render thanks to God for the discovery of that Conspiracy.

Briquemaunt an old Gentleman, and *Arnand de Cavagnes* a Master of Requests and Chancellour of the Cause, being taken, after the Butchery, in a House where they a while concealed themselves, were declared his accomplices, and Condemned to the same punishment. They were drawn upon a Sledge to the *Greve*, and Executed together with his Fantosme made of Straw, in the Mouth of which they did not forget to stick a Tooth-picker. The King and Queen Mother stood at a Window in the Town-Hall, and beheld the Execution through a Tiffany Vail.

Two dayes after the King had been in Parliament, he put forth an Edict whereby he assured the *Huguenots*, that what had been done, was not in hatred to their Religion, but to prevent the wicked designs of the Admiral; and therefore that every one of them should keep quietly in his own abode, and not make any publick Assemblies: but at the same time he wrote to the Governours of the Provinces and Cities, that they should take the very same Course, and Treat them as they had been at *Paris*.

During two Months, this horrible Tempest run over all France, more or less Bloody, according to the disposition of the Countries and their Governours. It was not so violent in *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, because there were few *Huguenots*; nor in *Languedoc* and *Gascongne*, because they were strong enough to defend themselves: but it was very rough and cruel at *Meaux*, *Troyes*, *Orleans*, *Nevers*, *Lyons*, *Toulouze*, *Bordeaux* and at *Rouen*, (causing above Five and Twenty Thousand Men to Perish in the Red Sea of their own Blood. At *Toulouze* they hanged Five Councillors of Parliament, in Scarlet Robes, upon an Elm in the Palace Yard.)

Matignon and the Vicount *d'Ortez* did generously refuse to stain their Hands with the Blood of their own Country-men: the first preserved those of *Alencon*, the other those of *Bayonne*. The horror of the Massacre brought back a great many to the Roman Church: but the danger once over, most of them fell off again. These and some others who timely fore-saw the threatening Storm saved themselves in divers places; *Sancerre*, *Rochel*, *Montauban*, and the *Sevenes*, proved places of refuge to a great number.

The very Morning of *Saint Bartholomews* day, the King had with his own Mouth told the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Condé* that he pardon'd them, provided they changed their Conduct and Religion. Afterwards the whole Court labour'd for their Conversion: the Example and Conferences of *Rosiere* a Minister of *Orleans* afforded a very specious colour and pretence for the King of *Navarre* to be Converted. His Sister *Catherine* the Dowager of *Condé*, and the Princess

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did

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1572. did likewise abjure it. The Prince would by no means hear of it: the King being tyred with his over-long resistance, sent for him, and being quite transported with passion, told him in three words, *Death, Mass, or the Bastile*. This Thunder-clap beat down his haughty Spirit, and compell'd him to follow the Examples of the rest. They were all absolved of the Crime of Heresie by the Cardinal de Bourbon; and that they might not be able to Retract, they were obliged to write themselves to his Holiness.

The Court of Rome and the Council of Spain were filled with unexpressible Joy upon the Tydings of the *Saint Bartholomew*: the Pope went in Procession to *Saint Lewis Church* to render thanks to God for that so happy Success, and a Panegyricall act thereof was represented before King Philip, under the Title of *The Triumphs of the Church Militant*. Both the one and the other of them believed this bloody Butchery would have brought the Protestant Party very low, and that their fall would make their own power rise to the desired pitch. Indeed if the King had but had an Army in readiness, he might with ease have made an end of the *Huguenots*: but he believed these Massacres had so quell'd them, that it was to no purpose to maintain one for that; Besides he must have been obliged to give the Command of it to his Brother the Duke of *Anjou*; and his growing too great was the only thing he had to fear.

Whilst the Queen Mother by the Advice of *Birague* and *de Rais* her Confidants, who apprehended a War, as being fitter to mannage Intrigues, then draw a Sword, amuses her self by Wyles and Artifices to subdue the remainders of the *Huguenots*: those that had escaped the Blood-Hounds resumed their Courage: *Rochel* labours to Fortifie it self; *Montauban* encouraged by the fortunate Success of the *Vesins*, who with Five and Twenty Horse defeated two Hundred and took *Montluc's* great Standard, shut up their Gates against the Kings Soldiers; their Chiefs seized upon several little Places in *Quercy*, and Fifteen or Twenty Castles in *Rouergne*, *Lauraguet*, *Albigeois*, and *Foix*; *Milland* and *Nismes* in *Languedoc* took the bit in their Teeths, some small Towns in the Mountains of *Vivarets* and the *Sevennes*, Barricado themselves, and *Anthony de Pleix Gremian* Seizes upon the City of *Sousmieres*.

Against so many Heads as sprung up afresh on every side the Kings Council took the Sword again in hand, and raised three Armies. With one of them *la Chastre* had order to besiege *Sancerre*; with the second *Danville* undertook to reduce the Rebel Cities in *Languedoc*; and the third Commanded by the Marquis de *Villars* Admiral of France, to subdue those in *Guyenne*. As for *Rochel*, they thought fit, before they made use of Force, to make use of Mildness and Craft, as fearing lest their despair should cast them into the Arms of the *English*. They sent first therefore *Biron* to be their Governour, whom they guessed would be acceptable to them, then when they had refused him, they forced *Francis de la Noüe* with Arguments of Knives and Daggers, to go thither and reduce them. They did not receive him in quality of the Kings Servant, but as General to Command their Army; which the King was content with, upon condition that if he could not incline them to make a Peace, he should forsake them upon his first Summons.

Thus began the Fourth Civil War again. The *Huguenots* escaped from the Butchery had scatter'd their fears amongst all the other Protestants. The City of *Strasbourg* doubled their Guards, the *Swiss* made great Levies, and secured all their Avenues, the *German* Princes and the Queen of *England* formed new Leagues together: the Council therefore found it necessary to allay their Suspicions, and palliate the Cruelty and Heynousness of the Fact. To this end they dispatched Ambassadors to them, with relations well contrived, and forged, and artificial propositions; they renew'd the Treaty for Conquest of the *Low-Countries* with the Prince of *Orange*; they endeavour'd to soothe and sweeten Queen *Elizabeth*, desiring her to be God-mother to the Kings Daughter, which she accepted; and they began a third time to propound a Match between her and the Duke of *Alanson*: which many attributed to the Queens vain Imaginations, who being informed by certain Fortune-tellers, that all her Sons should Reign, by consequence if it were in France, they must all die after one another, struggled to alter the course of Fate, by seeking other Kingdoms for them in Foreign Parts, and proceeded so far therein as to desire the Kingdom of *Tunis* of the *Turk* for this last.

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The Eight day of November a new Phenomena began to be observed in the Heavens, which seemed to be a Star, because it was very Bright, was fixed to one certain place like the real Stars, appeared at the same height and held the same motion. It made the Figure of a Lozenge, with those of the Thigh and Breast of the Constellation named *Cassiopea*. At first it equal'd in magnitude the Planet *Jupiter*: but diminished by little and little, and at Eighteen Months end quite disappeared. The *Huguenots* interpreted this wonder to their advantage, and one of their Poets dared to say, it was the Asterism of the Apotheose of the Admiral.)

As soon as it began to appear in France a new Disease broke forth, indeed a very strange and odd kind of Malady, for at every Tenth Year, it still doubled its violence, causing most horrible Contorsions, and Dislocating every Joynt, till the year 1606. that it began to be less frequent and less cruel and tormenting then before. It was called the (Billious Evil, or) Colick of Poitou, because it reigned chiefly in that Country.)

The Three Armies destined against the *Huguenots* did but little. *La Chastre* succeeding ill in his Attakes upon *Sancerre*, at the end of Three Months, turned the Siege into a Blocade. *Danville* instead of taking *Nismes*, as the Cities of *Lyons* and *Thoulouze* did heartily wish, because they paid and maintain'd his Army, set upon the little City of *Sous-Mieres*, whether with design not to succeed, or otherwise, I know not: for he knew very well they plotted the Ruine of his House, and he put as little Confidence in the Kings Council, as they did in him. He therefore ruined his Army before it, and raised the Siege after he had lost Two Thousand men, with *Henry de Foix* Count de *Candale*, slain upon an Assault. This Lord had Married his Sister, and brought him Twelve Hundred Gascons. *Villars* and *la Valette* cleared *Gascogne* of several small Garrisons: but could not take *Cossade*, and were constrained to disband their Troops, who lived so licentious, that the Commons rose up in Arms to fall upon them.

The greatest efforts were at the Siege of *Rochel*: *Strossy* and *Biron* had invested it the preceding year, all the Forces of the Kingdom were come thither, and *Monsieur* himself Arriving there in the Month of February, had brought along with him, all that were bravest and greatest about the Court, the Duke of *Alencon* his Brother, the Duke of *Montpensier*, all the *Guises*, the Duke of *Nevers*, and even the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé* and the Marechal de *Cossé*, for fear lest they should make some stir elsewhere in favour of the *Huguenots*. After several fruitless Conferences, after that *la Noüe*, not being able to persuade the *Rocheliens* to submit, was come out of the Town, and they had chosen Six Captains in his sted, *Monsieur* began to express his mind by the roaring Mouths of his Cannon, having Four-score in Battery against them.

In this Siege it was made more manifest then in any other of these last Ages, that there is nothing which the persuasion of Liberty and Religion does not overcome, and nothing that can overcome it. It lasted Eight Months, to reckon from the time of the Blocade, the Baron de *la Garde* had begun within a Month after *Saint Bartholomew*; the City during that time, sustained Five and Thirty Thousand Cannon shot, Nine grand Assaults, above Twenty lesser ones, near upon Seventy Mines, very frequent Conspiracies; as well by contrivance of some that were Rich who feared to loose their Wealth, as by some of the Gentry, who have ever some particular engagements at the Court, and seldom desert it but in expectation of being called back again to the Cost of whatever Party they Espouse.

The People labour'd with so much heat, that they raised a double Terrass and digged a deep Retrenchment at the place where they batter'd the Town, before they could make their breach; Besides their men were perpetually making Sallies, the Women went along every where with them, some to Fight, others to carry necessaries and refreshment, carry off and dress the wounded, and gather up the Spoil, others again to throw kettles of scalding Liquor, or Oil, melted Pitch, red hot Iron Hoops, Bricks, Stones, Timber-Loggs and the like upon the Assaultants heads.)

Their Courage did not fail them, though the Assistance from *England* which *Montgomery* was to have brought, failed them. After a long expectation, in mid-March they appeared, but very Slender, for as much as the Marechal de *Rais*, as well by the Intrigues he forged in *England*, as the Pensions the King bestowed on Queen *Elizabeth's* Councillours, had notably hindred him from obtain-

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ing so considerable a Supply as was promised. Finding the choice Men of the Beliegers Army had put themselves into the Kings Ships, and the Channel stopp'd up with an Estacade which they could not get over but at Spring-Tydes, he weighed Anchor and went and seized upon *Bill-Isle*. But hearing the Count de Rais was coming against him, with a dozen Ships, he quitted it, after he had plundered it, and retired to the Isle of *Wight*.

The Count de Rais, under pretence *Bell-Isle* wanted some Lord to defend it, manag'd his Interest so that the King by his Sovereign Authority, caused it to be substracted and dismembred from the demesne of the Abbey of *Sainte Croix de Quimperlay*, and erected it to a Marquisate to bestow it upon him.

During all the Siege of *Rochel*, those within enjoy'd a perfect health, they had established a very good order for the distribution of their Provisions, so that they had enough for two Months longer when they were deliver'd; For though they were but meanly furnished with Corn; they had great Stores of Flesh and Salt-Fish, and the Sea shewing her self Charitable and Merciful to that Town, which she hath ever looked upon as her Nurse-Child, threw upon the *Owze* infinite quantities of Shel-Fish for the Subsistence and Relief of the Poor. On the contrary, the Beliegers were under all sorts of inconveniencies, the neglect of discipline, and the desolation of the Country round about them, had caused extreame scarcity of Provisions and Forrage in their Camp, and a most terrible Infection, which bred frequent and contagious distempers.

But the complement of all those Evils was their general Division, which held the Royal Army in perpetual agitations, and ready to cut one anothers Throats like *Cadmus* his Soldiers. There were of three sorts of People, the *Malcontents*, the Gentlemen were most of them so with the Queen Mother who governed all by two or three Strangers, Covetous, Proud and without Faith; the Faithful, these were the *Huguenots* who had not quitted their Religion, but to avoid the ruine of their Houses or for some Interest at Court, had followed *Monseigneur*; and the *New ones*, whom the fear of being Massacred had forced to go to Mass, though they did not believe in it.

Out of some of each of these was a Club or Party made whom they named the *Politiques*, and these had together agreed that without any more mention of Religion, they would demand the Reformation of the State, and expulsion of Strangers. Amongst the Catholics, the *Montmorencies*, *Biron* and *Coffe* were the Chief Heads: these were linked together above a Twelve month before the *Saint Bartholomew*. The Duke of *Alencon* a Prince ambitious and unquiet, despised for his low Stature and his ill Meen, had desired to be one, and having in his tender Youth taken some Impression of the New Religion from those that Educated him, had tied himself in strickt Amity with the Admiral, believing by that means to make a Party strong enough to equal the Credit of the Duke of *Anjou*, and get some share in the Government; To which he was thrust on by the Ambition of his Favourites, and by his Sister *Margarets* Spleen, much offended the Duke of *Anjou* slighted her after he highly cherish'd her.

Divers considerations proceeding from jealousy, suspicions and fear, had withheld the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé* from joyning with him whilst they were at Court: but they came on with more boldness when they were in the Camp. *Henry de la Tour* Vicount de *Turenne*, at that time a Catholick and already very knowing and subtle, though but young, was the contriver of their Association. Being all hot headed rash young Men, many Designs were propounded as strange as bold. The King having had some hint, gave order to *Pinard* Secretary of State, to enjoin the Duke not to leave the Camp upon pain of Incurring his Indignation; The Duke sending him back without any answer, because he would not produce his Order, the Kings Council took such an Alarm, that the King apprehending some dangerous surprize, wrote to the Duke of *Anjou* to hasten the taking of *Rochel*, because he had need of his Forces about his Person. This was the cause he made so many Assaults unseasonably, and lost so many Men.

Now as both the one and the other were in an extreame Perplexity, Arrives the News from *Poland*, which open'd them a way to go off with Honour. The Bishop of *Valence* had gained the Affections of the *Polanders*, by means of *Balagny* his natural Son, before the death of King *Sigismund*, the last Prince of the House of *Jagellons*. When he was dead, which hapned the Seventh of *July* in the year 1572. he parted from *Paris* the Seventeenth day of *August* following and went thither

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thither himself. The Queen Mother and the Duke of *Anjou* apprehended nothing more then the success of this Election; wherefore at the same time they pretended to employ all the Kings power for it, they obstructed it underhand by private Methods: Nevertheless the Bishop having more regard to the Kings Command and his own Honor, then to a Womans fancies, managed the business so well that it succeeded. The Duke of *Anjou* was Elected King: but as the Heads of two of those four Factions that were amongst them, were *Calvinists*, they obliged the *French* Ambassadors to promise them several Conditions in favour of that Religion; particularly that they should leave all those Cities at Liberty which were Besieged.

Upon the News of this Election and the Arrival of the *Polish* Ambassadors who came to fetch their new King, the Duke of *Anjou* made them give some fresh Assaults, and then renewed the propositions for accommodation: The *Rochellers* refused to hearken to any thing unless all the other Cities of their Party were comprehended, and they were fain to yeild to them in this point, unless for *Sancerre*, whose Surrender was hourly expected. The Articles were all resolved upon the Five and Twentieth of *June*, the Ratification was brought back some dayes after with an Edict of Pacification, which was more restrictive by much then the preceeding ones, for it allowed only Liberty of Conscience, but no publick exercise, excepting in the Cities of *Rochel*, *Nismes*, and *Montauban*.

It was not in their Power to obtain the same advantage for *Sancerre*; the King under colour it belonged to a particular Lord, whose right he could not infringe, refused to grant them any more but the Liberty of Marriages and Christnings. So that although for four Months past the scarcity of Provisions grew daily to a most horrible Extremity, yet they resolved to perish rather then not enjoy the same Conditions which the rest had. They fed upon the most unclean Creatures, and upon such Herbs as Beasts themselves refuse to tast, as also Parchment and Leather; and to say all in a word, they surprized a Father and a Mother feeding upon their own Daughter that had been starved to death: Whilst they were in this most lamentable State, and yet would not think of a Surrender, the Ambassadors from *Poland*, who Arrived in the beginning of *August*, got composition for them: but they had no other advantages for their Religion, then what was general. So that the Cruel and Voluntary death of Two Thousand of those unhappy Wretches, served only to Signalize to all future Ages their too long and fatal obstinacy.

In the Treaty of *Rochel*, it was Stipulated that the *Rochellers* should intreat the Duke of *Anjou* to come into their City: but that he should not enter. So that after the most eminent had been with him to request it, he dismissed his Army and went on Board his Galleys, visited the adjacent Islands, thence Sailed to *Nantes* and so returned to Court, being every where received in quality of a King. Thus ended that Famous Siege, where the King lost Twelve Thousand Men, and a great many Persons of Note, the most remarkable being *Claude* Duke of *Aumale* who was Slain with a Cannon Shot.

The *Polish* Ambassadors who were Twelve in number, and for their Chief had the Bishop of *Pozna*, Arrived at *Mets* the Five and Twentieth of *July*, made their Solemn entrance into *Paris* on the Third day of *September*, and the Tenth read the Decree of Election in the Palace-Hall. The King was there upon a Scaffold Array'd in his Royal Robes, and accompanied by all the Princes and Grandees of his Court. The Decree being taken out of a Silver Box, Sealed with an Hundred and Ten Seals of the Prelates, Palatines, and *Castellans* of the Kingdom, was open'd and read aloud by one of the Ambassadors. The King having given them very many civil thanks rose from his Seat and went to embrace the King of *Poland* his Brother, the other Princes and Noblemen then present went afterwards to Congratulate him and pay their Respects; He kissed the Duke of *Alencon* and the King of *Navarre*, and treated the others with more or less Ceremony according to their quality.

I shall say nothing of the Feastings and Balets wherewith the Queen Mother entertained them: those are the Abortives of Luxury and Prodigality, the remembrance of which ought to last no longer then the smell of the meat, and noise of the Violins. The King of *Poland* made his entrance into *Paris* by the Gate *Saint Antoine* with a Suitable Magnificence. It was looked upon as an ill Omen that his Heralds mistook in their blasfoning the Arms of his New Kingdom.

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These Ceremonies ended King Charles who had taken up a strong Resolution he would Reign himself, and withdraw that Authority he had imprudently committed to his Mother, hastned his departure with great impatience, every hour seeming a tedious year: but the more he pressed, the more delays the other still fought out. It was not the delights only of the Court, his Mothers tenderness, the almost Royal Authority his Command had placed him in as Generalissimo of the Army's, and the hope of succeeding to the Crown, which ever seemed near at hand, because the King had no Child, that detained him in France: the violent Love he had for the Princess of Condé, was a stronger tie than all these. The Duke of Guise who had Married the Sister, foothed and served him, though to no purpose, in his passion, and by that means had gained the Princes favour so entirely that he could not have liv'd a moment without him.

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Seven or Eight dayes were past and the King of Poland went not, though all his Equipage were ready and his Goods loaden. The King attributes it to the Queen, and told her with an Oath that one of the two must leave the Kingdom; but the Duke of Guise with-held him still upon hopes of a sudden enjoyment, and offer'd him Fifty Thousand men to defend him from the wrath of his Brother. At Three dayes end the King verily believing the Queen his Mother was the cause of his delay, and that it was to hatch some dangerous Conspiracy, caused his Closet Door to be rudely shut against her, and resolved to prevent their designs by some others which no doubt would have been very Tragical.

The Peril was Evident both for her and her Son, yet notwithstanding she could hardly resolve to part with him. The King would needs Conduct him to the Frontiers, rather to hinder him from Cantonizing himself in any of the Provinces, then out of any Affection. He could not accompany him so far as he desired, but was forced to stop at Vitry in Partois: for in a few dayes after he had menaced his Mother, he was seized with a lingering but Malignant Feaver, which made him very giddy in his Head, and sick at Heart almost every Minute.

The Queen Mother with the Duke of Alencon and the King of Navarre Conducted him as far as Blamont in Lorraine. There the Mother and the Son took their Leaves of each other, amidst their Embraces, Sobbs, Sighes and Tears, she most imprudently let fall these words, *Farewel my Son, you shall not stay there long*; which being over-heard by several, and quickly divulged, did much encrease the sinister suspitions they had of the Kings Malady, though others attributed it to his constitution which was of adust Choller, and to the violent exercises he used as Hunting, Riding the great Horse, playing at Tennis Five or Six hours together, hammering and forging of Iron: which had so over-heated his mass of Blood, that he slept but little, and had sometimes Fits like those that so much afflicted Charles VI.

King Henry after his departure from Blamont, having Travell'd cross all Germany, Arrived at Miezych the first City of Poland, about the end of the Month of January. He had in his Train the Dukes of Nevers and Mayne, the Marquis d'Elbous, the Count de Rais, lately made Marechal of France, Roger de Saint Lary Bellegarde, Ten or Twelve other Lords of Note, and above Five Hundred of the bravest Gentlemen, besides these, several Men of the Gown, amongst others Bellievre Ambassadour of France to him, Vincent Lauré Apostolick Nuncio, and Pibrac the Kings Attorney in the Parliament of Paris.

All the Princes thorow whose Territories he passed, strove to pay him the honour due to his Birth and Dignity: there was none but Frederic Count Palatine of the Rhine, that Treated him otherwise. That Prince one of the gravest of his time, desiring to make the young King and his bloody Council know, the Injustice of the Mailâcres, received him after a manner not much obliging, and took pleasure in putting him into some apprehension of a most terrible Revenge.

At first that Noble and Majestick Air which outwardly appeared in all his Actions, and the Profusion he made with both hands, got him the passionate Love of the Nobility, and adoration of the People: but soon after the discomposedness of his Mind proceeding from Vapours of the Spleen, his Melancholly for not receiving so early as he wished the News he expected from France, a disgust of the Manners and Conversations of those People, rendred him un-easie to himself and to his Subjects. He sought for solitude in his own Closet, communicated himself

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himself to none but his Favourites, was sad and silent: but that which aggravated his Sorrow the more was the Proposition made him by the Senate, to Marry Anne Sister of the Deceased King, ill-favour'd and old, whose disagreeable aspect did but more encrease those Flames in his Breast; first kindled at Paris by the bright Eyes of the charming Princess of Condé.

There was some likely-hood that his departure from France would contribute much towards the calming of the Affairs in the State; That the fears of the Huguenots who dreaded him and his Favorites, ceasing, their emotions would cease likewise; That the Queen Mother having none now to rely upon would be forced to obey in her turn, and that her Italians who excited the publick hatred, and perverted the Just and Ancient Laws of Government to Introduce a new and Tyrannical Power, would loose their Credit and Interest. But on the contrary the Huguenots believing themselves the Stronger, had not laid down their Arms in Languedoc, but being confirmed and encouraged in their Assembly of Milland, and afterwards in those of Montauban and Nismes, they became more audacious in their demands than if they yet had their Admiral at the Head of Thirty thousand Men to fight their Battels; And besides the Duke of Alencon and the Politiques believing they were now Masters of all by the absence of the Duke of Anjou, would needs dispose of things as they pleased.

The Duke d'Alencon ready to embrace any Enterprize without consideration, and to give it over as lightly without thinking, forged several in his own head: but chiefly two amongst the rest, the one to undertake the Lieutenantcy of the War in the Low-Countries against the Spaniards, and the King would gladly have sent him thither to ridd his hands of such a turbulent and restless Spirit; the other was to demand the General Lieutenantcy as the Duke of Anjou had it. The Marechal de Montmorency was of opinion he should stick to the latter, and earnestly desired it for him, with such persuasive Arguments and Reasons, that the King thought fit to grant it.

But the Queen Mother, who did expect no more acknowledgment or respect from this Son than she had shewed affection towards him, who besides feared he would wrest her Authority from her, and if the King hap'ned to die, might perchance shut her dear Son the Duke of Anjou out of the Kingdom, studied to break his measures, and desired the Lieutenantcy for the Duke of Lorraine, who had Married the Fondling of all her Daughters. Now when she found the King had promis'd it to the Duke of Alencon, she contrived the Matter so well, that instead of a Patent, he only made a Declaration by word of Mouth, and gave Letters under the Privy-Seal to some Governours, shewing thereby plainly enough he meant to recall his Word, as he soon after did, and confer'd that eminent Title upon the Duke of Lorraine.

In the mean time the Duke of Alencon had contracted a most particular tie with the Huguenots, and had promised to take them into his Protection. The King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé were entred into this League, the Politique Catholicks were likewise joyned with them. Toré and the Vicount de Twenne managed the intrigues, and all of them together demanded an Assembly of the general Estates. The Queen Mother, that she might amuse them, had assigned an Assembly of the Notables at Compiègne, to deliberate whether it would be expedient to call them; and when they saw they could not make their Party strong enough at Court, they resolved to retire to Sedan; where the Duke of Bouillon had promis'd to give them reception.

The Huguenots had promised themselves so great advantage by the Duke of Alencon, that they had resolved to take up Arms over all the Kingdom at the latter end of the Carnival, Rochel it self was born along with this Torrent, and had for that purpose elected La Nove for their General. This Man the Night between Shrove-Tuesday and Ash-Wednesday, surprized Melle and Lusignan by Escalado, as Giron de Bissay, who brought Twelve hundred Men from Bearn, took Fontenay, and the Lord de la Case in Saintonge, Royan, Talmont, and four or five other little Places. In Dauphiné Montbrun seized upon Lorial and Livron, the which he repaired. In Normandy Coulombieres and some Gentlemen of the Country, upon the hopes of greater Troubles at Court, and of having the Duke of Alencon shortly with them, seized upon Saint Lo; Montgommery, who being hated in France, and unwelcom in England, kept himself close, and under shelter of the Islands of Jersey and Guernsey, sided with them, took Carentan and Valognes, and set all the Country thereabouts under Contribution.

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At the same time being the Tenth of *March*, that *la Noüe* had made the *Huguenots* resolve to take up Arms, it was likewise resolv'd that *Jehan de Chumont* *Guity* should draw near *Saint Germain en Laye*, with as many Horse as he could get privately together, to receive and bring with him the Duke of *Alencon*, and the two Princes. But it hap'ned, by whose fault it is not known, that *Guity* anticipated the Assignation by at least Ten days; so that the Duke of *Alencon* being fearful and irresolute, could not determine with himself to forsake the Court so suddenly, and *la Mole* his Favorite judging so great a design could not be long conceal'd, went and discover'd it to the Queen Mother. About Midnight behold an Alarm over all the Court: The King sends for the Duke of *Alencon*, and the King of *Navarre*, the first tells all, not caring what became of those he had employ'd: The other taxed neither him nor any Friend. They give out there is a Design upon the King's Person: The Men of the long Robe especially, and the Women hurry to *Paris* all Night, and the Queen her self to render the Princes more odious, flies in great disorder: However the King went not till the next day, and lodged himself at the *Bois de Vincennes*, whither he carried the Duke of *Alencon* and the King of *Navarre*, not yet as Prisoners, but carefully observed.

Thus the *Huguenots* fell very short in their accounts; and besides, in a Month after they set out Three Armies to destroy them in the Provinces of *Normandy*, *Poitou*, and *Languedoc*. *Matignon* Commanded the first, the Duke of *Montpensier* the second, the Prince *Dauphin* his Son the third. *Montpensier* went and cool'd his heels before *Fontenay*: but *Matignon* invested *Montgomery* in *Saint Lo's*, from whence making his escape, he pursued and besieged him in *Donfront* so straitly that he constrain'd him to Surrender, giving him assurance for the lives of his Men, but nothing more then ambiguous and random Promises for his own. This fell out, four or five days before the Death of the King.

From thence *Matignon* returned to the Siege of *Saint Lo*, carrying him thither to persuade *Coulombieres* who was within to Surrender: but the other reproached him of Cowardize, and put himself courageously in the breach, and his two Sons on either side of him, not above Fourteen or Fifteen years of Age, both having Javelins in their hands, to Sacrifice, said he, all his Blood for the Truth of the Gospel. He died there with his Sword in hand: but Fortune or Pity saved the lives of his two Sons; *Guity* afterwards making his Courage submit to his Prudence, gave up *Carentan*, and *Lorges* Son of *Montgomery* was detained Prisoner, but escaped by the favour of one of the Catholick Commanders.

As to *Languedoc*, the Queen Mother who was more bent against *Darville*, than against the *Huguenots* themselves, had contrived to ridd her self of that Lord, by the means of *James de Crussol* Duke d'*Vzez* his Capital Enemy, before the War began in those Countries. Some intercepted Letters, giving him notice thereof, he designed to make himself Master of the Province: but proceeded so slowly, that he could only seize upon *Montpellier*, *Lunel*, *Beaucaire*, and *Pezenas*. He was not the less noted for it at Court: *Martinengue* shewed an Order to all the Province, whereby the King dismissed him of his Government, and forbid the People to own him, or the Soldiers to obey him.

In the Spring time, when the Humors overflow, the King's Distemper which had been as it were laid asleep during the Winter, awaked and made the Queen sufficiently understand it was high time to seize upon and secure all those that might oppose or disturb her Regency, particularly the Mareschals de *Montmorency* and de *Cossé*. To this end she order'd a Commission to be given to *Christopher de Thou* first President, and to *Peter Hennequin* a President likewise, to inform themselves diligently about the Conspiracy of *St. Germain*, thereby to involve them.

La Mole a Favorite to the Duke of *Alencon*, and the Count de *Coconas* an *Italian*, whom he had lately introduced to the Acquaintance and Confidence of that Prince, were arrested. The first denied all, the other flatter'd with the vain hopes of getting his Pardon, and a great Reward besides, told a great deal more than indeed he knew. The Duke of *Alencon* and the King of *Navarre* were also examined: The first answered like a Criminal stuttering and trembling; the other more like an Accuser than one accused, with such reproaches as put the Queen Mother out of Countenance.

At *la Mole's* was found an Image of Wax, which one *Cosmo Rugiero* a Florentine and famous Quack, had made for him to Charm a young *Daniel* with whom he

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was in Love. The Queen Mother would needs have it be believed that it was made on purpose to bewitch the King: he still denied it stiffly: but notwithstanding he was Beheaded, and *Coconas* with him. It was said, that two Princesses who were in love with them, caused their Heads to be stoln, and Embalmed them to preserve them as long as they could. Another of their Complices was broken upon the Wheel, and *Rugier* sent to the Gallies. The Queen Mother very credulous in Matters of Divination and Sorcerers released him some time after to make use of him in his Art.

The Mareschals de *Montmorency* and de *Cossé* were highly accused by those wretches when they were put upon the Rack: nevertheless a Presumption of their own innocence did so far blind them, that they repaired immediately to Court to justify themselves, not considering that those are ever guilty who are in the hands of their Enemies, and that under their circumstances, Imprudence is the most Mortal of all Crimes. And so they were seized and carried to the *Bastille*, the *Parisians* expressing so much Joy, that they received them with Shouts, and provided Eight hundred men to be a Guard upon them. There was an Order likewise to seize upon the Prince of *Condé*, who was at *Amiens* in his Government of *Picardy*: April. but he went out of the Town in a disguise, and having met in his way with *Toré* a Brother of the Mareschal de *Montmorency's*, escaped to *Strasburg*, where he abjured the Catholick Religion in the open Church, and resumed the Protestant.

King *Charles* after the Siege of *Rochel*, having taken the Government of Affairs into his own hands, shewed himself very desirous to ease the People, and maugre the advice of those whose pretext for Oppression was the publick Necessity, he discharged them this year from a Third of the *Tailles*, and kept up but three Companies of the Regiment of Guards about him. He had resolved to turn all those out of his Court that were advisers for the Massacre, though he otherwise mortally hated the *Huguenots*, to leave the administration of Justice to his Parliaments, that of War to his Mareschals, and only to himself reserve all Affairs of State, to humble the Houses of *Guise* and *Montmorency*, and to lay aside all his vain Divertisements of Hunting, Gaming, and Women, to apply himself to Business, and at his spare hours to the Study of the Noblest Sciences, as his Grandfather the great King *Francis* had formerly done.

It were to be wished that Sovereigns would be as much concerned to compleat and carry on the brave Designs their Predecessors often Project when they are dying, as they are eager to reap all their Authority, and amplify it after they are dead. It was in vain that *Charles* conceived all these, he consumed by a slow fire, and visibly melted and wasted away more and more every moment; at length the violence of his Distemper cast him upon his Bed in the *Bois de Vincennes* the Eight day of *May*. The Queen Mother to colour that violence wherewith she had Usurped the Government with some lawful Title, labour'd to have the Regency left to her. Whil'st he had yet any remainders of strength and vigour left, he would allow her no more but only some Letters to the Governors of Provinces, which imported, that during his Sickness, and in case God should dispose of him, he would they should obey her in all things till the return of the King of *Poland*: but when he was brought to extremity, and in that condition wherein every thing becomes indifferent to him that is leaving the World, she caused other Writings to be drawn, which authorized her their Regent, obliged him to declare to the two Princes that such was his Will, and managed her Business so effectually, that the Parliament and the Magistrates of *Paris*, sent their Deputies to intreat her to accept of the Regency.

Nature did struggle most wonderfully during the two last Weeks of this King's life, he started and stretched himself with extream violence, he tossed and tumbled incessantly, the Blood burst out of every Pore, and from every channel of his Body; After he had suffered thus a long time, he sunk into a weak and fainting condition, and gave up his Soul between the third and fourth hour Afternoon, on the Thirtieth day of *May*, being the *Pentecost*. He had lived Five and twenty years wanting One and thirty days, & had worn the Crown Thirteen years & a half within five days.

He was of a becoming Stature, only a little stooping, carried his Head somewhat awry, had a forbidding and piercing look, high-nosed, his colour pale and livid, black Hair, his Neck somewhat long, round chested, his whole Body well shaped, save only his Leggs were of the biggest. He prided himself in his profound Dissimulation, and the skill of knowing Mens Natures by their Physiognomy. His Courage was great, his Spirit lively and cleer-sighted, his Judgment penetrating and

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1574 and subtil; he had a ready Memory, an incredible Activity, a happy and encephalical Expression; In fine, many Qualities worthy to Command, had not those noble Seeds of Vertue been corrupted by an evil Education.

Those that governed him had imprinted a most wicked custom of Swearing in him, which he turned into his ordinary Language; they had likewise taught him to reprove and taunt his Grantees and Parliaments: Had he lived, themselves must have felt the Effects of their wise Instructions. To divert him from applying himself to Business, they had made him by Custom in love with Hunting, Musick and Poetry, and endeavour'd to draw and allure him to the Debaucheries of Wine and Women: but observing once that Wine had so invaded his Understanding as to make him commit some Violence, he abstained from it all the rest of his life; And for Women, having met with some inconvenience from some belonging to his Mother, he took an Aversion, and meddled but little with them.

He made Poems which were well enough for those times, and often held Academy with five or six Poets: it is believed he would have quitted those Amusements for more solid Exercises if he had lived. He delighted so much in Hunting, that at Table, nay, when in Bed, the freak would often take him to call his Doggs. He composed a Book of Hunting or Venery, which he dictated to *Villeroy*.

He had no Children by Queen *Elizabeth* of *Austria* his Wife, but one Daughter named *Mary-Elizabeth* who died in Anno 1578. aged Six years. The Mother some while after the Death of her Husband retired to *Prague* in *Bohemia*, where she died Anno 1582. It is observed as a Pattern of her Goodness and Justice, that she would never sell any Offices belonging to those Countries alligned for her Dower; very praise-worthy in a Land where all is Venal, and which the good Subjects of *France* would rather have occasion to commend in their Natural Princes, than in Strangers.

King *Charles* had also a Natural Son by *Mary Touchet*, Daughter of *John Touchet*, Particular Lieutenant in the Presidial of *Orleans*, and *Mary Mathy*, whom he had Married to *Francis Balsac d'Entragues*, Governor of that City. This Son born in the year 1572. bare the same Name as his Father, and was first Grand Prior of *France*, then Count of *Auvergne* and de *Lauraguais*, and after Duke of *Angoulême*, and Earl of *Ponthieu*.

He erected two Dutchies and Pairies, the Marquisate of *Mayenne* in the Country of *Mayne*, for *Charles de Lorrain* Brother to the Duke of *Guise*, the County of *Ponticure* in *Bretagne* for *Sebastian de Luxembourg*, the Vicounty of *Vzès* in *Languedoc* for *Anthony de Crussol*; As simply Dutchies, the Vi-county of *Toliers* in *Poitou* for *Lewis de la Trimouille*, & the Seigneury of *Rohanais* for *Claude Gouffier Boisy*.

The same Vices of Wantonness, Luxury, Impiety, and Magical Abominations which reigned under *Henry II.* triumphed over *Charles IX.* with an uncontroled Licence: But besides those Disorders, Treacheries, Poisonings, and Assassinations became so common, that it was made a Sport to take away the life of any man, if they could reap but the least advantage by it. I do not speak of that Murdering and Bloody Spirit which had possess'd the Minds of men divided in Opinions of Religion.

Before this Reign, it was wont to be the Man's part both by Example and Courtship, to persuade and tempt the Women to Galantries: but now since amorous intrigues were joyned with the greatest Mysteries of State, the Women ran after the Men: The Husbands laid the Bridle in their Necks either out of Complaisance, or Interest, and besides those that delighted in Variety, found their own Satisfaction in this liberty, which instead of one Wife furnished them with an Hundred.

As to Magick, it is certain the Queen Mother had puzzled her Brain, with those impious Curiosities; She was so fond as to wear Characters and Spells about her. There are some yet preserved in being, which are marked upon a thin Skin, supposed to be of a Still-born Child. People of vain and light Fancies were easily inclined to follow her example: A Priest named *des Eschêles*, who was Executed at the *Greve*, for having conversed with Evil Spirits, accused Twelve hundred more of the same Crime. So sayes my Author, I know not whether we may believe him; for such as have once filled their heads with these Crude and Melancholy Imaginations, thinks every little Trick to be the Operation of Demons and Sorcerers.

Interregnum

Interregnum of Three Months.

1574 SOON as King *Charles* his Eyes were closed up by the cold hand of Death, the Queen Mother wrote to all the Governors that he had left her the Regency, and obliged even the Duke of *Alençon*, though a Captive as he then was, to give his Declaration: But it was admired that in a Post-script she gave an account of the Sickness and Death of the King, saying, *She did thus to take away all such Scruples, as some might have conceived.*

The same day she dispatched a Courier into *Poland*, and the next day a second, to give notice thereof to her Dear Son, and intreat him earnestly to return as soon as he possibly could. Those from the Prince of *Condé* had got the start of hers; and given so hot an Alarm at *Cracovia*, that the King being narrowly observed, it might be thought no easie task to steal away from so many Eyes as were upon him.

The Queen Mother in the mean time was put to no little trouble to preserve her Authority amidst that great Confusion of Affairs, and the general Hatred of all Men. Her Enemies having lost all respect, together with their fears, defamed her with biting Satyrs, the People talked insolently of her Conduct; and these Universal Murmurs made it plainly appear that all were ready to run open mouth upon her. Notwithstanding all this loud noise did not much startle her, she having the Heads of every Faction in her Power and Custody: The Marshals were strongly guarded in the *Bastille* by City Companies, who every day relieved each other: And for the two Princes, she had removed them from the *Bois de Vincennes* to the *Louvre*; where she not only secur'd them by Soldiers, who carefully watched their Motions, and by Windows double barr'd, about all their Lodgings; but also by the Charms of her beauteous Maids, into whose Apartment they had liberty of access at all hours, to make their Chains seem the lighter, and the time of their Captivity less tedious and rude.

Matignon had with much regret put *Montgommery* into her hands, the Parliament was commanded to make his Process. The Death of King *Henry II.* which she desired to revenge upon this Noble-man, was rather his Misfortune than his Crime, what he had acted during the three Civil Wars, was pardoned by the Edicts of Pacification, so that they could charge him with nothing but this his last taking up of Arms; nevertheless, in his Sentence they added, That it was for carrying the English Colours when he came to relieve *Rochel*. He was Condemned to be Drawn in a Tumbrel to the *Greve*, and there to lose his Head, his Posterity to be degraded of their Nobility.

They put him to cruel Torment on the Rack to make him discover the Complices in the pretended Conspiracy of the Admiral: The Tortures could force nothing from him but Complaints for having violated the Faith they had given him. He went to Execution all over bruised in his Body, but with so serene a Countenance, and such Tranquility of Mind, as would have merited much Commendation in a better Cause, and Pity for any one that had been less Cruel.

This great example of Severity, was rather to intimidate the factious about the Court, than the *Huguenots*: for after the *Saint Bartholomew*, nothing could frighten them. The Juncture was very favorable, but they had no Princes nor Persons of Quality to Head them, they wanted Money, and the People in their great Cities, as *Nismes*, *Montauban*, and *Rochel* would not confide in the Nobility. And to say truth, most of the Gentry fought but to be hired, if they could but have Money enough bid for their Service.

She did not think fit to attack them towards *Poitou*, nor *Guyenne*, they being there too numerous and strong; but she renewed some Negotiations with *la Noüe* and their other Chiefs, which concluded in a Truce for the Months of *July* and *August*. During that time they had leave to hold at *Milland* a general Assembly of the Provinces of *Guyenne*, *Dauphiné*, and *Languedoc*, to consult of some Expedients for the Treating of a general Peace.

Gramont had been sent into *Bearn* to reduce it to the ancient Religion. Being in the Castle of *Haquenau*, where he assembled the Nobility, the young Baron of *Ayros* surprized him there in the boldest manner that can be possibly imagined. This Gentleman prompted to so desperate an Undertaking by the Persuasions of

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1574. his Father, who was Fourscore years of old, and Blind, entred the Castle as did the other Gentlemen with Ten or Twelve resolute Fellows, and when he saw his opportunity, falls a Charging all that stood before him, slew, scatter'd, and made the amazed Crowd to fly, and carried off Gramont Prisoner.

The Army of the Prince *Dauphin* being entred into *Dauphiné*, a Party of his Vanguard was cut off at the Bridge de *Royans* by *Montbrun*, who afterwards failed in an Enterprize upon *Die*. The Prince *Dauphin* had a Design to clear that Country of all those Places the *Huguenots* held there, he gained two or three of them, then ran himself aground before *Livron*, a little paltry Place situate upon a Hill in the Diocess of *Valence*; He laid Siege to it about mid-June, and was forced to raise it again about a Month after.

July. Almost at the same time came forth two Manifesto's, one by *Danville*, whose irresolutions at last determined upon the Apprehensions of the Dangers and Ambuscades the Queen Mother was ever contriving against him, to make an Union with the *Huguenots*; the other by the Prince of *Condé*, who being gotten to *Heidelberg*, easily obtained of the Elector Palatin, that *Casimir* his youngest Son should raise some Horse and Foot for him, provided he would advance ready Money; without which, neither Vertue, nor Religion, nor Skill, can do any thing in that Country.

The News of this being brought into *France*, did marvellously encourage the *Huguenots*, and made the Assembly of *Milland* Elect him for their Chief General, a Declaration whereof they sent him to *Neuf-Châstel* in *Switzerland*, in which they did not forget to hint to him that he must be obliged to follow the reiglements of the Assembly, and act nothing without the advice of a Council they would appoint for him.

La Noüe found to his cost that his Prudence had been over-reached by a too great desire of a Peace: for during the Truce, the Duke of *Montpensier* having recruited his Army, which was much encreased by the *Normandy* Forces, had like to over-whelm the *Rochellers*. He took all the little Places in *Poitou*, and after them the City of *Fontenay* it self, even in a time of Conference about Capitulation. This blow did very much astonish the *Rochellers*, *Fontenay* being the Key of all the Commodities they fetched out of the *Lower Poitou*; and yet it wrought no more than the Exhortations of *la Noüe*, to rowze them up to do their utmost for their own Preservation, so agreeably were they flatter'd by the Queen Mother with the vain hopes of Peace.

In the other Provinces they made a better defence. In *Languedoc* they surprized the City of *Castres*, and in *Agenois*, though very weak, they would not let *Clairac* nor *Montflanquin* be torn from them, their Courage fortifying those places, as the Divisions of *Coffé* and *la Valere*, betwixt whom the Queen had shared the Government, weakened the Catholicks Army.

The Coyriers from the Queen Mother arrived in *Poland* the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth of June. The King took his Bed the better to consult on what he was to do; There were two things propounded, the one to delude the *Polanders*, and to get out of that Country at soonest, according to the pressing desires of the Queen Mother; the other to gain the good will and content of the Senate for his departure. The last was the most civil and becoming, the first the more expedite and certain. The King after he had secretly disposed of all things, stole away in the Night between the Eighteenth and Nineteenth of June, got to *Peizna*, the first Town in *Austria*, and from thence to *Vienna*.

His evasion being known, the *Polanders* ran in multitudes to his Palace, a Troop of Four hundred Horse spurred after, but could not overtake him. The *French* that were left behind at *Cracovia* ran the hazard of being knocked on the Head, the Senate being assembled, gave order to stop the chiefest of them: Nevertheles, *Charles Danzay*, whom *Henry* had appointed for Ambassador to *Denmark*, coming to them, and giving some Reasons for his so sudden Departure, allayed their first fury. Then by the friendly Assistance of some *Palatins* whom the King had Charmed by his worthy Qualities, he so well managed those fiery Spirits, that they sent him back all his Equipage and Domestick Servants, humbly intreating him to return again, which he excused upon the Information he said he had received, that the Prince of *Condé* was ready to enter upon *France* with an Army of Thirty thousand *Germaines*.

He spent Six dayes at *Vienna*, the Emperour entertain'd him with as great Affection as Magnificence: Being glad he had quitted the Crown of *Poland*, to which

1574. which he aspired, and that the House of *France* let go an advantage which made them Powerful on that side. It is said, he propounded the Marriage of his Daughter *Isabella* Widow of *Charles IX.* and advised him to let Peace enter with him into his Kingdom, shewing him it would be the only means to obliterate the horrid Idea's of the Massacres out of the Minds of those People, and to lay all the fault and load thereof upon the late King's Councillors. The Emperour's two Sons, *Rodolph* King of the *Romans*, and the Arch-Duke *Ernestus*, conducted him to the Frontiers of *Friuli*; He chose that Road to avoid all Attempts of the Elector Palatin, and the reproaching sight of the other Protestant Princes.

All what Ingenuity and Magnificence could contrive that might appear curious or obliging, was made use of by the *Venetians* to Honour the greatest King of all their Allies. In every City belonging to them, he was received as Sovereign. Four Senators clothed in Scarlet Velvet Robes, received him at the side of the Gulf, presented him as many Boats lined with the same, and one for himself enriched with Gold and Azure, and hung within-side with Cloath of Gold on a blew ground, carrying him to the Island *Moran*, famous for Glas-work, where he lay that Night. The next day they put him aboard the *Bucentauro*, a Vessel never used but upon great Ceremonies, about which flocked a world of *Gondola's*, amongst the rest Two hundred not so much adorned by the riches of the Gold and Silver Ornaments about them, as the Beauty of those fair Ladies that fate in them. The Duke at his Landing in the City, presented him the Canopy of State born by Six Procurators of *Saint Mark*, and conducted him to the Palace they had prepared for him.

During Nine dayes he Sojourned at *Venice*, the Dukes of *Savoy*, *Ferrara*, and *Mantouia*, who were come thither on purpose to honour him, accompanied him every where: The Seignery defray'd both him, and all his Train, and caused a Hundred young Gentlemen to serve him all the while. He went to the Senate to see the Method of their Balotting, was placed above the Duke, and perform'd all acts of Sovereignty. After this he saw the Arsenal with much Admiration, but the Ladies with more Pleasure, and even the Curtesans, whom he found as Divertising as they were Beautiful: But some one amongst them was too Prodigious of a Favour which he repented all his life the having accepted it.

After those Nine dayes of Inchantments (so he called them) he took his farewell of the Senate, and was accompanied by four Senators to *Rodigino*, the last place of the *Signoria*. From thence he was conducted to *Ferrara*, by that Duke's Cavalry, then having staid there Two dayes, he Embarqued on the *Po* and went to *Turin*: But first passed by *Mantouia*, at the intreaty of Duke *William* Brother to the Duke of *Nevers*. *Don Juan* of *Austria* Governour of *Milan*, paid him the same Honours in *Cremona*, and the other Cities of that Dutchy where he passed; as if he had been King of *Spain* himself.

He remained at *Turin* Eight or Nine dayes. The Dutcheß *Margaret* his Aunt, one of the wisest and most accomplish'd Princesses of her Age, gave him the same Counsel the Emperour had done, and the Duke presented *Damville* his Kinsman to him, whom he had sent for expressly upon his Parol, that he might restore him to his Favour. That Affection the King had otherwhile had for this Lord, revived again: He made him lye in his own Chamber, and willingly gave ear to his Advice for granting a Peace to the *Huguenots*, to ruine them afterwards by such Projects as he propounded, and to take all the Government of State Affairs into his own hands. But the Queen Mother having some hint of it, sent *Chiverny* and *Fifes*, who soon destroy'd all he had been Building in the King's Mind, and represented him so odly, that the King would have had him seized. The Dutcheß finding this, gave notice of it to the said Lord, and the Duke sent a strong Convoy along with him to *Nice*, whence his Gallies carried him into *Languedoc*. When he found he was got clear, he Vow'd he would never see the King more, but in a Picture, nor did he break his Vow.

The becoming Civilities of the Duke, and kind Careßes of the Dutcheß, whose graceful Prefence, Wit and Royal Qualities, had yet preserved some Empire over the *French*, and even over her Nephews, were not useles to them. The King was pleased, and being picqued with Generosity and Justice, promised to render up *Pignorol*, *Savigliani*, and *Perugia* to the Duke, who made it appear plainly to him, that he could not detain them any longer, unless he chose rather to

1574. to be guided by what they call Maxims of State, than the common Rights of Men, and the Faith of Treaties. The Duke having obtained this Favour, gave him Four thousand Soldiers, and a Thousand Horse, to attend him to *Lyon*, lest the *Huguenots* of *Dauphiné* should interrupt his Journey. He accompanied him in Person, and staid there some dayes, but was call'd away again before he had obtained the accomplishment of his Promises, having word brought him of the Death of the Dutches his Wife, whom God called into the other World the Fourteenth of September.

HENRY

Henry III. King LXI.

Aged XXIII years, almost compleat.

POPE S,

GREGORY XIII. Ten years
and Seven Months under this
Reign.

SIXTUS V. Elected the 24th.

of April, 1585. S. Five years,
Four Months, Three days; where-
of Four years, Twenty five days
under this Reign.

IT was the Fifth of September when King Henry arrived at *Pont de Beauvoisin*, the place which parts the Territories of France, from *Savoy*. The Queen his Mother went thither to meet him, and presented the Duke of *Alençon*, and the King of *Navarre* to him, to be disposed of as he pleased. He received them with extraordinary coldness, though they saluted him with the greatest Humility. Some hours afterwards he granted them Pardon and Liberty, but it was only in appearance, for he appointed Guards who secretly observed them; and there were certain Ladies, who ever held them in their amorous fetters, and denied them nothing, that they might dive into the secrets of their very Souls. In the same place he made *Bellegarde* a *Marschal* of France: he had promised him this Office whilst he was in favour, but now he was not so; he could not keep that post above Fifteen days, *Du Gua* had set him besides the Cushion, and got into his place.

One might, to speak properly, call the Reign of Henry III. the Reign of Favorites. The softness of his Soul, and his carelessness left him wholly in the hands of those People, who went on to enervate all that little virtue that was left in him, and to dissolve him in voluptuousness: So that they obscured the luster of all those brave actions, had been attributed to him, and would have put the whole World in doubt, whether he had ever any real share in them, had not some rays of truly Royal qualities, darted sometimes through all those mists and foggs, and kept up his Reputation; *Quelus*, *Maugiron*, and *St. Maigrin* were his first Minions: Afterwards *St. Luc*, *Arques*, and the young *la Valette*, then *Termes*, since named *Bellegarde*, and some others.

The Queen-Mother was ravish'd to see him in those hands, because at first they gave her an exact account of his most secret Thoughts, and whilst they amused him, either in the Anti-chamber amongst the Ladies, or in his Closet, where he spent whole days in consultation about the trimming of a Suit of Cloaths, or the fitting of a Ruff, she retained almost all the Authority, not foreseeing that by little and little they would draw the greatest part even from her, together with the affection of her Son.

Now that they might the more entirely possess him, they did persuade him not to communicate himself so frequently to his Subjects as his Predecessors had wont: but to keep himself behind the skreen, like the *Eastern* Monarchs, and not be seen by them but in great splendour and magnificence, nor made known, but by absolute Commands; and above all, to disaccustom and wean the French from making Remon- strances to him, and to make them understand, that there was no other Law but his Will. Thereupon they wrought him to have a high opinion of himself; deafned and confounded him with their flatteries, and putt him up with an opinion, that he was the greatest Prince in the World; that he infinitely surpassed all the preceding Kings, and that he had shew'd himself an absolute Master in Politiques, even in his first Essay, and

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Apprentiship, and that the prudence of the most knowing and experienc'd Statesmen, was but meer ignorance in comparison of his.

Inebriated with these flattering persuasions, he establish'd new forms of Grandeur, set on foot again the Regiment of Guards of Ten Companies, (Charles IX. a little before his death, had reduced them to three) caused Banisters to be set round his Table, went rarely abroad in publique, and always shut up in a Litter, or a Boat adorned with Gold and Painting in his Promenade, upon the smooth-fac'd River of Soane, and allowed the Grantees no more that credit of recommending the little ones to him, no not themselves, but by the credit and access of those Minions. There were no Favours but for them, they set all Offices and Governments at a high price, to wrest them out of the hands of such Noble Persons, who by the eminent Services of their Fathers, or their own Merits had justly acquired them; A great many of the best qualified, finding they were but little regarded, retired from Court male-contented; and then the Favorites being at large, introduced that pernicious invention of * *Acquits Comptants*, with which they have so often, and with impunity pillag'd and wasted the Kings Exchequer.

* Acquittances for Money due, but never paid, &c.

The Agents from the Duke of Savoy did mightily press for performance of the Kings promise, the Council were divided upon it. The Duke of Nevers, Governour for the King beyond the *Alpes*, who was gone to the Bathes wth *Acqui* in *Montferrat* for his wounds, sent a long Remonstrance to the King, to dissuade him from it. His main Reasons, were the Right of Conveniency, and Self-Interest, which he confirmed by the examples of many Princes, who never did restore what was more advantageous, if kept. The King much applauded his Zeal, but however, whether prompted by generosity, and the honour of making good his Word, or that he really thought Justice was a Virtue that obliged Princes, as well as private persons: he would needs restore the three places to the Duke of Savoy, and ordained Henry Grand Prior of France his Bastard-Brother, and *Fifes* Secretary of State, to go and make the said Evacuation. As for the Duke of Nevers, he not only demanded a discharge of his Government beyond the *Alpes*, and an Act, importing, That nothing of this restitution should ever hereafter be imputed to him, nor to his; but likewise made his protestations in the Council established in those foreign parts, and in the Parliament of *Grenoble*, and obtain'd a Decree, that his Protest should be Registered in those Courts, and an Instrument for his discharge should be allowed him.

At the beginning of his Reign, the King made several excellent Regulations for the Officers of his House, for those that were to come into his Chamber, the times to give Audience, and Petitions to be presented to him. Touching these last, he order'd the Petitioners should draw them Ticket-wise in few words, which he would answer himself, then deliver them to a Secretary of State for their dispatch. These Orders held but a short while, he grew weary of observing them, and they left off presenting any Placets or Tickets to him, when they found it was but time lost, in addressing themselves to him, when such Grants were disposed of by another power.

There were two parties in his Council, the one, who above all things labour'd for Peace, and the Reformation of the State; the other were for exterminating the *Huguenots*, at what rate soever. The Chancellor de *L'Hospital* had been once the Head of the First, *Paul de Foix*, *Christopher de Thou* First President, and *Pibrac* succeeded him in those Sentiments and Inclinations; *Morvilliers* was of the Second, a very good Man, but addicted to new Devotions; and one that follow'd the motions of Foreign Cabals, which having their rise in *Spain*, and at *Rome*, made Religion subservient to the exaltation of their own Power. This Second Party being found conformable to the interest of the Mother-Queen was the more prevalent, and made them resolve on a War against the *Huguenots*.

In *Poitou*, *Montpensier* besieged *Lusignan*, he could not take it till four Months after, and demolish'd it. In *Dauphiné* his Son attacked the little Town of *Ponsin*, which interrupted the commerce between *Lyons* and *Marseilles*, by the River *Rhone*, as *Livron* hindred it by Land. The place being reduced to extremity, *St. Romain* gets into it by broad day-light, under the favour of a brisk combat; and the night following, happily led out all the Soldiers and Inhabitants. The next day the Besiegers set it on Fire.

Being just on the point to besiege *Livron*, the Queen-Mother ordered the Command of the Army to be given to the Marechal de *Bellegarde*: This was because she would not have all the power in the House of *Bourbon*, and withal she thought by this means to break off the correspondence and amity which was between *Bellegarde* and *Damville*, whom she had undertaken to ruin. It was for this purpose she carried the

King

King to *Avignon*, the better to stir up *Languedoc*, and entangle the said Lord in some artificial Negotiation.

In this perplexity and confusion of Affairs, Galantry was the most serious occupation of the Court. By this means the Queen-Mother bred and maintained continual jealousies between the King of *Navarre*, and the Duke of *Alençon*; and thought likewise to captivate the King her Son with Beauties Fetters. The Dame de *Chasteauneuf* his antient Mistress, and two other Maids belonging to the Queen-Mother, seem'd to have some little share in his Heart: but it was the Princess of *Conde* that Reign'd in full possession there. He had resolv'd to Marry her, and to that end, labour'd to vacate her Marriage with the Prince for his crime of Heresy, for she continued still a Catholic, ever since the dismal *St. Bartholomew*.

Though the Queen had neither persuasive Language, nor power enough to prevail with him to lay aside this design; yet death came to her aid, and cutting the thred of that fair Princess Life, put an end to that pernicious prosecution, leaving great cause of doubt to the more suspicious, how it should just fall out at that very nick of time. The grief the King resented, was almost mortal; he mourn'd three whole days without either eating or drinking. And when they had prevailed with him to live, not by consoling him, but by pretending to increase his sorrows; it was some time before he would cast his Eyes on any but the most melancholy Objects, dark Rooms, dejected Countenances, wearing even at the taggs of his Rubans, and on his Shooe-knots little Deaths-heads; then after a while recover'd himself all on a sudden, rowzed up his drooping Spirits, and was so much ashamed of his own effeminate weakness, that he endeavour'd to persuade the world, there must have been some enchantment in it.

This death hapned whilst he was yet at *Lyons*. During his stay at *Avignon*, the Court was afflicted for that of the Cardinal de *Lorraine*. Some said, it came by a grievous cold he had taken by walking barefoot in the Procession of Penitents; others imagined, it was from the steams of some poysoned *Flambeaux* carried purposely before him.

Bellegarde in the mean time did not much advance before *Livron*, he was forced to detach a party of his Men to go and make head against *Montbrun*, who very much harass'd *Dauphiné*. On the other hand *Damville* had besieged and taken *St. Gilles*, whence the thundering of his Cannon was heard in *Avignon*; and afterwards having taken *Aigues-Mortes* by surprize, he threatned to pass the *Rhone*; inasmuch as the King finding his Presence in that Countrey, only made his Authority seem despicable, returned by way of *Lyons*.

As he pass'd along the Camp that was before *Livron*, the besieged railed and called after him in outrageous Language, and he had the displeasure of not being able to revenge the insolency. His Forces were so shatter'd, that he gave Orders to raise the Siege, spreading a report, that he wanted them to attend and assist at his Coronation. Thus he stumbled at the very entrance into his Kingdom, and gave his own Authority and Power so rude a shock, as made it ever after in a weak and staggering condition.

He parted from *Lyons* about mid-January, arriv'd the 12th of February at *Reims*, and was Crowned three days after by the Cardinal de *Guise*, the See being vacant. The Duke of *Guise* who was yet in Favour, had the precedency of the Duke of *Montpensier*. This latter being come within two Leagues of *Reims*, resolv'd to carry it this time; received an Order from the King, which forbid him coming any nearer. The next day the King Married *Lovisa*, Daughter of *Nicholas*, Earl of *Vaudemont*, paternal Uncle of *Charles II.* Duke of *Lorraine*; the Cardinal de *Lorraine* had when living, made the first proposal for this Match.

When the King had made his entrance into *Paris* with his new Spouse, the Deputies for the Protestant and Politique Party, came thither to discourse concerning a Peace, having first consulted by their Envoyez, with the Prince of *Conde*, who was at *Basil*. They demanded Right might be done them upon Ninety two Articles, many of which sounded very boldly; but those that shock'd most, were the holding of the General Estates, the lessening of the *Tailles*, and reducing them to the same Standard they were in under *Lewis XII.* and that exemplary punishment should be inflicted upon Atheists and Blasphemers, and the Laws and Ordonnances put in execution against those enormous and infamous *Paillardise*, which provoked, and called down the wrath of God upon *France*. This malicious censure rendred the *Huguenots* more execrable at the Court, then either their Rebellions, or their Heresie.

1574.

1574.
December.
Emp.
Amurat II.
Son of Selim II.
Dead the 13th of December. R.
Twenty years, and One Month.
And Maximilian II.

1575.
January and February.

1575.

These Conferences which lasted above Three Months, and the several Negotiations, wherewith they endeavoured to amuse the *Rochellers* and *Damville*, were so far from healing all the suspitions, fears, and animosities in the minds of either party, that they rather more increased and envenomed them. So that the War continued every where. In the neighbourhood of *Montauban* which was invested by the Catholiques, and delivered by *Chonpes*, who marched thither with the Forces of *la Noüe*: In *Auvergne*, where *Montal* was defeated and slain by a Dame, whom we may equal to the *Amazones* (this was *Magdeline de Saint Neüaire* * Widow of *Guy de Saint Exupery Miramont*, always followed by Threescore of the bravest Gentlemen, who strove to do prodigious feats of Arms to merit her favour); In *Perigord*, where *Laugoiran* surprized, and cruelly sack'd the City of *Perigueux*; In *Languedoc*, where *Damville* did as much at *Uzez*, and at *Alez*; and in *Dauphiné* where *Montbrun* gained a Battle against *Gordot* his enemy near *Die*, and besieged him in that Town.

* Vulgarly
Senetaire.

Some days after, going forth to meet some Forces that were coming to deliver him, he was himself defeated, taken, and sent to the Parliament of *Grenoble*, who made his Process, and condemned him to lose his Head. This was in punishment for his having plundered the King's baggage, and making this insolent reply to those that blamed him for it, *That Gaming and War made all men equal*. *Francis de Bonne Lefdigueres*, a private Gentleman, but who had already attained to a great reputation, supplied his Place in *Dauphiné*, and raised himself to a much nobler height, by restoring a strict Military Discipline, then the other had ever been able to do, by permitting all manner of Licentiousness.

February.

I shall pass over in silence, those disturbances the Government of the Marechal de Rais occasioned in *Provence*, and the two Factions which troubled that Province, the one bearing the name of *Carcistes*, from the Count de *Carcet*, Lieutenant for the King, who was their Head; the other, *Rasats* *, who opposed his exactions. Nor shall I mention some exploits of *Montclae*, whom they had newly made a Marechal of *France*; For they were inconsiderable; and after that, the ill-favour'd wound in his Face, by a Musquet shot, at his besieging of *Rabasteins*, for which he wore a Vizor-Masque, the *Huguenots* dreading him no more than a Girl.

1574.
* Because he
razed or sha-
ved them to
the quick by
his exactions.

"The Senate of *Poland* befought the King, with all the respect and deference imaginable, that he would be pleased to return into that Countrey, if not, they would proceed to the election of another. *Pibrac*, whom the Queen-Mother had sent thither to get the term prolonged, found they had passed a Decree, of the Fourteenth of *July*, signifying that the Crown was vacant as by death, and that the Estates should proceed to a new Election. Finding they were resolved upon it, he thought it more becoming and decent to retire, then be spectator of the affront they were going to do his Master. In the Diet they were divided into two parties, whereof the one elected the Emperour *Maximilian*, the other *Sigismund Bathory*, Prince of *Transylvania*, upon condition, he should marry *Anne*, Sister of the deceased King. This last more diligent then his Rival, posted immediately to *Poland*, Married the Princess, and got himself into Possession, which would have occasioned infinite troubles, if death had not prevented it, by snatching *Maximilian* out of the World.

A Court overflowing with voluptuousness, and where all was steered by other hands then the Sovereign Pilots, could not but be mightily agitated by the continual intrigues of busy Women, and of Favourites. *Du Gua* and *Souvré* were then the Kings chief Darlings; the Queen-Mother employ'd these to set the Duke of *Alençon* and the King of *Navarre* at variance, and to scatter some seeds of jealousy between the King and his Wife, for fear she should make her self Mistress of her Husbands Affairs, pursuant to the Councils of the Duke of *Guise*. They had likewise frequent counterfeits with the brave *Buffy d'Amboise*, Favourite to the Duke of *Alençon*, and with the Queen of *Navarre*, who upheld the courage of that Prince, upon whom they were eternally putting their little tricks.

June, &c.

It hapned about this time the King fell sick, they made him believe he was poison'd by his Brother. Upon this imagination he sends for the King of *Navarre*, and commanded him to rid his hands of that mischievous Man, so he termed him: but instead of obeying him in his revenge, tho that were to bring him one step nearer to the Throne, he abhorred it, and left the King the time to repent it.

August.

When

When he was recover'd, the Marechal de *Montmorency* ran great risque of his Life: those that had been the occasion of his confinement, having just cause to fear he would resent it, if he got out of the *Bastille*, resolv'd to thrust him out of the world, that they might fall no more under such apprehensions. To this end, they reported, that *Damville*, who alone could deter them from so damnable an attempt, was dead: Indeed he was very sick of some morfel, which had been given him: and upon this rumour, they perswaded the King to give order to *Souvré*, to strangle the Marechal in prison: but *Souvré*, though they assured him of being made Captain of *Bois de Vincennes*, after the feat done, made so many delays, that they had certain news of the recovery of *Damville*, and so durst not lay violent hands upon his Brother.

1575.

The Duke of *Alençon*, out-braved by the Favourites, had plotted to get away: the King having notice of it, causes both him, and all those that were suspected to have given him such advice to be seized; but the next day, upon the Queen-Mothers intercession, pardon'd him, and to compleat the favour, did likewise set the other prisoners at large. That done, as if he had nothing more to fear, he gave himself wholly up to idleness, passed the Night-time in Feasting and Balls; the Morning in adjusting his Cloaths or placing his Furniture to the best advantage, and invent new modes; the Afternoon in diversifements amongst the Ladies; and the Evening in Gaming.

While he lived in this great security, the Duke his Brother deceives those that were commanded to watch him, and slipping away one evening, the Fifteenth of *September*, reached the City of *Dreux*, where *Buffy*, who had forsaken the Court, brought him a great deal of company. At his going away, he declared himself an enemy to the House of *Guise*, and openly protested to revenge the death of the Admiral, and of *Molle* his Favourite. Amongst the Cloaths in his Wardrobe, he kept a Doublet belonging to the last, and had sworn he would wear it on a day of Battle. If the Duke of *Montpensier* would have joyned with the Duke of *Nevers*, or have lent him his Forces, he might have hindred from passing the *Loire*, and getting into *Berry*. For all *Montpensiers* refusal, he had a great mind to charge them, and marched with great speed to intercept him; but the Queen-Mother sent a Courier with an express Order under her own hand, which commanded him not to pursue them any further: she fearing her Son might perish in the Fight.

Septemb.

Upon the noise of the Duke of *Alençons* evasion, great numbers of the Nobility flocked to him from all parts, amongst others, *Ventadour*, *Turenne*, and the wife *La Noüe*. In the mean while, the Prince of *Condé* had finished his Treaty with *Casimir*, who raised him Eight thousand *Reiters*, and Six thousand *Swiss*; upon this condition, amongst other things, that they should make no Peace without his consent, nor until they had obtained of the King the Government in chief of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun* for him.

1575.

Toré having contributed Fifty thousand Crowns towards these Levies, they could not refuse to let him have Two thousand *Reiters* * and Five hundred Foot, to carry the Duke of *Alençon* by way of advance: but the Duke of *Guise*, Governour of the *Champagne*, charged and defeated them near *Chasteau-Thierry*. He was there wounded in the left Cheek with a Musquet-shot, the scar remained all his life-time; a very Glorious mark of Honour to the Catholiques, and very becoming in a Ladies Eyes also, who believe, that such as are brave in the Field of *Mars*, are ever so in the Camp of *Venus* too. *Toré* made his escape to the Duke of *Alençon* in *Berry*, by the swiftness of his Horse, and thither his Infantry got safely by a brave retreat of above Thirty Leagues.

* German
Horse.

It was suspected that the Duke of *Alençons* evasion was contrived by the Queen-Mother, thereby to keep up two parties in the Kingdom, and render her self necessary between both. The *Huguenots* growing every day more suspicious, imagined she had sent him amongst them to divide, and so to ruine them. However it were, most of the great ones were very well pleased with it, and she had employment enough cut out for her self, as she desired. She therefore presently hies after him, taking along the Marechals of *Montmorency* and *Coffe*, whom she had released from their imprisonment, to make use of that credit they had with him. *Montmorency* prevailed so far by his interest, as to bring the Duke to the Castle of *Champigny*, belonging to the Duke of *Montpensier*, where she cajoled him so finely, that he consented to a truce of Six Months, beginning from the Two and twentieth of *November*. That done, she returns to Court, leaving the said Marechal there, to dispose him to a final accommodation.

At

It was agreed by this Truce, that the King should give to the Duke by way of security, the Cities of *Angoulême*, *Niort*, *Saumur*, *Bourges* and *la Charité*; and to the Prince of *Conde*, *Mezières*. The Governours of *Bourges* and *Angoulême*, having refused to be disfiled of their places, the Queen-Mother returns again to her Son, and managed him so well, that she obliged him to accept of *Cognac* and *St. Jean d'Angely* in exchange; after which, the Truce was published the Two and twentieth of December.

Decemb.

There was however nothing as yet that tended to a Peace: the King made great Levies both of Men and Money; but the City of *Paris*, instead of furnishing him with the sums he desired, paid him with Remonstrances, which relished of reproaches, and did but too evidently let him know, the little esteem they had of his Government. Some *Bourgeois* however paid Taxes, not so much out of good Will, as the fear they had of the *Reisters*, and to exempt their Countrey-houses from quartering of Soldiers, wherewith they were menaced.

January.

The Negotiations for Peace continued still; this stopt the Prince of *Conde* and *Casimir* in *Lorraine* all the month of *January*, at the end whereof, being tired with the variety, and uncertainty of such Propositions as were made them; they descended into *Bassigny*, crossed over *Burgundy*, within sight of *Langres*, *Dijon*, and *Beaulne*, passed the *Loir*, at *Marigny les Nonsains*, and extended themselves between that River, and the River of *Allier*, having gained the Bridge of *Vichy*. *Auvergne* avoided that inundation which would have destroy'd it, by a Present of Fifty thousand Crowns, and by ordering Markets to serve them with Provisions where-ever they passed.

February.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, who commanded the Royal Army, durst not approach the Princes any nearer then within two days march. When the King perceived, they were resolved to come directly to *Paris*, he recalled his own, and quarter'd them about it: but this remedy which he thought fit to provide against their fears, excited the *Parisians* complaints, they fall a crying out, that they ought not thus pursue the only Brother of the King; and that it was a high piece of cruelty, to drive a Son out of the House. To these out-cries were added the Duke of *Montpensiers* refusal, to take upon him the Command of the Royal Army; the little zeal the *Grandeess* express'd to serve the King in this occasion; and a much more surprising accident then all these, which was the evasion of the King of *Navarre*, about the end of *February*.

February.

This Prince having a long while suffer'd himself to be flatter'd with the hopes of the General-Lieutenancy, and the deluding charms of some Court Syrens, escaped at last from *Senlis*, whither he was gone, under pretence of a Hunting-match, and retired to *Poissy*, from thence to *Alençon*, afterwards to *Vendôme*. Two hundred Gentlemen coming there to meet him, he travelled by long journeys into *Guyenne*, where his quality of Governour, and that of Prince, did secure him of all the Nobility, and the best places, upon his first arrival. *Laverdin* had promised him to seize upon *Mans* and *Chartres*, by the assistance of *Roquelaure*, Lieutenant of his Company d'Ordonnance. *Fervagues* was to have done the same at *Cherbourg*; but both of them failed of their Enterprizes.

March.

The Princes Army having cross'd the *Bourbonnois*, joyned the Duke of *Alençon* near *Moulins*, the Eleventh day of *March*, and both of them mustered in the Plain of *Souzé*, where the Prince having made an excellent harangue to the Duke of *Alençon*, with that Eloquence which is natural to the Princes of that House, resigned the Command of the whole Army to him.

1576.
March.

It consisted of above Thirty thousand of the best Men that one should see; notwithstanding with these great Forces, no great matter was undertaken. For the marvellous dexterities of the Queen, which the *Huguenots* termed Enchantments: the extravagant and changeable humour and designs of the Duke of *Alençon*, and the usual rough temper of the *Reistres*, made them halt at every step: Withal, great discords were crept in among their Chiefs; for the Consistorial *Huguenots* would not confide in the Duke of *Alençon*'s Council, wholly composed of People, both interrested and perfidious. The Duke had taken some jealousy upon the King of *Navarre*'s going away; the Prince of *Conde* was no less troubled, that he was not the Chief Commander of that Army, which had been the fruits of his own labour and care: And *Damville*, who had formed his *Tetrachy* in *Languedoc*, apprehended to see his Authority, swallowed up by the Princes, and which was more, the Money he had for his own purposes, collected in *Languedoc*, and which his Wife had with much care and covetousness locked up as prisoners of the better sort in her own Coffers.

All

All joyn'd together, they might have had whatever they desired, the Duke of *Alençon* might have obtained a good part of the Kingdom for Appenage, and the Princes such Governments and Pensions as they would; the *Huguenots* a firm and solid Peace, and inviolable securities; but a way was found out to divide them, with baits of particular Interests, which however cannot be attained with so much advantage by any other method, as a strickt union of the whole party, in all its members. The most easy to be taken off, was the Duke of *Alençon*, as appeared at the Conference they had at *Moulins*, concerning a Peace: However, nothing was there concluded; but only the sending of some Propositions to the King, by *John de Laffin Beauvais*, and *William Dauvet Darennes*.

After the Council had examined them with great deliberation, but without any fruit, the Queen-Mother returned a second time to her Strayed Son (so she called him) who was in the Abbey of *Beaulieu*, near *Loches* in *Touraine*, taking along with her the Marechal de *Montmorency*, in whom that Prince had a great deal of confidence, and a great Troop of very fine Women, whom she set forth in all her Negotiations, as Lime-twigs, or Nooses, to catch those with whom she Treated.

1576.

Prince *Casimir* obstructed the accommodation for some time, he obstinately persisting to have the Government of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*, in chief, and would have had the Churches belonging to the Catholics to be in common for the *Huguenots*, without the trouble and charge of building any others. The Queen-Mother having discoursed him in private, found an expedient to stop his Mouth and satisfy him by promising great sums of Money to make him desist from those demands; So that the Treaty was finished the Ninth of *May*, and Signed the day following. The Edict was drawn the Fifteenth, and verified in Parliament the same day, the King being present, that there might be no cause of delay.

May.

It were much more advantageous for the *Huguenots* then the precedent ones, for it allowed them the free exercise of their Religion (which from that time forward was to be called *The pretended Reformed Religion*) over all the Kingdom, without exception either of time or place, provided they had the permission of the Lords of those places; allowed them places for burial of their dead, especially that of the *Trinity* at *Paris*: Moreover, the faculty of being admitted to all Offices, and into Colledges, Hospitals, and Spittles; Forbid the making any search or inquisition after such Priests and Monks as were Married amongst them, and declared their Children Legitimate, and capable of succeeding and inheriting their Estates and Moveables; expressed great sorrow and regret for the Murthers committed on the *St. Bartholomew*, exempted the Children of such as were then Massacred, from the Arrier-ban, if they were Gentlemen, and from Tailles, if they were Plebeian; revoked all Sentences given against *la Molle*, *Coconas*, *John de la Haye*, Lieutenant-General in the Presidial of *Poitiers*; as also those whereby they had condemned the Admiral *Brequemant*, *Cavagnes*, *Montgomery*, *Montbrun*, and others of the Religion, owned the Prince with *Damville* and his Associates for his good Subjects, *Casimir* for his good Allie and Neighbour, and accounted all what they had done as done for his Service. Granted to the Religionaries (that they might have equal justice done to them) *Chambres My-Parties**, in each Parliament, and for places of security, *Beaucaire*, and *Aigues-Mortes* in *Languedoc*, *Perigueux*, and *le Mas de Verdun* in *Guyenne*, *Nions* and *Serre* in *Dauphiné*, *Issire* in *Auvergne*, and *Seine la Grand Tour* in *Provence*.

* Or Courts
Half Prote-
stants, half
Catholiques.
like our par-
ty Juries.

They promised also to Prince *Casimir*, the Seignieury of *Chastell-Thierry* in Principality, a Company of an hundred Men at Arms, the Command of Forty thousand *Reistres*, Twelve thousand Crowns of Gold in Pension, Seven hundred thousand Crowns of Silver ready Money, for the payment of his Army, and Rings and Jewels in pawn for the rest. To the Prince of *Conde*, the effectual enjoyment of the Government of *Picardy*, whereof he had the Title already, and *Peronne* for his place of Residence. The conditions for the Duke of *Alençon* were the best, they gave him in augmentation of his Appenage, the Countreys of *Berry*, *Tourain*, and *Anjou*, with the right of nomination to consistorial Benefices, as his Brother *Henry* formerly had; and besides an hundred thousand Crowns Pension.

1576.

The greatest difficulty was to find the Money they wanted for *Casimir*, to whom they had assigned the Bishoprick of *Langres* for Quarters, where he lived, *German-like*, while waiting for his Pay. They sent *Peter de Gondy*, Bishop of *Paris* to *Rome*, to ask consent of his Holiness, to alienate as much as amounted to Fifty thousand Livres Rent, of the Demesnes Ecclesiastical: the Holy Father agreed to the Demand, and gave a Bull, directed to the Cardinals of *Bourbon*, *Guise*, and *Est*, and to some other French Prelates, the Parliament verified it, but without approving that clause, which mention'd, That the distraction should be made, even manger* the Possessors.

October.

* In despite of
their Teeth.

The

Emp.
Rodolph II.
Son of
Maximilian,
who died in
October, R.
Thirty five
years, Three
Months.
And *Self* II.

The Duke of *Anjou*, (so we shall name him henceforward, whom we have hitherto called Duke of *Alençon*) after the Peace, made his residence at *Bourges*, where *Bussy d'Amboise*, *Fervagues*, *Laffin*, *Simiers*, and some other Favourites of his obliged him to stay for their own advantage, or for their security. Towards the end of *October*, he was prevailed upon to go to Court, by the persuasions of the Queen-Mother, and came to salute the King at the Castle of *Olinville*, near *Chastres*. The King received so much joy by this visit, that he gave notice by Letters Patents of it to all his Kingdom. *Bussy* would not follow his Master, but went and settled his Habitation in the Castle of *Angiers*, chusing rather, said he, to play the King in that Countrey, then the Waiting-man, or *Valet* at Court.

As soon as they had thus withdrawn the Duke of *Anjou*, they began to continue the ruine of the *Huguenots*, to form powerful Leagues, as well within the Kingdom, which we shall presently mention, as without, by communication with Don *Juan of Austria*, whom King *Philip* was sending Governour to the *Low-Countries*, and with the Popes Legat. Don *Juan* and the Legat arriving at Court on the very same day, and from different places; the first *incognito*, and the other in great state, had access, and very private Conference with the Kings Council, and yet more particularly with the Duke of *Guise*. The Queen-Mothers aim was in the first place, to take off the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Condé* from the party, and in order to this, she was resolved to make a journey into *Guyenne*, and discourse with them: but whether she found they were not so disposed as she desired, to be deluded by her, or not, she did not go.

In the meantime these two Princes, who had no secure retreat for their Persons, endeavour'd to make sure of some; the Prince with more Craft than Faith, or fair Play, seized upon *BroUAGE*, having order'd some Companies to slip in; then upon *Mirebeau* himself, who was Lord thereof, whom he forced to put him in possession of the place, promising however to render it again within three Months. In effect he did render it to him, but soon after, seized it the Second time upon some jealousy, either real or pretended. The *Rebellers* took the alarm, and the Court fomented their suspicions so much, that the Mayor sent to desire the Prince not to come to *Roche*; but the Ministers and People made them change that resolution, and ordered, that he should be invited, provided he brought no more than his ordinary attendance. Thus the Court plainly perceived he was not so absolute over the party, as he would have made them believe.

The late conjunction of the Duke of *Alençon* with the Religionaries and Politiques, and the advantageous Peace granted to them, produced that mighty Faction, to which the Authors of it gave the name of *Holy Union*, and the vulgar that of *The League*; or to say better, revived and sagotted together, all the other particular ones, which had been already formed in divers parts, under the Reign of *Charles IX.* For the Lords during those troubles, had taken the confidence to make Treaties and Confederacies amongst themselves, without asking permission of the King; and the People arrogated to themselves, the liberty of giving their Oaths to others besides their Sovereign, justifying themselves by presidents, drawn from the *Huguenots*, who indeed shewed them first the example. Thus they framed one in *Languedoc*, between the Cardinals *de Strossy* and *Armagnac*, and some Lords of that Countrey; another again in *Bourdeaux*, of which the Marquis *de Trans*, of the House of *Foix* was General; another much greater, whereof *Montluc* advised *Charles IX.* to be the Head. There were also certain Fraternities joyned in *Burgundy*, which to speak properly, were a kind of a League; Besides that in *Limousin*, in the *Vivarets*, and some other Provinces; the People armed to defend themselves against all Soldiers of either party. They tell us likewise that the Queen-Mother had given notice to *Charles IX.* that if he would not consent to the Massacre on *St. Bartholomew's*, there was a League ready form'd should execute it without him; and it is certain, that upon the apprehension there was of King *Henry's* being stopt in *Poland*, several Associations were made in the Provinces, to preserve the State and the Catholique Religion.

So that it was but only the joyning and cementing all these distinct parties together, to make up the great Body of the League. The zealous Catholiques were the instruments; the new Religious Orders, the Paranymps and Trumpeters; the Grandees of the Kingdom, the Authors and Heads. The easy temper of the King gave way to its growth, and the Queen-Mother lent it her helping hand. She was not prompted to it by any zeal for Religion, nor for any love or kindness towards the *Guises*, but out of her mortal hatred to the *Huguenots*; above all other Reasons, because they earnestly desired, she should give an account of her Administration, and bawled open mouth'd against the disorders of the Court, and the enormous Vices of the *Italians*, especially against the new and vexatious Tolls and Taxes those strangers invented every day.

The Pope and the King of *Spain* were the promoters of it, this because the *Huguenots* were in friendship with the *Guises*, the Rebels in the *Low-Countries*, and he apprehended lest the Duke of *Anjou* grown more powerful, might affect to embrace the Sovereignty of those Provinces, or that the King of *Navarre*, young and valiant, would endeavour to wrest that Kingdom out of his hands, which he so unjustly detained from him; the other, because he feared the *Huguenots* might become so strong, as would oblige the King to hold a National Council; and believed withal, that if he could but exterminate them in *France*, he might very easily attain his ends, and trample on all the Protestants elsewhere.

Now the League appeared first in *Picardy*. The People in that Countrey, ignorant and devout, but hot-headed, easily took fire, upon the apprehension was spread on purpose amongst them, how the Prince of *Condé* would plant his Religion in that Province, if he came to make his Residence at *Peronne*, pursuant to the Treaty of Peace. *James de Humieres*, Governour of *Peronne*, *Montdidier*, and *Roye*, great in Estate and Credit, induced the Nobility, and most of the Cities in that Province to sign it; and *Aplincourt*, a young Gentleman of his kindred, took the Oaths of the Inhabitants of *Peronne*. The Duke of *Guise*, and the Duke of *Mayenne* engaged *Champagne*, and then *Burgundy* to do the like; *Lewis de la Tremouille* prevailed in *Poitou*, being offended with the *Huguenots*, who now and then surprized some Castle of his; withal desirous to impute the Count de *Lude* Governour of the Province. In fine, this Faction which had thus taken root in every Province, did on a sudden shoot forth such thick and lofty branches, that it both cover'd and eclipsed, nay, almost stifled the whole Regal Authority.

When the *Huguenots* demanded with such instance the Estates-General, they believed verily they should have had the stronger party, as they had at *Orleans*. They reck'ned, besides the Deputies of their own Religion and that Faction, they should also have the Politiques, whom the Duke of *Anjou's* Interest, and the enemies to the present Government would introduce. They knew not that the Duke of *Anjou* was tempted from them, nor did they consider they had not their Admiral *de Coligny* (that over-ruling Genius, who at a pinch could work with new and unknown Springs and Engines, of a wonderful effect) nor that fraternal unity, without which, no great design can ever prosper.

Thus it was not very difficult for the Queen-Mother, and the *Guises*, employing their Practices and Moneys in the Provinces (which the *Italian Malcontents* willingly furnished, because they apprehended to be called to account for their depredations, by the Estates:) to obtain the election of Deputies wholly at their devotion, and to chalk all their business for them, according to their own private Instructions, which they sent into the Provinces; inasmuch as it was openly said, that they ought not to keep their Faith with *Heretiques*, the *Huguenots*, but break the Edict which they had extorted by force; which some began to confirm by effects: *Honoré d'Albert*, called Captain *Luyne*, having turned *Toré* out of the City *du Pont St. Esprit*, and put a Garrison into the place, to secure that passage over the *Rhone*.

By mid-November most of the Deputies were come to *Blois*, made their Complements to the King, the Queens, the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Chancellour, met each Order apart, elected their Presidents, the Clergy, *Peter d'Espinae* Archbishop of *Lyons*, the Nobility, *Claude de Beaufremont*, *Senescey*; The Third Estate, *Nicholas l'Hullier*, *Prevost des Marchands* at *Paris*; spent the rest of the Month in regulating their Sessions, communicated to each other the substance of their Papers of Instructions, and went all to receive the Holy Communion in *St. Nicholas Church*: After which, the several Governours were called upon according to their ranks.

Things thus in order, the First Session was held upon Thursday the Sixth of *December*, in the great Hall belonging to the Castle. The King after he had saluted them by pulling off his Bonnet, and a little inclination of his Head, made a handsome and eloquent Speech; wherein having represented the grievances of the Nation, and the great need there was of healing those wounds and fractures, he protested that all his Desires and Thoughts tended thereunto, as the only safe harbor for his Reputation and Happiness, and exhorted them to joyn Hearts and Hands with him in so good a work, assuring them, upon the Faith, and Word of a King, that he would cause all such Orders and Regulations they should think fit to make in that Assembly, to be inviolably observed, and put in execution, and would never give or allow of any dispensation to the contrary.

His Harangue did not appear more eloquent and moving, then that of his Chancellour *Birague* was tedious and ridicule; For after some excuse for his old age, and

B b b b b

his

1576.

November.

December.

1576.

* Why did he
meddle with
them?

his ignorance of the Affairs * of France, because he was a stranger, he spun out a long discourse of the power of the King, and tired his Auditory with the fulsome praises of the Queen-Mother, then concluded, by demanding Money, to which they were but very little disposed.

The Sentiments of the Estates were neither agreeable to the intentions of the King, nor those hopes the Huguenots had conceived. In these Assemblies, there were always some old Stagers, who put the rest in mind of the antient and natural Rights of the People, against which, they cannot imagine there lies any prescription; These Men obliged the Arch-Bishop of Lyons, to demand of the King, the Ratification of all those points which had been resolved upon by the Three Orders. The King fancied this was done by some contrivance of the Authors of the League, who desired he should give up part of his Authority to the Estates, that so they might receive it from their hands again.

1577. It is most certain, his Favourites had stamp'd a deep impression of jealousy in his mind concerning the Duke of Guise, which did the more easily affect him, when he consider'd what proffer that Duke made him, to hinder him from going into Poland; and he must from that very time, have conspired his ruine, if he believed there were any Truth in certain Memoires, which were spread about, and which they said, had been carried to Rome by an Advocate in Parliament, named David, when he went to sollicite for the Popes Bull, to settle Paul de Foix in the Arch-Bishoprick of Thoulouze. They contained divers Reasons to be urged, to perswade the Pope to degrade the House of Capet, who had usurped the Crown, and to re-establish in the Throne the descendants of Charlemain (that is to say, the Guises) and withall, the way and means to execute so great a design.

1577. Some would needs believe, those Memoires were supposed, and the most equitable think, if they were real, they were only the product of that Advocates black melancholy, exasperated by some damage he had suffer'd from the Huguenots. There is great likelihood, that either the Minions, the Huguenots or the Queen-Mother, all mortal enemies to the Guise, had forged them: as it is most certain they reported, and set on foot many other calumnies to render them odious. And truly the Guises were not behind hand, in flinging the like dirt upon them: and for this reason we must not give too much credit to the Writings and Relations of those times, unless we do very curiously examine them.

However it were, the King finding the Estates grew hot upon the matters of Religion, and that they were upon the point of demanding a Head for the League, and about to name one to him, who without doubt, must have been the Duke of Guise, he would needs be so himself, and Signed it with his own hand, made all the Grantees Sign it, and sent it to Paris, and into the Provinces, with Orders for all persons to do the same. Thus of a King, he became chief of a Cabal, and of their common Father, an enemy to one part of his Subjects.

This was not enough, the more vehement, who by virtue of their popular outcries, and pretended grievances, are wont to draw on others, mightily press'd for a Revocation of the Edict, and sounded an Alarm to War by the mouths of Versoris and Bigot, two Deputies, the first for Paris, the other for Rouen; and also the Bishops, as well for the same end, as for the interest of their own Grandeur, demanded the publication of the Council of Trent. The Chapters opposed this last point, and the particular Deputies of the King of Navarre, and Prince of Condé, protested a nullity, if they revoked the Edict of Pacification.

Soon after, the Estates having besought the King, not to suffer any other Religion but the Catholique; he clearly answered, that it was his intention, that he had so promised to God on the Holy Sacrament of the Altar. That he would have his Subjects forwarn'd to give no Faith to whatever he might do or say to the contrary, and that if he were reduced to that condition, he would not keep his Oath, but till such time as he could recover strength sufficient, and the opportunity to break it. The Deputies for the Huguenots much astonished at these words, and the resolution of the Estates, made their protestations against them, and the greatest part of them retired from Blois, and went to give a hot alarm to Rochel, and in Languedoc.

1577. Whatever resolution the King shewed, nevertheless he so much feared the losing of his Rest, and augmenting the power of the Guises, that he would needs have the Estates send to the two Princes, and to Damville, to invite them to come to the Assembly; and in the mean time, that he might have some Warranty from the publique, for the War which was now to begin; he desired to have the Advice and Opinion of the chief Lords, and of his Principal Counsellors in Writing. They all concluded

cluded that it was just and necessary: not perhaps that they really believed so, but they thought it was his desire to make it, or at least to pretend such desire, to get some round sums of Money from the Estates.

He demanded two Millions of Gold for the said Expences, and the Favourites made use of all the Engines and Tricks imaginable, to get this grand Elizir. The Third Estate, who knew too well that they must pay for all, could never be perswaded to consent thereto, no more then to the alienation of the demesne; concerning which, Bodin having proved with a freedom, Confidence and Liberty truly Gallican, that the funds of the Demesne appertained to the Provinces, and that the King was but the simple Usager, he so fully perswaded the Assembly to be of this Sentiment, that they answered Believre, whom the King sent to them about it, That the common Right, and the Fundamental Law of the Nation, rendred the thing absolutely impossible.

With these dispositions was held the Second Sessions the Seventeenth of January, at the same place, and in the same order as the First. The Archbishop of Lyons Orator of the Clergy, and the Baron de Senescey, of the Nobility, began their harangues on their knees, their Deputies standing up, and being uncover'd: But at the Second period they were bid to rise, and their Deputies sat down and were cover'd. The Orator of the Third Estate had been Treated in the very same manner at the Assembly of the Estates at Orleans: but here they let him kneel almost half an hour, their Deputies standing all the while, and bare-headed. They had commanded this last (it was Versoris) to beseech the King to make all his Subjects conform to one Religion by fair and gentle methods, and without War, to desire he would grant the Election for Benefices absolutely without any reference to the Kings Will, to touch home and roundly upon the Male-Administration of the Finances, and to make great instance for the punishment of those that had rifled and squandered the Treasure; as also to insist upon the expulsion of Strangers from the Government, and touching the dispensation of the publique Moneys.

After this Session, and when the Estates had taken some pains about their Papers, the League brought it to this resolution, That the King should be desired to forbid the exercise of any other but the Catholique Religion. The thing passed by plurality of the Governments, not by the Votes of the Deputies; neither was it carried by more then two Suffrages; and soon after those of Paris fearing the first Pence would be levied upon the City Rents, would have retracted.

The Huguenots having notice of what passed, set up a counter-League, whereof the Prince declared himself Lieutenant, under the Authority of the King of Navarre, and published a manifesto much more bloody then any yet had appeared, and which plainly shewed his vehement humour, his frank and daring courage, and the zeal he had for his Religion.

Whilst he armed in Poitou, the King of Navarre armed himself also in Guyenne, but either of them so slenderly, that it was rather to make Incurfions then Expeditions of any consequence. The enterprises they had formed upon several places failed; John Favus a Native of Bazas, to secure himself after a horrible assassinate, he had committed there, deliver'd up that City to the King of Navarre, and made himself of that party; and also to give him a more sincere proof of his affection, took Reole some few days after: but Marmanda derided that King, who rashly besieged it with a handful of Men.

The Edict of Pacification being revoked, and all their threatnings and intrigues proving ineffectual as to the Princes; they set two Armies on foot, to make quick dispatch of them. The Command of one was given to the Duke of Anjou, extremely incensed against the Huguenots, because some had made him believe, that whilst he was amongst them, they had an intention of delivering him up to the Reistres, nay even to attempt his Person; and that the Prince of Condé made sport with him, and acted him in his posture, when running at the Ring. The Duke of Guise demanded the Conduct of the other: but the Duke of Anjou's enmity, and that jealousy the King had of him, denied him that Honour, and placed it upon the Duke of Mayenne his Brother.

This Duke was first in the Field, made the Prince quit his ground, and drove his Men even to the Gates of Rochel; Then proud for having thus beaten them into their strongest Sanctuary, he went into Guyenne. His Forces being much tired and weather-beaten by the Winter-season, he readily made a Fifteen days Truce with the King of Navarre; which being expired about mid-April, he took the Field a Second time, but yet without any great progress, till the Two and twentieth of May, when he returned

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January.

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February

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returned to *Poitou* to re-inforce his Troops, and wait for fresh Orders from the King, who but unwillingly made this War.

In the beginning of *April* the Duke of *Anjou* besieged *la Charité* with Twelve thousand Foot, and Three thousand Horse; the Dukes of *Guise*, *Aumale*, and *Nevers* were his Lieutenants, *la Châtre* his Mareschal de Camp, and to say the truth, his Director. The place was invested so suddenly, that *James de Morogues* who was Governour of it, could not possibly get in any Soldiers, so that having but One hundred and fifty Men to defend three breaches; he capitulated, after he had sustained two Assaults.

La Charité rendred up, the Duke of *Anjou* and the Duke of *Guise* rode post to *Blois*, to tell Stories of their brave exploits to the Ladies, who had bestow'd Scarfes upon them. The Duke of *Nevers* in the mean time besieged *Issire* in *Auvergne*, situate upon the torrent de *la Couse*. A Gentleman whose name was *Chavagnac* Commanded within: *Mathew le Merle*, Son of a Wooll-comber of *Uzès*, but advanc'd to be a Captain during these Troubles, had surprized it three years before. This *Merle* was gone to the *Severnes* to pick up some Men to relieve it, but he staid so long, perhaps obstructed by some bags of the Kings Money thrown in his way, that the place was forced to surrender at discretion. That done, the Duke of *Anjou* with the Duke of *Guise*, returned back to Court, which was then at *Blois*, leaving the Command of his Army to the Duke of *Nevers*.

The Affairs of the *Huguenots* could not be in a worse condition; the whole party was full of Divisions, of Jealousies, and of Cabals; the Lords of the King of *Navarres* Court, could neither agree amongst themselves, nor with him, because he gave too much credit and Faith to *Lavardin*, who was known to be tied to the Queen-Mothers Interest; insomuch as *La Noüe* forsook that King, and *Turenne* and the rest served him, not without much Anxiety and suspicion.

There was also a mortal feud between the Prince and the Lord de *Mirembear*, about the business of *Broüage*; a scurvy misunderstanding between the said Prince and the *Rochellers*, for the nomination of a *Maire*, and other points concerning the liberties of that City: Eternal Picques between the *Bourgeois* and the Nobles, and every moment some quarrel between the Commanders of their Forces; withal, most strange disorder and licentiousness amongst their Soldiers, who were horribly ungovernable, as well because of the want of Pay, and the little authority of their Captains, as by the mixture of their Politiques, the most part Atheists, and addicted to all manner of Vices.

The confusion the Duke of *Mayenne* observed in that party, gave him the prospect of subduing *Rochel*; and also to that effect and purpose, to hinder all Trade and Provisions from coming to them by Sea, by taking the Islands and *Broüage*, as by Land he had already got most of the Towns and Castles that furnish'd or stood them in any stead. The *Rochellers* were jealous of the growing greatness of *Broüage*: The Count of *Montgomery* who was Governour of it, had by his debauches consumed the Soldiers pay, and tormented the Inhabitants grievously: Captain *Lorges* his Brother, with his Regiment, vexed and plundred the Islands; so that both the one and the other desired a change, that remedy of the unthinking vulgar, who ever believe the present evils the most troublesome.

The King had equipped a Navy for this Siege, the Prince and the *Rochellers* prepared one to hinder it; *Clermont* Commanded it, as *Lansac* did the Kings. Both these met in the canal of *Broüage*, that for the *Huguenots* was beaten, by not keeping out at large, Five Gallies brought thither by the young *Montluc*, tearing them in pieces with their Guns during a calm. In the mean while the Besiegers press'd upon them at Land, and the King was come to *Poitiers* to encourage his Men. Their amazement was so great in *Rochel*, that all the Supplies they endeavour'd to send thither, were either taken or put to flight. When the Besieged were almost at the greatest extremity, the rumour was, that the Duke of *Anjou* after the taking of *Issire*, was coming to reinforce the Siege with that Army which breathed nothing but Blood and Slaughter: the fear they were in, that they should have no quarter, made them hasten the capitulation, and the Duke of *Mayenne* fearing that Prince would rob him of the Honour of his enterprize, granted them Conditions favourable enough.

The King of *Navarre* who had taken the Field to succour them, finding the business was decided, desired to raise up the spirits of his party again, by some famous exploit, and if he could possibly, give battle to that victorious Army: but they were already gone to refresh themselves, having no Orders to undertake any more.

Many

Many were of that judgment, that if they but push'd on their advantages against the *Huguenots*, in the confusion they were then under, they had been laid flat on the ground: For it was not in their power then to set an Army on foot; their Officers were at daggers drawing, the Council belonging to the Princes full of Traitors, the People grieved at their ill Conduct, and in despair for their being pillaged: Besides *Damville* over-perswaded by his Wife, and by his Secretaries, whom they had bribed, and withal picqued, for that the *Huguenots* did not respect him enough, had drawn his Sword against them in *Languedoc*, and besieged *Montpellier*. But was indeed upon the point of receiving an affront; For *Chastillon* had bravely pierced thorow his Army, and thrown Three thousand Men into the place, and would have given him battle the next day, if the news of the Peace had not prevented.

It could not be certainly known what the true Reasons were, that induced the King to make it in a juncture that seemed so favourable, unless it were his apprehensions of the *Reifters* coming again to ransack and waste his Kingdom, and of the *Rochellers* giving themselves up to the English; or else the intrigues of the Duke of *Anjou*, who infinitely desired to go into *Flanders*, and draw the Army after him, of his own weak and uncertain temper, not able to undergo the burthen, and difficulties of any weighty Affair.

This Fifth Treaty of Pacification was concluded at *Bergerac*, between the King of *Navarre* and the Duke of *Montpensier*. The Edict was drawn up at *Poitiers*, in the month of *September*, and verified in Parliament, in the beginning of *October*. It was different from the last, in that it restrained the exercise of their Religion, to the limits of the preceding ones; removed it Ten miles from *Paris*; forbid it in the Marquillate of *Saluzzes*, and the County of *Venaissin*; exchanged *Montpellier* for *Beaucaire* with them, and did not restore them *Issire*. The Consistorians, who had much more obstinacy then knowledge, could hardly be brought to allow of this restriction; but the Chiefs, who better understood the state of their Affairs, accepted it as very advantageous, and the Prince caused it to be proclaimed by Torch-light at *Rochel*.

There must have been, to make it firm and lasting, a Will and Resolution in either party, to keep and maintain it, and to this end they should have renewed, and restored a real confidence, and true faith in each other: but as the first being wanting, the other became impossible; they presently started up a thousand doubts and difficulties concerning the execution: and it was the delight and interest of the Queen-Mother, to be brangling and trucking with the one and the other, to keep the Authority in her own hands, and to shew her dexterity in disentangling those snarles and knots, which she her self most commonly had tied.

The King her Son had learnt of her to make excessive expences; and as he had some noble inclinations for great things, he easily addicted himself to shew his State and Grandeur in those pomps and vanities, which carry some outward appearance of Greatness. His Favourites had possess'd him with the opinion, that all his Subjects wealth was his own; and that *France* being an unexhaustible Fountain of Riches, the greatest prodigality could never incommode him. It is almost incredible what excessive Sums he lavishly squander'd away, and in what magnificent wantonness he wast-ed them. He plaid, and lost one night Four score thousand Crowns; he went often in Masquerade; he was seen to run at the Ring in a Ladies Dress, with all the trinkets and gew-gaws of a proud gossip; he made one Feast amongst many others, where the Women waited and served at Table in the habits of Men, clad in Green, all the Guests wearing the same Livery; and the Queen his Mother requited him with another in the same kind, where the fairest Ladies about the Court, acted the like parts with their white Bosoms open, and their Hair dishevel'd.)

The poor People paid for all these follies, and mourned many years for a divertisement, that lasted perhaps but some few hours. The Kings Coffers were empty, and they must have recourse to the worst methods for the filling them again; particularly, the creation of new Offices, which the *Italian* furnished with Titles, and perswaded him, that such a multiplication was an excellent means to get Money, without violence to any man, and to render the Kings power more absolute, by filling every City with Creatures of his own, and such as would be tied fast to his interests thorow fear of losing their employments, and so aid him in suppressing his Subjects, and force them to lie quiet, and submissively under the feet of Power.

This luxurious humour which travelled into every Countrey for divertisements, brought from the furthest parts of *Italy*, a band of Comedians, whose Plays consisting of amorous intrigues, and agreeable inventions, to stir up, and soothe the softest passions, proved most pernicious corrupters of Modesty and Virtue, and

Schools

Schools of impudence. They obtained Letters Patents for their establishment, as they had been some excellent Society: The Parliament rejected them as vagabonds, or such Cattle whom good Morality, the Holy Canons, the antient Fathers, and even our own Kings had ever esteemed infamous; and forbid them to act, or endeavour any more hereafter the obtaining of such License or Patent; and notwithstanding, no sooner was the Court returned from *Poitiers*, but the King would have their Theatre open'd again.

October.

"This year appeared the greatest Comet that had been ever seen, it took up Thirty degrees in length, embracing the Signs *Sagittarius* and *Scorpio*, the Tail turned towards the *West*; it was observed from the Eighteenth of *October*, till about the end of *November*. An Astronomer found it to be of the same height as the Planet *Venus*.

1577.

In the preceding Month of *March*, *John de Morvilliers*, Bishop of *Orleans*, a great Statesman died at *Blois*, and in the Month of *July*, the Marechal de *Montluc* at his House of *Estillac* in *Agenois*. *Armand Gontaud* had the Marechals staff, vacant by the death of *Montluc*, and quitted his Office of Great Master of the Ordnance, which was given to *Philibert de la Guiche*, one of the Kings Favorites.

✠

There was open enmity between the King, the Duke of *Anjou* and the Duke of *Guise*: The great courage of this last, and weakness of the other two, made him almost their equal. Their hatred broke into quarrels between their Favorites. *Quelus*, who was one of the Kings Darlings, challenged *Entrognet*, who was the Duke of *Guise's*, and took for his Seconds *Livarrot* and *Maugiron*, who was likewise in favour. His adversary chose *Rybeyrac* and *Schombert*. Till this time, Seconds had only served for witnesses of a combat: but an itch of fighting came upon these, and this one bad example has lasted to this very day. *Maugiron* was killed upon the spot. *Quelus* was brought back wounded in Sixteen places, whereof he died in a Months time. The King loved both these so infinitely, that he kissed them when dead, caused their flax-Locks to be cut off, and treasured them up carefully, assisted *Quelus* to his very death, serving him with his own hands, and erected a stately *Mausoleum* for them both in *St. Pauls Church*.

Some time after he likewise caused the Body of *St. Maigrin* to be interred there, and Statues of all the three to be set upon their Tombs; the rabble broke them down, and dragg'd them to the River on the day of the barricades. This *St. Maigrin* was also one of his Minions, whom the Duke of *Mayenne* caused to be pistoll'd at his coming out of the *Louvre*, for having vaunted he was in favour with the Dutcheff of *Guise*.

For this reason the other Minions, who apprehended the like Treatment, if they plaid with such rough Gamesters, never ceased exasperating the King by their stories and reports concerning these Princes, and seeking by all manner of ways to ruine them. Being thus pusht at, they consider'd how to defend themselves; and when they had examin'd, and found their own strength, and the Kings softness, they did not stop at the defensive, but carried things to a far greater height then their most daring thoughts durst ever make them hope to attain.

Whilst the Queen-Mother was in *Guyenne*, whither she went to confer with the King of *Navarre*, under pretence of carrying his Wife to him, whom he little valued, and by whom he was not esteemed much more; the Duke of *Anjou* Treated with the States-General of the *United-Provinces*, this was on the Tenth day of *August*; and was assured moreover, that *Charles de Ganre Inchi*, Governour of *Cambresis*, would deliver up to him the Citadel of *Cambray*, for the Queen of *Navarre* his Sister, had gained that Lord the year before, in a journey she made to the *Spaa*.

1577.

"We must now relate what had been transacted in those Provinces for some years past. The Duke of *Alva* had governed them near Five years, during which time he exercised most unexpressible cruelties; insomuch that he bragg'd, that the very Consecrations of the Estates of those he had butcher'd, amounted to Eight Millions of Gold yearly; and the number of People who had suffer'd by the hands of the Hangman, was Eighteen thousand. He was recalled in the year 1513. by King *Philip*, and *Lewis de Requesens*, Grand Commander of *Castille* put in his place. This last gained a Battle at *Mouker-Heyde* near *Nimeghen*, wherein *Ludovic de Nassau* was slain, this was in Anno 1574. He afterwards assembled the Estates-General to raise some Moneys; but far from granting any, they firmly united together to defend their liberty: and they took so much hearty grace upon his death, which hapned some Months afterwards, as to seize upon the Government, which was then left in the hands of the Council of State, till the arrival of a new Governour, Don *Juan of Austria*.

"In

"In the mean time the *Spanish* Troops having mutined, plundered the wealthy City of *Antwerp*, where they got so much booty, that some private Soldiers were seen to play for Ten thousand Franc's in one night. The Catholique Provinces fearing they might be plundered in the same manner, united by a Treaty made at *Ghent* with those of *Holland* and *Zealand*. Now before they received, or admitted Don *Juan*, the Estates would have all the *Spaniards* sent out of the Countrey, and the Treaty of *Ghent* to be confirmed; Don *Juan* feigned to agree to those conditions, and entred the Countrey in Sheeps cloathing, but soon changed it for the Foxes skin, seising upon *Namur*, *Charlemont*, and *Mariembourg*.

* This was called the Pacification of Ghent.

"Then the States armed against him, drove him back into *Luxemburg*, called in *Matthias* the Emperors Brother, whom they chose for their Governor, and the Prince of *Orange* for his Lieutenant. But by the jealousy of the Catholique Lords, thwarting the wise Councils of *Orange*, Don *Juan* had time to receive the Forces brought him by *Alexander Farnese* Duke of *Parma*, with which he gained a signal Battle at *Gemblours*, over the Army of the States, and afterwards the *Gueux* having turned the Priests and Monks out of *Ghent*, broke, and pull'd down all the Images in their Churches: So that the happy success of Don *Juan*, and the attempt of this insolent rabble, gave occasion to some Lords already discontented to form a Third Party, whereof *Montigny* was Head, and to draw both *Artois* and *Hainault* to joyn with them.

1577.

"The same Lords finding that the States had Treated with Queen *Elizabeth*, who sent *Casimir* to them with some German Forces, moved with apprehension of the great danger their Religion was in, resolved to Treat with the Duke of *Anjou*, to which the States did likewise incline; being induced thereto by the practises of the Prince of *Orange*, who had great suspicion of *Casimir*.

1578.

This business had been negotiating a year before, by the tacite consent of the Queen-Mother: but the King did not approve of his Brothers meddling with the Low-Countreys Affairs: he was too jealous of his advancement; and besides, too much nettled at his *Bussy's* braving his Favorites every day. Now these Picques and Controversies rising higher on either part, he caused his Brother to be laid hold on in the *Louvre*, and set Guards upon him: but they did their Duty so negligently, that he escaped out of their hands, being let down by a cord into the Trench under the *Louvre*, and went to the Abby *St. Germain*, where *Bussy* waited for him, and had made a hole in the Wall of the City. From thence they got to *Angers*, and after they had sojourned there some weeks, advanced to *Mons* in *Hainault*, to conclude the Treaty which was before prepared by one of his Secretaries.

He promised to assist the States with his Forces and Means, to raise Six thousand Foot and Three thousand Horse, to maintain them at his own charges for Three Months, and to endeavour to bring the Queen of *England*, the King of *Navarre*, and *Casimir* into this Alliance. Reciprocally they promised him, that where-ever he should be personally, he should Command in Chief with the General for the States: That if they accepted of any Lord, other then the King of *Spain*, they would prefer him before all; That for security, and a retreat for his Sick, they would give him *Quesnoy*, *Landrecy*, and *Bavais*; That if they could obtain a good Peace, they would repay his disbursements, and give him a reward worthy of his Grandeur.

August 1578.

There never was a business so intangled, nor a Countrey more divided and tormented then that same. The Arch-Duke *Matthias* had his party amongst the States, and amongst the Nobles; the Prince of *Orange* had all the power in the Provinces of *Frise*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Vireti*; Don *Juan* of *Austria* was Governor for the *Spaniards*, but declared an enemy by the States; Prince *Casimir* was there in the behalf of Queen *Elizabeth*; the Duke of *Anjou*, as their Ally and Protector. *Imbise* had seized upon *Ghent*, and Prince *Casimir* with his Forces was got into those parts, as it were to cantonnize himself: The Catholique Lords of *Artois* and *Hainault* floated between all parties, desiring to preserve, if it were possible, their Liberty, and their Religion. So that there were Five Armies feeding upon, and laying waist that unfortunate Countrey.

That belonging to the States was of Thirty eight thousand Foot, and Eight thousand Horse; That under the Duke of *Anjou*, much inferiour for number, to what had been promised him by Treaty. He besieged *Bins*, and batter'd it so furiously, that it surrendered the Fourteenth day, being the Sixth of *September*. The civility he shewed to that Garrison, open'd him the Gates of *Maubengo*: but the insolence of his Soldiers in the Field, caused those of *Quesnoy* and *Landrecy* to be shut up against him. For vexation of this inexecution, and because *Casimir* kept still in *Ghent*, he would not joyn with the States Army; to whom however, he had already sent Three thousand Men,

September.

From Anno 1568. to the year 1578.

Men, Commanded by *la Noüe*, but retired into *France*, having first sent to the Arch-Duke *Matthias*, and the Council of the States, to let them know the reasons for his departure, and give them an assurance of his return.

The greatest part of his disbanded Troops went into the Service of the male-contented Lords. Some Months after, Don *Juan* of *Austria* hapned to die; the King, his Brothers jealousy, made all his designs miscarry, and perhaps hastned his end by some potion, as he had the end of *Escovado* his Secretary and intimate Confident in *Spain*, by cutting the thred of his Life with a keen ponyard.

His loss caused so great a consternation in his Army, that if that of the States had fall'n upon them, they might with ease, either have forced, or dispersed them: but besides, that their disorders were likewise great in that great Body for want of pay, the death of *Maximilian*, Crook-Back, who Commanded in Chief, hapning within Six weeks after, broke all that little Union there was between the Lords of the Countrey, who fell from the common interest of the publique good, to seek their own private advantages.

During this expedition of the Duke of *Anjou* into the *Low-Countries*, the King languished still in unactive idleness, wherein he was entertained by *Villequier*, and *Francis d'O*, his Son-in-law. This last was Surintendant des * *Finances*, a Man wholly given up to Luxury, who put the King daily upon making new Edicts, called *Bur-Jaux* * and by carrying him to the Parliament, forced them by his Presence to verify the same. This was one of the chief causes of the ruine of this Prince, the People observing so frequently, that from his Court, whence nothing but good and wholesome Laws should have proceeded, there came nothing now but Edicts of Oppression and Severity, did by little and little lose the Respect and Affection they had born him, which the Heads of the League took advantage of, and confirmed their aversion and contempt of him. Towards which, the insolence of his Favorites did not a little contribute, by setting themselves above Princes, making the *Grandeess* follow them, and absolutely disposing of all Affairs.

"*Sebastian*, King of *Portugal* having lost a great Battle against the *Moors*, as may be seen in the History of that Countrey, and never appearing afterwards, whether he were slain there or otherwise: *Henry* his great Uncle, who was Cardinal, and Arch-Bishop of *Evora*, took the Crown, which belonged to him, as being the nearest Prince of the Blood. We must know that *Sebastian* was the Son of Prince *John*, Son of King *John III.* Son of King *Emanuel*; That this *Emanuel*, besides King *John*, had three other Sons, *Lewis* Duke of *Beja*, the *Henry* of whom we speak, and Edward Prince of *Portugal*, and two Daughters, *Isabella*, who was Mother of *Philip II.* King of *Spain*; and *Beatrice*, who was Mother of *Philibert Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*; That *Lewis* had a natural Son, named *Don Antonio*, Prior of *Crato*; That from Edward sprang two Daughters, *Mary*, Wife of *Alexander Farnese*, First of that Name, Duke of *Parma*, and Mother of *Rainutio*; and *Catherine*, Wife of *John*, Duke of *Braganza*.

"Now as *Henry* was very infirm, and almost *Septuaginary*, all those who pretended to the Crown after his death, began from that time to mak their parties and interest, and proclaim their Titles. Wherefore, omitting the Pope, and the Abbot de *Cler-vaux*, who shewed by some old Titles, that the said Kingdom had submitted to their Sense and Homage, there presented themselves *Philip* King of *Spain*, *Philibert Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, *Rainutio Farnese*, *Catherine* Wife of *John* of *Braganza*, and *Anthony* Prior of *Crato*.

"As for *Philipebert*, he yielded it King *Philip*, who was issue of the eldest of *Emanuel's* two Daughters, and demanded only they should have a regard to his Right, in case *Philip* died before him. They said that *Rainutio*, his Mother being dead, as she then was, could not dispute it with *Catherine*, he being one degree remoter then she. The question remained therefore between *Philip* and *Catherine*; It was most certain that *Philip's* Mother, had she been living, would have been excluded by *Catherine*, but as she was dead, her Son *Philip* pretended they ought not now to have any regard to that, but that he and *Catherine* being at equal distance, (for both of them were German to *Sebastian*) he was to be preferred, because he was the Male.

"As for the right of *Anthony*, King *Henry* made no account of that, because he had a perfect hatred for him; and his Father, as it was said, had by his Will declared him illegitimate: nevertheless, all the People, the Clergy, and the Friars, (excepting only the *Jesuits*, who were persuaded that the grandeur of the House of *Austria* was the main and truest support of the Catholique Religion) were entirely for him.

"Amongst

"Amongst the Contenders Queen *Catharine de Medicis* was also a Stickler, perhaps to make the World believe she was of a Family good enough to pretend to the succession of a Kingdom. And thus she founded her right, *Alphonso III.* King of *Portugal* about the year 1235. Married one *Matilda* Countess of *Bologna*, then did repudiate her to take a Wife much younger; She said, he had a Son named *Robert* by that *Matilda*: but to his prejudice and wrong had left the Inheritance to the Children by this second Wife; That from the said *Robert* came the Counts of *Bologna*, from whom she was descended. But this derivation, besides the injury it did to all the Kings of *Portugal* from the time of *Alphonso*, and to all the Pretenders that were issued from them, as necessarily qualifying them Bastards and Usurpers, was false in the most essential point, for *Matilda* had no Child by *Alphonso*, and *Robert* was Son of a Sister to that Queen.

"The most apparent Right, according to the Lawyers of *Coimbre*, who ought to know better then any others, the Laws and Customs of those Countries, was that of *Catharine* Wife of the Duke of *Braganza*. And indeed the Nobility and the Estates, to whom the resolution of all Questions of such importance do most properly belong, inclined that way: but *Henry* was so weak he durst not declare in her favour, but engaged himself for *Philip*, and that the more readily as finding the Duke of *Braganza* grew slack; withall his Confessor persuading him that the glory of God and the advancement of the Catholick Religion required it.

"Upon this he happens to die the last day of *January* in the year 1580. having Reigned seventeen Months. *Philip* who had prepared himself to make good his Title by force, did immediately order the Duke of *Alva* to enter *Portugal* with a good Army; *Anthony* was already proclaimed King, but could not make head against him; the Forces he had got in haste together being raw unexperienced Men, were worsted the first time, and quite dispersed the second. So that having nothing left him on Land, and the Sea beating him churlishly back every time he endeavour'd to set sail, he was forced to disguise himself under a Monks Hood, and hide himself for eight Months in several places, the *Portuguese* not discovering him, though *Philip* had promised fourscore thousand Crowns, to any that would produce him. At length finding his opportunity he embarked on a Vessel which transported him into *Holland*, from whence he came to the Court of *France*.

"All the Islands of *Azores*, excepting that of *St. Michael* which submitted to *Philip*, remained still firm to his Party by means of certain Monks who were mightily increased there. These Islands are usually called *Terceres* from the third which is the greatest of them all: there are nine in number.

"As to the Duke of *Braganza*, he agreed with King *Philip*, who gave him the Office of Constable of the Kingdom: but in our days his Grandson *John* happily raised himself again, and was restored to the Crown, according to a wonderful Prophecy, which may be seen in the first Volume of the *Annals* of the *Cisterciens**, *i. e.* White Friars, composed by a Religious *Spaniard* of that Order, some years before that miraculous Revolution.

The Order of *St. Michael* had been in great reputation and request under four Kings: but during the Reign of *Henry II.* the Women had made it Venal: and in those of *Francis II.* and *Charles IX.* Queen *Catharine* had rendered it so contemptible that the Nobility never demanded it but for their Servants, or Valets. This year the King, without abolishing the former, instituted another named the Order of the Holy Ghost*, to which it serves as a necessary disposition. He declared himself Sovereign Head, and for ever united the Sovereignty of it to the Crown of *France*. He solemnized the Feast on the first day of *January* in the Church of the *Augustins* at *Paris*, with his accustomed Pomp and Magnificence. The number of Knights was limited to an hundred, who were to be nobly descended for three Races, not comprising the Ecclesiasticks, which are four Cardinals, and four Bishops, and the Officers. He would needs have the Knights called *Commanders*, having resolved according to the example of the *Spaniard*, to attribute to every one of them a Commandery over the Benefices; The Pope and Clergy refused to consent thereto, nevertheless the name they still retain, and the King in lieu of it, assigned to each of them a Pension of one thousand Crowns to be paid out of his Treasury.

There is probability he instituted this Order in honour of the Holy Ghost, as a remembrance that upon the day of *Pentecost* he received two Crowns, first that of *Poland*, and then that of *France*: but an Author tells us he had taken this Model from the like Order instituted by *Lewis* King of *Sicilia* upon the same motives, Anno

Cccc

1532.

1578.

* Revenue, or Treasury.

* For his Purse.

In August.

1578.

1579.

1580.

* Chap 5. of the year 1142.

1579. January.

* L'Ordre du Saint Esprit.

1579.

1532. As for the Political Reason, he may have done it with the like design as Lewis XI. did that of St. Michael, i. e. to destroy the Leagues in his State, and even to convert the Chiefs of the Huguenot Party by the splendour and allurements of so desirable a Mark of Honour.

The Negotiation of the Queen Mother with the King of Navarre at Nerac, took her up more time than she imagined. The Prince would conclude nothing without the advice of the whole Party, whose Deputies he called together at Montauban. She inveigled some of them by the artificial charms of those Ladies she carried along with her: But Queen Margaret who counted all things lawful to revenge herself on her Brother for expelling her from his Court, took care to gain the heart of Pibrac, who was her Mother's Counsellor. That great Man's Wisdom foundered upon this Rock, so that acting only as she directed, and contrary to the designs of the Queen her Mother, he explained and worded many Articles in favour of the Religionaries, procured them many advantages, and even several places for security.

February, &c. The Conference ending with the Month of February, the Queen would needs make the Tour of Languedoc and Dauphine. In those Provinces she shewed much kindness to the Politicks and the Male-contented, having a prospect of making use of them towards the Duke of Alençon, if her Son Henry should chance to die without Children. From thence she travelled into Provence where the disturbances were still kept on foot between the Rasats and the Caciets; the latter had the Nobles, the former the Populace and the Parliament for them.

The real cause of those Broils was the Government of the Province, the Marechal de Rais who had obtained the gift of it Anno 1515. was so little beloved that he was forced to give it up to the Count de Suse. This Man being placed there by his means found as little pleasure and quiet as the other: so that the Marechal got it to be committed to the Cardinal of Armagnac, who being aged and decay'd could not well bridle the Faction. Henry Grand Prior of France, the Kings Bastard Brother, had a great mind to that Government, and therefore stirred up, and blew these Coals of Dissentions. The Queen finding there was no other way to extinguish them, gave him what he desired.

1579. At her return, the Duke of Savoy came out of respect to wait upon her at Grenoble, and engaged her to go as far as Montluc in Bresse, to confer with Bellegarde. This Marechal discontented with the Court had seized on the Marquisate of Saluzzo, and perhaps had some private Treaty with that Duke who had highly obliged him upon many occasions. In effect when he died, which fell out the following year, the Duke endeavour'd by divers means to detain the places in that Marquisate to which he had several pretensions, and stirred up such as were Governors there for the King, to cantonize, or at least favour'd them: but as he durst not assist them openly, they were forced to let go their holds after some resistance. At this time the Queen had not leisure enough to unravel those intricate Affairs; for receiving information how the Favourites made themselves absolute Masters of the Kings mind during her tedious absence, she left Bellegarde, and returned with great diligence to Court.

May. She found the Duke of Anjou who had been absent ever since his escape was just come thither, and lived in very good correspondence with the King. He had taken this resolution without consulting his Bussy d'Amboise who staid behind in Anjou. This proud and haughty Spirit continued there braving and despising all the World, taking pride in triumphing over the Ladies as well as their Husbands, till at last the Lord de Montforeau kill'd him in his Castle de la Contanciere, at which place he had compell'd his Wife to make him an Assignment; this was in the Month of July.

June and July. At the time he thus perished his Master was gone into England with two Gentlemen only, to make love to Queen Elizabeth. This Princess was so shaped or formed, that though she loved passionately yet could she not admit of such love again as to be a Mother without the greatest hazard of her life: for which reason she never did intend to take a Husband, and yet refused none, thereby to keep her Enemies in awe with the noise of her Alliances, and gain her self friends upon the prospect of such fair hopes. The Duke was so well received, and treated by her with so much freedom and privacy, that all such as did not know her well, believed the Match indubitable. And indeed it was her interest to have it thought so, thereby to encourage that Prince's Friends in assisting him to gain the Sovereignty of the Low-Countries; not so much for love to him, as to prevent their falling under the absolute power of the King.

Upon

1579. Upon the intelligence they received that the Duke of Savoy had agreed to share the Conquests of the Swiss Countries with the King of Spain, and that he was to begin by Geneva, which those Cantons had received into their Alliance, so far as it is by that Road they can both send Supplies into France and receive it thence: the King was advised upon the earnest solicitation of the Catholick Cantons themselves, to take that City under his protection, lest any other should seize upon it. To this purpose a particular Treaty was set on foot between him and the Swiss, which was Negotiated at Soleure by Nicholas de Harlay-Sancy.

There were none now left amongst the Huguenots but the common People and Con-sistorians who had any great zeal for their Religion: as for the Grandees, theirs was but Faction, the Prince of Conde was almost the only Man that was fully persuaded to be of their way. Wherefore he had but little interest with the Politiques, nor even with the King of Navarre, and made his Party by it self, as well because he was disgusted that the said King had to his prejudice given his Lieutenantcy to the Vicount de Turenne, as because he being in himself a serious and honest Gentleman, avoided all libertinage, and had a horror for their frauds and impious practices.

In the King of Navarre's Court, nothing was to be seen but Intrigues, Amours, and Enterprizes; to say all in a word, Queen Margaret was the Soul of it. The King her Brother who had taken a spleen against her, wrote to her Husband that there were ill Reports spread of her and the Vicount de Turenne; but that Prince considering the necessity of his Affairs above all things else, shewed the Letter to them both, and spared neither cares nor intreaties to keep the Vicount with him who pretended he must by all means retire.

November and December.

Now this Woman enraged to the greatest extremity, had no other thought but of revenge: to this effect making use of the same means she had so often seen practised by her Mother, she instructed the Ladies about her to take all the brave ones about her Husband in their amorous toils, and they did spread the Nets so cunningly that herself was ensnared by the beauties of Fosense, who did but too well practise the Lessons taught by her Mistress. These were the real Fire-brands of the sixth Troubles; and for that reason it was called *The Lovers Wars*.

The Kings Envoys coming to re-demand the places of security, these Gossips scoff at them, peek their Gallants with Honour, call it folly and cowardize to surrender what they had acquired at the price of their Blood, and so heat them that they resolve not only to keep them still, but also to take others. To this end the King of Navarre having broken some pieces of Gold, sends two halves, the one to Chastillon, the other to Lesdiguieres, who Commanded for that Party in Languedoc and Dauphine, with an Order to begin the War, whenever he sent them the other two halves; and at the same time sends Men of Credit into divers Provinces, for the execution of above threescore several Enterprizes.

1580.

It seems this Resolution had not been communicated to the Prince of Conde: nevertheless it so fell out that he acted at the same time as if it had been by agreement with the rest of the Party. He passionately desired to enter into possession of the Government of Picardy: it had been promised him by two Treaties, and he was daily put in hopes of it; In fine, his patience was tired, he would do himself right, and formed private Intelligence and designs upon seven or eight of the best places in that Province. That which he attempted upon la Fere succeeded by the assistance of Lirumont de Monty, and some other Gentlemen, all the others miscarried.

April, &c.

As little success had the Partisans of the King of Navarre, unless upon Montaignu in Poitou, and upon Cabors. This City belonging to his Wives Estate (for she was appenaged with the Counties of Quercy and Agenois) refusing to own him, he was resolved to do himself right: though he knew Vesins was within the place with two thousand Soldiers, he was not afraid to assault it, and to make use of his Petard, a new sort of Artillery which then began to be employ'd. When by this invention he had made a Gate fly open, he found Vesins ready to oppose him, who received him very bravely. This Lord was kill'd upon the first charge: his death however did not so daunt his Men but they defended themselves yet four days more from Street to Street. At last all were forced, and the City horribly sacked, and overflowed with the Blood of its Inhabitants, in revenge of that of the Huguenots, which they shed in the Massacres of St. Bartholomew.

The other Efforts of that Party manifestly discover'd their weakness, which proved to be greater then could have been imagin'd. For the disarmed Provinces, as Normandy, the Isle of France, Champagne and others, refused to contribute towards this War; the Roishlers not thinking it very just, remained quiet, by the

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advice

1580.

advice even of the Wife *la None*; *Chastillon* could not stir up above three Cities in *Languedoc*, which were *Lunel*, *Aigues-Mortes*, and *Sous-Mieres*; and if *Nismes* did enter the Lists, it was only because the Catholicks did Harass them. It is true that Captain *Merle* took *Mandes*: but it was rather upon his own private account than the Parties, for he had all the Plunder, and the Party got nothing by it but hatred for his horrible Robberies.

On all hands the *Huguenots* had the disadvantage: the *Mareschal de Biron* put the King of *Navarres* whole Forces to a full stop, then drove them into their Holds. He defeated three thousand of his Men in a Combat near *Monterabel* (in which the two Sons of the *Marquis du Trans* of near Relation to that King, and yet both Catholicks, were slain) and beat back the rest to the very Gates of *Nerac*. It is said he fired some Volees of Cannon against the Walls, from the top whereof Queen *Margaret* beheld the Skirmish; whereat that Princess was so much offended, she would never pardon him. The Count *de Lude* in the mean while took *Montaigu* in *Poitou*, the defence whereof was truly much greater than the goodness of the place; The Duke of *Mayne* cleared almost all *Danfine*, which brought *Lesdiguieres* follow, that another such Campaigne would have beat him out of the Country; and the *Mareschal de Matignon* reduced the Town of *la Fere* in *Picardy*, of which the Prince had designed to make a second *Roche*.

September.

After he had been six weeks before the place he granted them very good Composition the Twelfth day of September. The Kings two Favourites *Arques* and the young *la Valette*, who was afterwards named *Joyeuse*, *Espenon* and a many Lords were come to the Siege in great Equipage, and Provisions were brought from all Quarters in abundance: from whence it was called *The Velvet Siege*. The Duke of *Aumale* Governor of *Picardy*, and the Duke of *Guise*, arrived there towards the latter end, and would have wrested the Honour from *Matignon*, for which he stored up so great Resentment, that ever after upon all occasions he studied to thwart them and break their Measures.

Nothing gave the King more apprehension than the going abroad of the Prince of *Conde*: who had left *la Fere* about the end of March to sollicite the aid of Protestant Princes. In *England* he saw Queen *Elizabeth*, at *Antwerp* the Prince of *Orange*, in *Germany* *Casimir*, and some other Princes: yet could obtain no assistance but from *Casimir*, upon condition of certain places he promised to give him for security. Upon this assurance he returns by *Switzerland* and *Geneva*, amidst a World of dangers, being taken and stript in the Territories of *Savoy* by some Bandits, who knew not who he was. *Lesdiguieres* generously furnish'd him with Money and an Equipage: nor was his Presence useless to him there towards the bringing that Nobility to submit to his Command, and thereby confirming his Authority.

The only hopes of the *Huguenots* was therefore in an Army of *Reifters*; the King dreaded it above all things, and *France* trembled at the very name of those cruel Plunderers who had so often prey'd upon them. This makes the Queen Mother and the Duke of *Alencon* mediate a Peace: the King of *Navarre* desired it as his only refuge, and the Duke procured it, that he might be able to carry the whole force both of the one and the other Party into the *Low-Countries*.

For the States having resolved to declare that the King of *Spain* had forfeited the Sovereignty of those Provinces, as they did the following year in their Assembly at the *Hague*, had sent their Deputies to this Duke, being then at *Plessis lez Tours*: with whom they made a Treaty; In which "they owned him for their Prince and Lord, him and his lawful Sons, with the same rights as their preceding Lords; upon condition that if he had several Sons, they should have liberty of chusing which of them they best liked; That he should preserve the ancient Alliances, Rights, and Priviledges of the Provinces, should give no Offices or Employments but to the Natives of those Countries, and do in such sort that the Provinces might ever be linked to *France*, but without being either incorporated, or united to the Crown.

November.

This Treaty Signed, he posted into *Guyenne* to Negotiate the Peace: the place for Conference was the Castle of *Fleix* belonging to the *Marquis de Trans*. In this place, by the care and industry of the said Prince, with the Duke of *Montpensier*, and likewise the *Mareschal de Cossé*, whom the King sent after him, they came to an agreement towards the end of November in the explanation of certain Articles of the former Treaty of Peace, which they confirmed by this same. They likewise granted some

some places to the King of *Navarre*, and to satisfy the passion of his Wife a revocation of *Biron*, from whom they took away the Lieutenantancy of *Guyenne* to bestow it upon the *Mareschal de Matignon* which she demanded for him; whose sober and staid gravity seemed very proper to allay the quick and fiery temper of the *Gascons*.

"The Thirtieth day of August 1580. *Philibert Emmanuel* Duke of *Savoy* ended his Mortal Pilgrimage, and left his Estates, which he had happily recover'd by his Valour, and his most prudent Conduct, to his only Son *Charles Emmanuel*, who was then in the One and twentieth year of his Age. 1581.

"*France* was at the same time afflicted with two cruel Diseases, the *Coqueluche* and the *Plague*; the first, as we formerly noted having tormented this Nation twice already, was very painful, and sometimes mortal, but lasted not above six months; the other killing most that were therewith infected, continued its violence five or six years, ransacking sometimes one Province, sometimes another, so that before it ceased above the fourth part of the People died of it.

After the Duke of *Anjou's* quitting of *Flanders*, their Discords and Confusions daily increased, whereupon the Archduke *Matthias*, whom the States had called in to Govern, retired again. The Duke of *Parma*, who had the Command of the Spanish Army after the death of *Don Juan of Austria*, defeated a Party of *Casimir's* *Keifters*, and so beset the rest, that they were glad to accept of quarter and return into *Germany*: at which *Casimir*, who was then gone into *England* to see Queen *Elizabeth*, was so much ashamed, that he goes directly home not daring to pass by way of the *Low-Countries*. After their departure the Duke of *Parma* besieged *Mastrie*; He took it by Storm at four Months end, and in the mean time Negotiated it so well with the Male-contented Lords, that they returned to the obedience of King *Philip*; and brought in the Provinces of *Artois* and *Hainault*, with the Cities of *L'Isle*, *Donay*, and *Archier*.

On the opposite, the Provinces of *Guelders*, *Zutphen*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Frise*, and *Utrecht*, then the Cities of *Bruges*, *Ypres*, and others united more closely together for their mutual defence. From thence came the name of the *United Provinces*. The Malecontents in the mean time did mightily annoy the other Catholick Provinces. It is true the Fit of Sickness which the Duke of *Parma* fell into after the taking of *Mastrie*, gave the States a little breathing time, and *la Noue* though he had but three thousand Men, made Head most bravely against all their Enemies.

As the *Spaniards* took *Groningben* from the States, on his side he took *Ninove* from them, and in the said place the Count of *Egmont* with his Wife: but shortly after this generous Commander was defeated in a Rencounter near the Castle of *Ingel-Monster*, and fell into the hands of the *Spaniards*, who set him not at liberty till the year 1585. and that upon the payment of an hundred thousand Crowns Ransom.

The Edict granted to the *Huguenots* met not with so much difficulty, neither for the verification in Parliament, nor for the execution, as the former ones had done: and it was pretty punctually and quietly observed near five years. As a violent agitation, is so far from curing of Distempers, it rather increases them, and to allay hot Spirits we must let them a while repose: so soon as they had left off baiting and pursuing the *Huguenots*, their Zeal grew much more temperate, and indifferent. The King taking the right course, gave them assurance that they needed to fear no hurt from him; but might expect much good; That he would do them equal justice, but that he would bestow no Offices or Employments upon them, nor any Governments, but keep all Dignities out of their reach. Withall he endeavour'd to reclaim them by wise and Christian like Instructions and Arguments, which method converted more of them in four years time, then the Sword or Hangman had compell'd in forty; and if they had continued the same way of proceeding, this Opinion of Conscience would no doubt have given place to the sense of Honour.

During this calm, the King instead of fortifying himself, grew still weaker, and was enervated by idleness and vain pleasures. Since the death of the Princess of *Conde*, he had but little inclination to Women, and his Adventure at *Venice* gave him another bias. His three chief Favourites were *Arques*, the young *la Valette*, and *Saint Luc*: the last forfeited his favour by endeavouring to cure him of his depravation by an illusion which was very ingenious: the other two remained in full power, with no other Rivals but themselves, and individually enjoy'd the affection of the King, who called them his Children. He was not satisfied with having erected the Vicounty

Vicounty of *Joyeuse* to a Pairie for *d'Arques*, and the Territories of *Espenon* which he bought of the King of *Navarre* for *La Vallette*, he would needs honour them with his Alliance, by Marrying them to his Wives two Sisters, promising to each four hundred thousand Crowns in Dowry. In effect *Joyeuse* did Marry one, and his Wedding was kept with such profusion, that it cost the King near four Millions.

To repair these idle Expences, they were forced to have recourse to new Edicts; He made no fewer then nine or ten all at once; there were even two and twenty in less then two Months time, themselves finding the reasons for the same, and confidently assigning their Merchants and their Tailors upon those Funds. Wherefore the Parliament thinking it behooved them to prevent the throwing thus away the poor Subjects Money, strenuously opposed the Verification of them, and *Christopher de Thou* first President, had once the courage to answer them, That by the Laws of the Land, which is the publick safety, such things could not, nor ought not to be done.

The States of the *United Provinces*, found themselves in great perplexities, their chief Cities were all in combustion through the diversity of Religion, their Armies without Commanders, and their Soldiers without pay. During this confusion, the Duke of *Parma* took the City of *Breda* which belonged to the Prince of *Orange*, after which he promised himself to be able to block all the *Avenues* up against the *French*. Which was feasible enough, for having *Artois*, *Hainault*, and the City of *Dunkirk*, there was nothing left to do it but the gaining of *Cambray*: and to that end he had besieged it.

The first exploit of the Duke of *Anjou* was therefore to endeavour the delivery of that place. Upon the rumour of this Enterprize, which his friends had spread abroad for his advantage, great numbers of Volunteers, fifteen or twenty Lords of note, divers Captains with their Adventurers, nay even established compleat Companies came to him; he had four thousand *French* Horse, and ten thousand Foot. The Duke of *Parma* drew all his Forces together, and stood six hours in *Batalia*, to make him believe he was resolved to keep his ground; yet when he perceived they marched directly to him, he retired to *Valenciennes*. Thus the Town was freed, the Duke received in *Cambray* as chief Sovereign of the Castle, and Protector of the Liberties of the Country, giving his Oath to them upon the Altar of *Nostra-Dame*, and afterwards in the Town-Hall. He then drove the Enemies out of *Sluce* and *Arleux*, and batter'd the Walls of *Cateau-Cambrésis* with so much fury, that he forced it to surrender at discretion.

And this was all the effect of that blustering Expedition: after these Exploits the heat of his Volunteers began to cool; and his Army consisting of independent Parcells, there soon grew as many quarrels as there were several Captains. So that finding it too perilous to engage himself further, or joyn with the States Army who were on their way to meet him, and too dishonourable to return again so soon, he was advised to make a second step into *England* to wait upon the Queen his Mistress, between whom the Articles of Marriage were almost agreed upon.

The Courtship went so far that the Queen bestowed a Ring upon him as a pledge of her faith: but the Caballers against this Alliance, and her Women who knew the danger she must fall into if ever she had a Child, made so much noise, and fill'd her Ears with so great clamour, that she demanded it of him again.

It hapned at the same time that some *English* Priests and Religious People bred in the Seminaries of *Donay* and *Reims*, founded the one by the King of *Spain*, and the other by the *Guises*, contrived divers Conspiracies against that Queen, in execution of the Popes Bull who *Anno 1570.* had Excommunicated and deprived her of her Crown: for which reason she was constrained by the out-cries of her Ministers to put some of them to death, amongst others Father *Edmond Campian* a Jesuit. The Duke of *Anjou* express'd a great deal of discontent that before his Eyes they should draw those Catholick Priests to Execution, and the Queen her self was in great pain and trouble: so that amidst all this hurry no mention was made of the Marriage: and yet either of them being willing it might be believed abroad in the World, spent almost two Months in Mirth and noble Entertainments, which at a distance was guessed to be their Wedding Festivals.

When he left the *Low Countries*, above the one half of his Army being dispersed, the remainder marched into the County of *Flanders* by way of *Calais*, and joyned with that of the States. The Duke of *Parma* not being able to hinder this conjunction, besieged *Tournay*. The Princess of *Espinoy* in the absence of her Husband, giving out Orders Captain like, and fighting like a brave Soldier, defended it for two Months space, and had perhaps saved the place, if the Citizens, enchanted with the *Spanish* Catholicon, had not obliged her to capitulate.

The

The Prince of *Orange* and the States pressing the Duke by several Messages to return, he took leave of Queen *Elizabeth*, who conducted him as far as *Canterbury*, and would have the Earl of *Leicester*, and her Admiral *Howard*, and an hundred Gentlemen, accompany him to *Flanders*. He took Shipping at *Dover* the Tenth of *February*, and in two days he arrived at *Flessingbe*, where the Prince of *Orange* and *d'Espinoy* waited for him, the next day he went to *Middelburgh*, and was transported by Boats to *Antwerp* on the River *Scheld*.

The States who were there assembled, made him a most stately Entrance, and first inaugurated him Duke of *Brabant*, the Prince of *Orange* putting on the Ducal Hat and Mantle, which was of Crimson Velvet lined with Ermins: then declared him Marquis of the holy Empire, the Consul of *Antwerp* putting a Gold Key into his Hand, which he immediately returned. From that time he began to Govern, but with little satisfaction, as having heard amongst the Articles of his joyful entrance, which were read to him at his Coronation; That he was to Rule them, not according to his own will and pleasure, but according to Justice and their Priviledges.

In the mean while having also to do with Enemies who thought all ways they could put in practise lawful, he ran two great hazards. The Eighteenth of *March* the Prince of *Orange* was wounded with a Pistol Shot in his own House, as he rose from Table by *Jaregny*, a Servant belonging to a broken Banker, who was said to have poisoned *Don Juan* of *Austria*. He recover'd of his Wounds: but the revenge was like to have fallen upon the Duke of *Anjou*. The *Flammings* fancied he had a design of establishing his new Dominion by a general Massacre, and grounded their suspicion upon this, that those *Frenchmen* who Dined that day with the Prince of *Orange* presently kill'd the Assassine, as if by taking away his life they would prevent all possibility of discovery who the Authors were that had encourag'd him to commit the Crime: but the young Prince of *Orange* causing him to be searched, found *Spanish* Letters in his Pockets which plainly told them who he was.

While the Prince was under Cure, the Duke made his Entrance at *Bruges* and at *Ghent*; in this last City he received the Ornaments of Earl of *Flanders*. Some days after he discover'd the horrible Conspiracy of *Nicholas Salsede* Son of another *Salsede* Originally a *Spaniard*, and a fugitive from his Country for some Crime, who had taken up his habitation in *France*. It was he that had made War against the Cardinal de *Lorraine* in the Country of *Messin*, for which he was Murther'd on the bloody St. *Bartholomews*. The Son was also banish'd from *France* for having burnt a Gentleman of *Normandy* in his own House who had accused him about false Money. This Fellow therefore pretends to devote himself to the service of the Duke of *Anjou* with a whole Regiment raised at his own expence: but the Prince of *Orange* who had ever a watchful Eye, discover'd that he held some Intelligence with the Duke of *Parma*. Thereupon they seize him, as likewise one certain *Francis Bafa* an *Italian*, also a *Banquier* named *Baldwin* and some others. It was said they had plotted to seize upon divers places to deliver them up to the Prince of *Parma*, and had formed some attempt upon the Persons of the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Prince of *Orange*.

The bottom of this mystery could never be certainly known, because *Bafa* after his having for fear of the Rack or otherwise, discover'd very strange things, Murther'd himself in Prison, and the wretched *Salsede* varied two or three times upon his Interrogatories, and involved so many Persons in his Crime, who were known to be Innocent, that no certain Judgment could be drawn from his Confessions. It was believed he did so, on purpose to be carried to *Paris*, in hopes the Duke of *Parma* would rescue him on the way: but *Believre* conducted him thither with so much precaution that he deluded the Dukes Spies and frustrated the expectation of the Criminal.

The King caused him to be examined divers times by his Parliament Men, and placed himself in a Chamber near at hand to over-hear what he would say: he sung the same note as he had done in *Flanders*, which startled the King so much that he knew not whom to confide in any longer, seeing no body about him but such as were accused. The Parliament condemned him to be drawn by four wild Horses. The Sentence being pronounced, as they were leading him to the Chappel, there was, as some affirm, a certain Friar on the Steps who whispering somewhat in his Ear, made him retract all what he had confess'd, thereby leaving the Judges and the King in greater perplexity then ever.

The States had but little Money, and a great many Garrisons to maintain, so that the Duke of *Anjou*'s Army could not be above four or five thousand Men this Campagne, which he divided into three small Bodies to cover the out-skirts of the greater

1581.
July and August.

August.

September.

October and November.

1581.

1582.

March.

1582.

April, &c.

1582.

June, July, &c.

greater Cities. That of the Duke of *Parma* though consisting of more than Thirty thousand, could take but four or five small Castles, which were of no great importance; For besides that he was obliged to leave the one half of his Forces to Garrison his places, when he would have invested *Bruxels* he was assaulted by famine, *Artois* and *Hainault* being so eaten up that they could furnish him with no Provisions; and then when he attempted to get into the Country of *Waes*, the Duke of *Anjou* shut up the passage, after which divers contagious Maladies, the inundations of Waters by breaking of the Dykes, and such like inconveniencies, constrained him to go into Winter Quarters.

The passion the Queen Mother had for conquering new Kingdoms, had prompted her to cast her Eyes upon *Portugal*; But not succeeding in her pretended claim, she fancied she might accumulate the Right and Title of *Anthony* with hers. And for this reason she had drawn him into *France*, where the King received him with much honour, and gave a smart reply to the *Spanish* Ambassador, who made great instance he might be turned out thence, that *France* had ever been the refuge of the unfortunate, and that he should never be persuaded to violate the sanctity of an *Asylum*, so inviolably maintain'd by all his Predecessors. He therefore permitted his Mother to raise Forces in his Kingdom to pursue her Rights, and to Equip as many Vessels as she pleased; which she laboured in with great application all the whole year 1581.

1582. The same Religious Monks who had persuaded the Islands of the *Azores*, to declare for *Anthony*, were grown so insolent of their power that they disturbed all by their Tumults, and did nothing but put the People into such rage and heats, as produced no good. The Governor whom *Anthony* had sent thither (it was *Emanuel de Sylva* his Favourite, whom he created Count de *Torres-Vedras*) was more frantick, and much more wicked yet then they: So that *Landereau*, whom the Queen had sent with Eight hundred Men till the rest of the Army was in readiness, endeavouring to give him moderate Council, he set all his Engines at work to ruine him, even to the suborning of Rascals to assassinate or poison him.

June, &c. The *French* Navy parted from *Belle-Isle* in the Month of *June*, *Strossy* was Admiral, *Brissac* Vice-Admiral, *Sainte Soulene* a *Poitevin* commanded a Squadron. *Don Antonio* went in this Fleet together with the Count de *Vimioza*, the only *Portuguese* Lord that stuck to him in his misfortune. They landed in the Island *St. Michael*, the only one of all the nine which held for the *Spaniard*, forced eight hundred Men that would have hindered their coming alhoar, defeated *Nogueras* a *Spanish* Captain who had drawn three thousand Soldiers together, and marched directly into the City *Elgrade*: but *Anthony* instead of Storming the Castle which would have made him absolute Master of those Islands, and would have given him the opportunity and advantage of intercepting their *India* Fleet, wherewith he might have maintained the War two or three years, amused himself in playing the King amidst the acclamations of the light-headed Populace; and in the mean while the *Spanish* Navy arrived, Commanded by the Marquis de *Santa Cruz*, who cast Anchor under shelter of the Castle d'*Elgrade*, to wait an opportunity of fighting them.

July. The *French* Forces out-numbered them both for Ships and Men: but there was no less disorder and mis-understanding amongst them, then jealousies and quarrels, there being many Volunteers on board, most of the Captains having set out their Ships at their own charges, and the Generals, though Valiant, were so careless and negligent, that their Commands carried no Authority, nor did their examples give any vigour or encouragement to their Men. When they came to engage, which was on the Six and twentieth of *July*, there were scarce twelve of their Men of War that did their duty, the rest came not within Shot, and *Sainte Soulene* stood quite away with eighteen Sail without the least fighting (for which he was tried in *France*, and for his base cowardize degraded of his Nobility.) The Battle notwithstanding was very bloody lasting two whole hours, the Ships being grappled with each other, as if they had agreed to end the quarrel that very day by dint of Sword and Halbert. 1582. In conclusion the Admiral of *France* was overcome and taken, *Strossy* was in the same Ship wounded in his Knee; the rest freed themselves and retired, many of them towards *France*, and some to the *Terceres*, where *Don Antonio* was gone to secure himself before the Fight.

The Marquis de *Santa Cruz* stained the honour of this brave Victory by an unbecoming and barbarous cruelty: when they presented *Strossy* to him on the Deck of his Ship, he caused him in cold Blood to be killed by his Halberdiers and cast over-board: and as for the Prisoners which were to the number of three hundred, amongst whom were fourscore Gentlemen, after he had led them in triumph into

Villa-

Villa-Franca, which is the capital City of the Island *St. Michael*, he doom'd them all to death as Enemies of the common Peace, Favourers of Rebels and Pyrats. The Gentlemen had their Throats cut, the rest were hang'd within two foot of the ground, and the *French* Priest that Confess'd them was dispatched after the others.

With the remainders of *Landereau's* Forces and seventeen *French* Ships; *Anthony* continued at the *Terceres* till towards the end of Autumn, when fearing to be block'd up in Winter by the Stormy Weather, or in Summer by the return of the *Spanish* Fleet, he sailed away for *France*. This time being both poor and unfortunate, he met with a more cold Reception then before, when he was able to scatter his rich Jewels amongst the *Grandeess* at Court, and give large promises to all the World. However he did not lay aside all hopes of recovering his Kingdom: in Anno 1588. with the assistance of Queen *Elizabeth*, he made another attempt, which succeeding but ill, he retired again into *France*, and spent the rest of his life there, under the protection of King *Henry IV*.

August, September, and October.

The following year accounted 1583. the Queen sent the Commander de *Chattes* with eight hundred Men only to the Islands *Azores*. He had at the same time to deal with the malignity of *Torres-Vedras*, and the Forces of the *Spaniards*. The extravagant *Torres-Vedras* ruined all his generous designs, and perished himself, being taken in the Mountains, and executed by the common Hangman; but the *Spaniards* gave quarter to *Chattes* and his Men. The barbarous and proud Islanders were handled as they deserved: all their Estates confiscated, and their Persons reduced to slavery, The Ecclesiasticks and Monks who had been the most active, were the most rudely punished; This appears by the Brief of Absolution obtained by *Philip* of the Pope for having put two thousand of them to death, as well in those Islands, as in *Portugal*.

1583. March, &c.

"Of a long time it had been observed that there was some error in the *Julian Calendar*, (that is to say reformed by *Julius Caesar*) for the *Bissexile* adding forty five minutes of an hour beyond the course the Sun makes in four years time, these put together made a whole day in 133 years; which at the long run would have perverted the Seasons and the Celebration of *Easter*, for the Equinoctial in Spring, which they had computed to be on the One and twentieth of *March*, was already fallen to the Eleventh of the same Month, so that at length *Easter* would have hapned to be in Winter, and *Christmas* in the Summer time. Several Popes had design'd to find some remedy, *Gregory XIII.* having set the most famous Astronomers at work for this purpose, retrenched ten days of this year 1582. and Ordained from thenceforward that in every 400 years there should be three days of *Bissexile* cut off, to wit, one day of each of the first hundred, to begin from the year 1700. The Protestant Princes rejected this method, as being Ordained by a Power they would not own: but the Kings Council approved it, and the Parliament Decreed it should take place this very year, and that the Tenth of *November* should be accounted the Twentieth.

1582.

"This year died three very considerable Persons, *Lewis* Duke of *Montpensier* surnamed the Good, *Arthur de Cosse* Marechal of *France*, and *Christopher de Thou* first President. This last had *Achilles de Harlay* for Successor in his Office.

Francis Prince Dauphin who was called Duke of *Montpensier* after the death of *Lewis* his Father, and the Marechal de *Biron*, had brought to the Duke of *Anjou* in the *Low-Countries* a re-inforcement of seven thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse, and himself had raised some Companies of *Reiters*. This was his last Stake and Hand: all his Credit and Friends were now drained, he had in this War consumed the whole Revenue of his Appenage, which was above Fifty thousand Crowns, and engaged himself for three hundred thousand more. The four Millions which the States raised for their Expences in War, went all out in fruitless Pensions, so that they there was not forty thousand Francs left clear to him. Besides this, he was placed amidst two Religions which shock'd each other most furiously, and both shock'd him, amidst the hare-brain'd and suspicious *Flemmings*, his own discontented Captains, the murmuring common People devoured by the Soldiers, the out-crying Soldiers starving for want of Bread, having worse Enemies amongst the surly *Flemmings* then the very *Spaniards*, the contempt and disobedience of both the one and the other Nation, and the secret Practises of the Prince of *Orange*.

He might call long and loud enough upon the King to send him more Supplies, the jealousies which the *Spanish* Council and his own darlings had instill'd upon the least good success, made him deaf to all he ask'd, and hardned him to an utter denial. The

1582.

D d d d

King

King of *Navarre* profer'd the King to carry the War into the very heart of *Spain*, to employ of his own for that purpose five hundred thousand Crowns, for which he would engage his Patrimonial Counties of *Rouergne* and *L'Isle*. Moreover to prevent all jealousy, he would make up his Army only of *Swiss* and such *Reiters* as were allied to *France*, and of *Fren. b* both of the one and the other Religion; Offer'd withall to leave the Command of it to some *French* Marechal of the Kings own chusing, and to send him *Madam* his only Sister, and the Prince of *Conde's* Daughter for Hostage. These Propositions did but give him more Umbrage, both of the one and the other, because it hinted some joynt interest and common concern between them: as on the other hand the threats which sometimes broke loose from the Duke of *Anjou's* Tongue in the height of his anguish, enraged the Favourites the more, and gave them some thoughts of contriving his ruine there, to prevent his revenge, in case he return'd.

So that when he sent to demand succours of the King, they obliged him to answer, That he should put himself in a condition to receive them, that he should make himself strongest for fear of being turn'd out by those Merchants, as the Arch-Duke *Matthias* had been; and what they counsell'd him on purpose to destroy him, the Queen Mother advis'd him to do to preserve him, pressing him to seize upon the best Places, and to settle his Sovereignty upon some solid foundation.

Those that Govern'd him more particularly were People without Honour and without Faith, amongst others *Quinsy* his Secretary, *Fervaques* and *Ouvilly* his Son in Law, a Youth, Son of one *Sergent de la Ferte* near *Blois*, whose Lute, Voice, Dancing, and other qualities more worthy of the esteem and affection of some Lady than a great Prince, had brought him in very great favour with his Master. These People ever keeping him at defiance with the Duke of *Montpensier*, and other Persons of Worth and Honour who would have been able to dissuade him from all unhandson or unjust actions, spurr'd him on perpetually with motives sometimes of revenge, sometimes of interest, to seize upon certain Places, of which they promised to themselves the Governments. Thus a young Prince of little conscience, and who saw himself reduced to great distress, resolv'd to follow their pernicious Councils, and gave his Captains order to seize upon seven or eight of the best Towns all on one day, which was appointed the Eighteenth of *January*.

The Enterprize succeeding upon *Dunkirk*, *Dixmude*, *Dendremont*, *Vilvoord*, *Alost*, and *Meenen*: but failed upon *Ostend* and *Bruges*. The Undertakers were taken at *Bruges* and confessed the whole Conspiracy: even that the Duke was to seize upon *Antwerp*, and the Person of the Prince of *Orange*, to force him to give back those Writings, by which he had obliged himself to leave him the Counties of *Holland* and *Zealand*. Those of *Antwerp* had also scented the Plot, and put themselves in Arms: nevertheless the Dukes Orders being to seize upon the Port of *Kornebergh* the nearest Gate to his Palace, that same day being the Eighteenth, and news of what had been done in those other parts coming to him late at night, he durst not defer it any longer.

Wherefore notwithstanding the intreaties of the Prince of *Orange*, he went out of the City with his Guards and two hundred Horse he had then about him, pretending to go to see his Army which was encamped near at hand. As he was passing along he makes a halt upon the Bridge, that so his Guards upon the Signal given might seize the *Kornebergh* Gate. Those Gentlemen that marched before him, turned back on a suddain, beat off the Burghers, and set Fire to the next House as their Beacon to the Army. In less then three quarters of an hour there were seventeen Companies of *French*, and six hundred Lancers within the City, crying out *Kill, Vive the Mass*, and, the Town is our own. But the Burghers who were prepared for it, come out of their Houses, chain up the Streets, make strong Barricades, set Courts of Guards in the Market places and Carrefours, and the Women fly to the Windows with Stones and such like Artillery. *Fervaques*, who with a hundred Horse thought to creep along the Rampart into the place before the Citadel unseen, meets at *St. Georges* Gate with five hundred Men well barricado'd who put him to a full stand; Two Companies of Foot which he set on to force them thence, were beaten off: in the mean time his retreat is cut off behind, so that he can neither go forward nor backward. The Prince of *Orange* coming thither, goes directly to him, masters him and leads him away Prisoner with his hands bound behind him.

His defeat greatly encouraged the Burghers. All without distinction either of Religion, Sex, or Condition, animate each other against the Common Enemy. The *French* are worsted every where, they betake themselves to flight: the precipitate

haste of those that fled out of the Town, with that of the *Swiss* who strove to come in to assist, made an embarras at the Gate; they crowd more and more, and stile one another. Several after they had run from place to place about the Rampers, finding no way to get out, and being closely pursued, were glad to leap down from the Wall. The Duke of *Anjou* beheld them with a great deal of pleasure, thinking they had been Burghers, when he found they were his own, and at the same time heard the snoring of two or three Volleys of Cannon scowring through his Troops: then he thought it high time to recall his *Swiss* and retire, leaving fifteen hundred of his Men, whereof three hundred were Gentlemen, stark dead upon the place, and two thousand shut within the City.

The Prince of *Orange* and the mercy of the Burghers saved the lives of these last: for so soon as there was no more resistance, they endeavour'd to secure them, assist the wounded, and withdraw those that lay in heaps at the Gate, some of them yet gasping for life; and even within three days after sent those Prisoners to the Duke with a great deal of civility. *Fervaques* only ran great hazard: the People who believed him to be the Author of that infamous Treachery, would have torn him in pieces, if the Prince of *Orange* under pretence of strictly guarding him, had not lock'd him in a Chamber within the Castle strongly barr'd with Iron, and placed two Files of Soldiers at his Door.

The attempt failing, the Duke of *Anjou* touched at least with shame and confusion if not with remorse and repentance, retired to the Castle of *Berken* with the rest of his Forces who yet made up ten thousand Men, and from thence wrote Letters to the Deputies of the States, wherein having reminded them of his Services, and much exaggerated the contempt and unhandson treatment he had received from them; told them the indignities done to him that very day, had put his People out of all patience, and cast them into those disorders, for which he was extremely troubled; That he had not yet in the least changed the good will he had by so many effects expressed towards them, of which he was desirous to give them notice, intreating they would send him an account of their last Resolutions, that he might take his measures by their Answer.

The States resolv'd some Deputies should be sent to him, and *Orange* obtained they should suffer Provisions for his Army to be carried after him. This favour having lasted but two days, he thought of gaining *Dendremont*, but those of *Antwerp* hinder'd his passage over the *Scheld*, and when afterwards he would have taken his way by *Vilvoord*, those of *Malines* let go their Sluces: so that his unfortunate Army was constrained to expose themselves to a march through that great Tract of Water, not without loss of above three hundred Men. In fine after they had trudg'd near thirty leagues with incredible difficulties, though it was but seven leagues distant by the direct road, they arrived at *Dendremont*, which served them as the second Plank after their Shipwrack.

The Queen Mother, the Queen of *England*, and the King himself, for the honour of the *Fren. b* Nation, mediated and interposed to allay the fury of the *Flemings*, and palliate the fault of the young Prince. So much was effected by their Negotiations, that the States fearing he should give up to the *Spaniard* those places he yet held, agreed with him by a Provisional Treaty: That he should have ninety thousand Florins to pay his Army, provided he would retire to *Dunkirk*, and remain there whilst they endeavour'd an Accommodation; and in the mean time surrender *Dendremont* and *Dixmude*.

They thought with the assistance of his Forces to raise the Siege of *Eiendhoue*: but *Biron* who commanded them, being ill seconded, and withall unprovided of every thing, was not in a condition to perform it, but had enough to do to struggle for two whole Months together with his necessities. Nevertheless the Duke of *Parma* durst not attaque him in his Camp near *Rosendale*. Mean while the Disorders increas'd daily in those Provinces thorough the contrariety of Sentiments, and diversity of the Interests of the States Deputies, who agreed in nothing but their outcries against the *French*. Therefore after the Duke of *Anjou* had for two Months languished in his melancholy abode of *Dunkirk*, expecting their ultimate Resolution in vain, he Embarked the Eight and twentieth of *June*, to come to *Calais*.

Two days after his departure, the *Ghentois* blinded by their obstinate hatred against the *French* and the Catholick Religion, shut up *Biron's* passage, whereby he might have gone to the relief of *Dunkirk*, so that it surrendred upon Composition; and after that *Neuport*, *Furnes*, *Dixmude*, *St. Vinox's Bergh*, and *Meenen* fell into the hands of the *Spaniards*. These losses redoubled their out-cries, and mutinies in

D d d d d a

Ghent

1583.
January.1582.
December and
January.1583.
January.1583.
February, &c.

April and May

June.

July.

Ghent and Antwerp, in so much as the Prince of *Orange* not finding himself any longer secure in *Antwerp*, prudently retired into *Zealand* with all his Family the Two and twentieth of *July*, having first assigned the States General to meet at *Middeburgh*.

July and Aug. A Month after, *Biron* went likewise out of the Country with his Troops, and led them to the Duke of *Anjou* who was in *Cambresis*. He made signs as if he would have raised more: but this was only to have some pretence not to come to Court, though the King had sent for him. His last act had cover'd his face with so much shame and confusion, that he avoided the sight of all Mankind, wandering from place to place like one bereft of his senses, and was not able to admit his own Mother into his presence, who went on purpose to seek him out. Thus did he waste the last six Months of this year, the King taking little thought for him, as knowing the only remedy for these Escapades is the neglect of them.

1583.

But himself troubled with Hypochondriacal Vapours, (which affect the Brain, render the Mind feeble and inconstant, possess it with fantastical and airy Visions) had suffer'd himself to be led away with a humour of Devotion as little serious as unbecomming his Dignity. A Cloister was his most usual Retreat, Processions and Fraternities his most frequent Exercise, and Pilgrimages his greatest Expeditions; From these Devotions he would often in an instant leap into his pleasures afresh, and had even found out the art to blend them together; During the *Carnaval* he went by day about the Streets in Masquerade, and at night into the Houses, where a thousand youthful frolics were acted; then in *Lent* he went in Procession with the Penitents.

This year he erected a Fraternity at *Paris*, named Penitents of the Annunciation, because he began it on that day. They marched by two and two in three Divisions, of blew, black, and white, cover'd with a Sack, or Frock of those colours, having a Vizord on their Faces, and a Whip in their Hands, or at their Girdle. The Cardinal de *Guise* carried the Cross, all the Grantees of the Court, even the Chancellor and Keeper of the Seals, were of them: but not one of the Parliament would be present, lest they should seem to countenance and authorise this Foreign Novelty.

The People were too well acquainted with the disorderly and licentious lives of the Courtiers, to be moved with these superficial shews of Devotion: and moreover those loads of Oppression laid upon them by the Minions in new Imposts, creation of Offices, and violent Taxes, which were raised (a thing unusual in this Kingdom) without any Verification of the Sovereign Courts, whetted the most slanderous Tongues and Satirical Pens both against them, and against their Master. *Joyeuse* and *Espernon* level'd at the Duke of *Anjou* whose grandeur was an obstruction to their vast designs, and the *Guises* were agreed with them on this point; *Espernon* shock'd the *Guises*, and was shock'd by them upon all occasions: but *Joyeuse* would hold in with those Princes, because he had Married a Wife of that Family, or rather because he desired to make himself Head of the League, and gain the support of so strong a Party. The Queen Mother had a mortal hatred both for the *Guises* and for the *Minions*, but she declining in her power, found her self under the necessity of making use both of the one and other to ascend again. She trod the same path to her dying day; yet she endeavour'd to preserve the Duke of *Anjou* whom either of them sought to ruin, and studied to bring him once more to the management of Affairs for her own ends, though she were resolv'd not to let him hold it long. Such was the disposition of all Parties then.

1583.

The King himself had put the first thoughts of dividing his Kingdom betwixt them, into the heads of his brace of Favourites, as if they had been his own Children. *Joyeuse* had conceived a design to get *Languedoc*, and to joyn the Comtat of *Avignon* to it; and to this effect was resolv'd by the Authority of the King, to oblige his Holiness to Excommunicate the Marechal de *Montmorency* as a protector and favourer of Hereticks, and to give him the Comtat in exchange for the Marquisate of *Saluzzes*. Now that he might not refuse him this, he had contrived an intrigue to seize upon it, by means of *William Paris* Bishop of *Grace* Favourite of the Cardinal d' *Armagnac* the Popes Legat in those Countries: but the Mine being discovered *Paris* was assassinated by order from *Rome*.

Joyeuse did not give over the pursuing of his point, and finding he could get nothing but ambiguous answers from *Rome*, he resolv'd to go thither himself to negotiate this Affair with the Pope, imagining that the splendour of his favour, and the gallant propositions he would offer for the exaltation of the Pontifical Authority, would obtain all he desired. He was magnificently received at *Rome*: *Lewis* Cardinal d' *Est* presented him to his Holiness, he respected him as the Favourite of a very

very potent Monarch: but for the rest did not comply with any of his demands, except a Cardinals Hat for the Archbishop of *Narbonne* his younger Brother.

The King stiling him his Brother in his Letters of Recommendation, the *Venerians* upon his return rendred him as much honour as if he had been a Son of *France*, the Dukes of *Ferrara* and *Mantova* treated him in the same manner, and all the Cities of *France* where he pass'd made him their Compliments as they were ordered to do: nevertheless the vexation of mind he brought home with him for the Popes denial, or as some others will have it, an unfortunate trick of youth, cast him into a long fit of Sicknels, which made him so lean, and so ill-favour'd, that it was some time ere he durst appear before the King, with whom during this interval his Rival had gained so much advantage, that he might easily have quite supplanted him, had he not feared some other might come into his place, whose more auspicious favour might perhaps have thrust him out likewise.

1583.

Queen *Margaret* was then at Court, where she could not forbear making feuds and practising her wonted malice: A Courier whom the King sent to *Joyeuse* in *Italy*, July, being kill'd upon his Journey, and his Letters rifled, the King suspected it was by her contrivance, and resolv'd to be revenged by defaming her, as she endeavour'd to vilifie him. He reproach'd her publicly of her familiarity with *James de Harlay Chauvallon*, said he kept certain Ladies about her that were her Confidants, whom he called *precious Vermine*; then some few days after commanded her to go to her Husband, and upon the Road, sent a Captain of his Guards who searched her very Litter, pull'd her Masque off her Face, and seized upon two or three of her Domestick Servants and brought them before the King with two of her Dames. He examined them each apart concerning the manner of Life and Conversation of his Sister, then sent them to the *Bastille*.

The King of *Navarre* could easily not resolve to receive his Wife thus defam'd; he press'd the King to chastise her himself if she deserved to suffer such Indignities, if not to clear her of those Scandals: the King without offering to make out any thing, repeated his absolute Commands; and the Marechal de *Matignon* having invested him in *Nerac* by privately conveying Garrisons into all the places thereabout, forced him to receive her.

August, &c.

The Expences of the Favourites were excessive, and the depredations of the Finances, even by those very Men that managed the Treasury, much greater yet. This ill Husbandry begot such an extream scarcity of Money, that often times there was not enough to furnish the Kings Table, and if we may so say, the Pottage-Pot stood often topsy-turvey. His Flatterers pretended the People loved him so infinitely, that whenever he did but signify his wants, all would untie their Purse Strings to assist him; It was for this purpose, but under colour of redressing the present Disorders, that he the precedent year, had sent to visit the provinces by Persons of Credit and Probity, who with smooth and fine Harangues, concluded always with a touch upon that String, but to very little purpose.

When he found that Project would not take, he called an Assembly of Notables to *St. Germain en Laye*, thinking thereby to gain the good will of the People, and let them know that if he had sent Commissioners, it was not so much for his own Interests, as to hear their Complaints and do them Justice.

1583.

The Assembly was divided into three Chambers, each of them having a Princee of the Blood for President; The Affairs were all distributed, which they reduced to certain Heads, as well for the Reformation of the Clergy, the Nobility and the Judges, as for the Administration of the Government, and regulation or dispensation of the Finances. There were very excellent Propositions tendred; as to set aside all sale of Offices and Employments; to assign punishments for all such as should invent any new Imposts or Creations; to purge the Kings Council of those that had any Combination with the Parties belonging to the Finances, and to prevent all under-hand villanous dealing therein: *Chiverny* had introduced that fraudulent practise amongst them ever since he had had the Seals, endeavouring thereby to procure both Employment and Authority to himself, as not having so much as he desired in Affairs of State.

Septemb. &c.

The Clergy were not forgetful in demanding the re-establishment of Elections, and the publication of the Council of *Trent*: as to the first point, all those that thought it much easier to acquire favour and interest, then merit and learning stood up against it: and for the second the Chapters, Parliaments, and the Kings Council made Head and opposed it; so that they obtained neither the one nor the other. As for the rest, the King established four Councils, i. e. the Council for Foreign Affairs, the Council of State, the Council de *Finances*, (or the Treasury) and the Privy-Council.

Council. They were composed of Men of the Sword, of the Church, and of the long Robe, to whom he prescribed even the fashion of their Garments both for Winter and Summer, and assigned them two thousand Livers *per Annum* Wages.

The remaining part of the year was spent in settling these Regulations and divers other Orders, the multiplication whereof in France hath never had any other effect but the multiplying of Abuses and Grievances. In the mean while the Three and twentieth of November died the Cardinal *Rene de Birague*, aged Seventy four years, who said of himself, That he was *A Cardinal without a Title, a Priest without a Benefice, and a Chancellor without the Seals*; (for in the year 1578. he had given them up to *Chiverny*) One might have added, *A Judge without knowledge in the Law, and a Magistrate without any Authority*, because in truth he had no learning, and bowed his Head like a tall Reed to every blast of Court wind, having more respect for a Valet in favour then to all the Laws of the Kingdom.

"A famous Ingenier named *Louis de Foix*, Native of *Paris*, but Originally of the Country whose name he bare, began this year to build the *Phare* at the mouth of the River of *Bordeaux*, near the ruins of another Tower which was named the Tower of *Cordonan*. Two years before he had done great service towards the Trade of *Bayonne*. The Sea had brought such vast quantities of Sand into the old * *Boucaud* of the River *Adour*, that she had forsaken that, and had made her self a new one, but longer and more tortuous, by which she discharged her self into the Sea at *Cape-breton*: He forced it by strong Banks, to take the former way, which is much the more commodious and in a direct line.

The greatest apprehension King *Philip* lay under, was, lest the *Low-Countries* should give themselves up to the King of *France*, rather then fall again under the tyranny of his Governors. Every one desired it, the honest *Frenchman*, to remove the Civil War out of the Kingdom, the Favourites in hatred to the Duke of *Anjou*, and the *Huguenots* to avoid the mischiefs threatned by the League. This was it made *Philip* endeavour and try by all means and ways to set *France* on fire first to prevent them from doing so in his own Countries. It is said, that having found amongst the Papers belonging to *Don Juan* of *Austria* some kind of Treaty between that Prince and the Duke of *Guise*, he threatned the said Duke he would reveal his secrets to the King, unless he would contract the like private Intelligence with him, and would at the same time have obliged him to take up Arms: but could not engage him to the last particular neither by his Menaces, nor by his Prayers.

Having missed his end that way, he took another quite contrary one: and would needs make the *Huguenots* rise, addressing himself to the King of *Navarre* profering to give him fifty thousand Crowns a Month, and two hundred thousand for advance. That King gave Ear to him for a while: but on a sudden repented it, and gave information to the King.

This was because they had put another design into his Head. *Gebard Truchses* Archbishop of *Colen*, had Married and struggled hard to keep both his Wife and his Bishoprick too: which induced him to embrace the Religion of *Calvin*, whose Principles allow the joining those two things together, which are not compatible in the *Roman* Church. It concerned the reputation of the Protestant Party to maintain him in his Archbishoprick: the King of *Navarre* fancied therefore that it might prove a considerable business to unite all the Princes of that Religion to undertake his defence, and to this end he solicited and exhorted them by a famous Embassy.

His design was by all applauded, but seconded by none: so that *Gebard*, who in the beginning had some advantage, being forsaken by all the World, even by *Casimir*, who was busie about getting the possession of the Palatinate after the death of the Elector *Lewis* his elder Brother, was turned out of all the places he held, and retired to the *Hague* in *Holland*, experimenting at leisure and to his own cost that a Wife without an Estate is a thing much more inconvenient then a Benefice without a Wife.

The King of *Spain* continually pressed the *Guises* to rivet themselves more closely to him. And to engage them, he let them see a Treaty of *Montmorencies* which was then on foot: who being push'd at by *Joyeuse*, (he undertaking to thrust him out of *Languedoc*) had indeed made application for his secret protection. Besides the Favourites shock'd them every hour, and stripping them day by day of their Offices and Governments, hurried them to despair: nevertheless considering the inconveniencies and peril such are liable to who take up Arms against the King, they could not yet resolve to play so dangerous a part.

Though

Though the Duke of *Guise* knew that the Duke of *Anjou* hated him to death, yet he forbore not to tempt him with divers Propositions, for it would have been of infinite advantage to have had a Son of *France* at the Head of his Party. The Duke of *Anjou* listened for a while to his profers: but when it was least thought on or expected, they were amazed to behold that Prince upon his Knees before the King humbly craving pardon for his faults. This was in the time of *Carnaval*, which fell out this year about the latter end of February: but he staid not above seven or eight days at Court, and then returned to *Chateau-Thierry*.

After this his Health continually impaired, a confirm'd Phtisick troubled him so grievously, that he went seldom out of Doors, and his violent Cough having burst a Vein in his Breast, he lost so much Blood as cast him into fits of fainting the Twentieth day of May. After which accident he yet languished twenty days more with a slow Fever, then gave up his Soul the Tenth of June. He carried with him to his Grave the Tears and Sighs of those unhappy People who had assisted him in the War of *Flanders*: for he died in Debt Three hundred thousand Crowns, and the King would rather vainly expend two hundred thousand on his Funeral then pay one Penny of his Debts.

Many imagined that his Death was not Natural, and said this was the first Act of that Tragedy whereof *Salsede* had made the Prologue. Now that which gave most credit to such Discourse, was two horrible attempts which were set on foot at the same time; One against Queen *Elizabeth* by a Natural Englishman named *William Parry*, who had undertaken to kill her in her Park, but he was detected and punished; the other upon the Prince of *Orange*, who was unfortunately kill'd by Pistol-Shot in his own House, by one *Balthazar Gerard* a Native of the *Franche-Comte*, and an Emisary of the *Spaniards*. *Philip* the eldest of that Princes two Sons, being then in the *Spaniards* hands, where he was held a long time, the States gave the second, named *Maurice*, the Government of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *West-Frise*, together with the Admiralty, though he were scarce Eighteen years of Age.

As *Monsieurs* Life gave the Queen Mother work enough, put some stop to the ambition of the *Guises*, and lull'd the King of *Navarre* asleep, his Death quite changed the whole Scene and Interests of those Factions. It seemed already as if the succession of the Crown were open, the whole World knew the King was incapable of getting Children by reason of his debility proceeding from a Distemper which made him shed his Hair. The Queen Mother who little valued the Fundamental Laws of *France*, would needs call the Children of her Daughter by the Duke of *Lorraine* to the Crown; she had sounded the Kings mind upon it, and endeavour'd to persuade him, that there remained but little of the Blood Royal beyond the sixth degree, which must needs become very cold and languid at that distance, that the *Bourbons* were no more of his Parentage then by *Adam* and *Eve*, and that it would be more natural to leave the Succession to his Nephews, then to Persons so far off. There is some likelihood she might have succeeded in her intentions, had the Duke of *Lorraine* and his son, but inherited as much courage, and as many noble qualities as the Duke of *Guise* was Master of.

This Man seemed to take no notice of her design, but made her hope he would serve her in all things: but as he loved himself better yet then the elder Branch of his own House, he consulted his own proper advantage. Now because he had no right or title of his own to intermeddle in the Affairs of the Kingdom, he thought it convenient to make use of the Cardinal *Charles de Bourbon*, whom he possessed with the opinion that he was presumptive Heir to the Crown, as being nearer by one degree then the King of *Navarre* his Nephew, representation taking no place in a Transversal Line, so that this good Man hated his Nephew as his Rival, and hugged and look'd upon the Duke of *Guise* as a powerful Friend who helped him to make out his Right.

The King was well informed of all these practises by the King of *Navarre*, and the more he found them desirous to keep that Prince at distance, the more he thought it his Interest to draw him nearer: but to remove and take away all manner of pretence they could have whereby to render him odious to the Catholics, he would willingly have brought him back into the bosom of the Church, before he called him to Court. To that end he sent the Duke of *Espernon* to him, who strove to persuade him by Arguments of Interest, which ordinarily are most prevalent with Princes: but his Ministers and the Consistorians deterr'd him from it, and perhaps he apprehended the King did not proceed sincerely, and that they only felt his pulse, to try whether they could divide him from his old Friends. Wherefore *Plessis Mornay* to satisfy their Con- gregations, whom this Conference had hugely allarmed, caused it to be publish'd to

February and March.

May and June

July.

1584

1584

November.

1583.

* The Country word for the Mouth of the River.

July.

1583.

October and Novemb. &c.

to the great displeasure of the King, and the disadvantage even of his own Master.

For the Leaguers began to report that *Espenon* was not gone thither to convert, but to confirm him in his Heresie; that he took a pride in continuing obstinate in his Errors; and that the King chalking him out the way to oppress the Catholick Princes, he would certainly if ever he attained the Crown overturn the ancient Religion. They bawled much louder yet when they were made acquainted that by his means the King was agreed with *Montmorency*, at the very time he was raising *Manto* to fall upon that Marechal, and that shortly after for his sake only, had prolonged the time for restitution of those places which had been given to the *Huguenots*.

Their Emisaries made this sound high amongst the People, the Preachers thunder'd it in their Pulpits, the Confessors whisper'd it in the Ears of their Penitents, and their Libels insinuated the same to all their Readers. To these supposed subjects of Declaration, they cast in the Protection of *Geneva*, the Order of the *Garter* sent by Queen *Elizabeth* to the King, and a pretended League made by the Protestants at *Magdeburgh* for the defence of *Gebard Truchses*. Then after they had stained the honour of the King by all the inventions they could think of, they highly recommended the Piety, Courage, and goodness of the *Lorrain* Princes, whom they termed Bucklers of their Faith, and the Fathers of their Country and People.

October, &c.

Then having heated the Zealous, stirr'd up the Factions, and persuaded the Simple, they began to rise, to lift Soldiers, hold Assemblies, elect private and nameless Chiefs, upon whose summons by Ticket such as were enrolled were to meet at certain appointed places, to renew the League, first at *Paris*, then in the Provinces. The Duke of *Nevers* was he who laboured most to shape it into some form and regular method. In a few months it grew formidable, and in a condition to declare: nothing was wanting to compleat their Authority but a confirmation from the Pope: Father *Claude Mathew* a Jesuit, carried the Platform and Memoirs of it to *Rome*, the Cardinal *Peive* presented it to his Holiness, and the Spanish Cardinals did second it, or hugg'd it rather, as we may say, in their Arms. The Pope did not reject it at first: but whether he were afraid of alarming the Protestant Princes, and offend the King to such a degree as to make him enter into Confederation with them, he would not countenance it by any publick Act, but thought it enough to entertain them with hopes.

1584.

Besides the cause of Religion, the extraordinary oppression of Impost favour'd it extremely: all other pretences and practises of the *Grandeess* had been of little efficacy to move the People, had they not been grievously molested. The loads that lay upon them were insupportably heavy in comparison of those in former Kings Reigns; the King had made Edicts for more than fifty Millions, of which not so much as two ever came into his Coffers; and the Gifts in this year 1584. amounted to five Millions of Gold. Wherefore to satisfy the People upon their menacing Complaints, he suppress'd sixty four Edicts which had been verified in Parliament, abated seven hundred thousand Livers of the *Tailles*, moderated his profusion in some measure, and erected a Royal Chamber for inquiry into the Accounts of the Financiers. Which would have afforded matter of great joy to all honest Men, had not the event made it plainly appear, that they pursued and inspected those Harpies rather to get some share in their Prey, then to hinder the like Depredations for the future.

Observing how the *Guises* by their caresses had gained the favour of the People, he affected during some Months to appear Popular; he shewed himself in publick and with a smiling and gracious Countenance, caressed the Deputies from the several Cities, and the principal Bourgeois of *Paris*, assisted at the Fraternities and solemn Masses, but this borrowed Humour was soon spent, and he throwed himself within his Cloiet as before.

December.

The Duke of *Espenon* with some of the Council, had made a Party to seize upon the Duke of *Guise*: he had notice of it and retired to his Government of *Champagne*, carrying his Nephew along with him: the Cardinal his Brother followed soon after. The Spanish Agents took advantage of this juncture, and never let them rest, till they had made a secret Treaty with them. It was negotiated at *Joinville*, and concluded the last day of *December* of this year 1584.

"It contained a Confederation and League Offensive and Defensive between King *Philip* and the Catholick Princes, for them and for their Heirs, to preserve the Catholick Religion, as well in *France* as in the *Low-Countries*. That when the Death of *Henry III.* should happen the Cardinal *de Bourbon* should be installed in the Throne, and that all Heretical Princes relapsed should for ever be excluded; That in such case

"case the new King should renew the Treaty made at *Cambray* in 1558. should banish all Hereticks by publick Edict, cause the Decrees of the Council of *Trent* to be observed, renounce both for himself and his Successors all Alliance with the *Turks*, hinder the Cities belonging to the *Low-Countries* to be put any more into the hands of the *French*, and aid the Catholick King to reduce *Cambray* and the Rebel Cities; Reciprocally the *Spaniard* should furnish the *French* Princes with fifty thousand Pistols per Month, and should advance them four hundred thousand from six Months to six Months, for which the Cardinal *de Bourbon* should be accountable if he attained to the Crown.

1584.

Besides this Sum, the Agent of *Spain* caused several others to be paid to the Duke of *Guise*, which he scatter'd about with a free hand to gain those of whom he stood in most need. There were few, yea, very few indeed, in all *France* that were not to be bought, could he have paid down but the price demanded: but as all the Gold of *India* had not been sufficient to purchase and satisfy all that were Venal, there hapned to be multitudes who enraged that they had been neglected, or less valued than others whom they esteemed much beneath themselves, turned the other way, and became sworn Enemies to this *Guisean* Faction.

1585.
January.

After the States of *Holland* had wasted a great deal of time in deliberating under whose Dominion they should seek a shelter, that might be able to guard and secure them from the oppression of the *Spaniard*, having lost the Cities of *Bruges* and *Ghent*, and the Duke of *Parma* holding *Antwerp* invested, they sent some Deputies to the King to intreat he would accept them for his Subjects. The Spanish Ambassador employ'd all his Efforts to hinder them from being admitted to Audience: however he could not: the King heard them, received their Propositions in Writing and promised to return his Answer. Then did the *Spaniards* press the Duke of *Guise* to declare himself, and could have no more patience with him till he had thrown his Masque aside.

When therefore he had put the Cardinal *de Bourbon*, (the best Card in his Hand) into a place of security, the Nobility of *Picardy* having been to fetch him at *Gaillon*, whence they carried him to *Peronne*: he put forth a Declaration the Eighteenth of *March*, not Signed by any one; then observing little credit was given to it, because it had no name, he put forth a second, bearing that of the Cardinal *de Bourbon*, together with the names of those Princes, Prelats and Officers, whom he said to be his Assistants. Many faults were found with this also, and having to deal with People of various minds, they changed and alter'd it again and again, so that there were hardly twenty Copies to be met with that were alike.

March.

1585.

At the same time the Duke plaid his Game; *Verdun* and then *Toul* were surprised by *Guitaud*: but they failed at *Metz* where the Duke of *Espenon* had put things in good posture. Himself secured *Chaalons* and *Mezieres*, the Duke of *Anjou* most of the Cities in *Picardy*, *Brissac* that of *Angiers*, *Entragues* secur'd himself of *Orleans*, the Duke of *Mayenne* of *Dijon*, and some others in *Burgundy* by himself, and of a great many Cities and Castles in *Dauphine* by the Nobility of the Country, whom he had charmed with his magnificence and civility. The City of *Bordeaux* barricado'd her self to drive out *Matignon*, but that wise and prudent Lord, making use first of his Intreaties till he had drawn his Men together, then of his Commands when he found himself the stronger, caused the Barricado's to be pull'd down, and so seized upon some of the most Mutinous, whom notwithstanding he pardon'd. Some few days after he craftily allured *Vaillac* Governor of the Castle *Trompette* to come thither, and forced him to surrender the place.

Dariez second Consul of *Marseille*, had promis'd in the absence of the first, to make himself Master thereof; the Duke of *Nevers* was to have had that Government, and to facilitate the Enterprize, had sent four of the Duke of *Florence*s Gallies thither crowded with Foot-Soldiers, who had cast Anchor without the Chain of that Port, expecting the Signal for execution. Now *Dariez*, by means of one certain *Boniface*, had raised a great Tumult in the City, and seized upon the Castle of *Nostre-Dame de la Garde*: yet did not carry the business on, or follow his first blow with vigour, but kept up the Commotion for three days without compleating his design: In the mean while a notable Man named *Francis Bonquier*, who had great credit with the *Marseillois*, having got all his Friends together, besets him in a Court of Guard, and carries both him and *Boniface* away Prisoners to the Town-Hall, so that the Grand Prior coming the next day with the Count *de Carces*, they brought them forthwith upon their Trial. In one day they were Examined, Condemned, and Hanged by Torch-light.

April.

E e e e

The

1585. The Duke of *Nevers* came to *Avignon*, as was conjectur'd, to encourage in the Enterprize; yet some have thought his Voyage had another motive; Being of a tender Conscience, he desired, say they, before he engaged farther in the League, to know whether it were truly the work of God; and that he might be certain, would try whether the Pope would give it his approbation. Father *Matthew* the Jesuit, (called the Courier of the League) made two or three Journeys one soon after another to *Rome*, to obtain a Bull for it; in default of a Bull he demanded a Brief, and in default of a Brief a Letter only, that the Duke of *Nevers* might have a sight of it in the Vice-Legats hands. This was the occasion, as some believe, of that Princes going to *Avignon*: but Father *Matthew* lost all his labour, he could neither obtain Brief nor Bull.

Nevertheless there is a Letter to be seen, lately made publick, making mention that the Pope did not think good they should attempt upon the Life of the King, but only secure his Person, to seize upon his Places under his Authority; whence two things may be deduced, (if at least it were not an Imposture of that Couriers to engage the Duke) the one that the Pope at the bottom did not discountenance the League; although he durst not declare himself for fear of the consequence and because of the uncertainty of the success; the other that the League had made some proposition against the Person of the King, and that the Duke of *Nevers* was not ignorant of it. However it were, the Enterprize of *Marseilles* failing, he made a Journey to *Rome*, and from that time, as some write, or within a year afterwards, utterly renounced the League; and thus having offended his Brother in Law the Duke of *Guise*, he necessarily became his Enemy.

April.

The Kings Council did not proceed all upon the same foot: *Espernon* and his Partisans would have them attaque the League without intermission and without any quarter; on the contrary such as did dread the Duke of *Guise*, or hated *Espernon*, were of opinion to temporise. The King at first followed *Espernons* advice, but soon after falling into his natural softness, and persuaded by his Mother, he relaxed so far, as to give Commission to that Princess to go to *Espinay*, find out the Duke of *Guise*, and Treat with him.

His Order was she should oblige him to lay down his Arms before she entred upon any Negotiation, on the contrary the Duke of *Guise*s design was to gain time that he might draw his Forces together. Which he craftily practised for ten or twelve days together: then in short told her neither himself nor Friends would quit their Arms till they were satisfied in their demands, and immediately took Horse to meet his *Reifters* who were then upon the Frontiers.

Scarce was he out of sight when *Rubempre*, either for not being well paid, or for being so by both sides, labour'd to debauch the old Cardinal *de Bourbon* from him; no sooner had he a hint of it but he returned in post-haste to prevent it. In the mean while the King of *Navarre* puts forth Manifesto's, to shew the justice of his Cause, in one of which he offer'd the Duke of *Guise* to decide this Quarrel between them two, with such number of Seconds, and in such place the Duke would make choice of, either within or out of the Kingdom. But the Duke was too wary a Man to be picqued with a bravado which would have reduced the general Cause to a particular one; he protested he honour'd the Birth and Merits of the King of *Navarre*, that he had no contest against him, and that he only concerned and interested himself for defence of the Catholick Religion.

1585. These Manifesto's however had a great effect upon the Spirits of such as were not then engaged to either Party, and brought in great numbers; and besides the Forces of the League were beaten and dispersed in divers Provinces, the Duke of *Montpensier* cut off five hundred Men commanded by the Baron *de Drou*, who lived at discretion in his Dutchy of *Chastelleraud*; the Duke of *Joyeuse* beat along before him the Troops of the Duke *d'Elbauf*, from *Touraine* even to *Normandy*, where they were totally dispersed; and *Espernon* getting on Horseback, as soon as he was cured of an Imposthume above his Jaw on the left Cheek, pursued four thousand Men, who had their Rendezvous about *Orleans*, so smartly, that they could never form themselves into a Body.

The heat of those who had declared for that Party began to cool, the Volunteers to retire to their own homes upon pretence of an approaching Peace, the Kings Servants to draw many by secret practises, and the *Huguenots* to raise Forces under-hand by the Kings tacite permission. The *Guises* perceiving that such Negotiations were ruinous to them, and that it was for those very ends they spun out the Treaty to such length, address'd a Petition to the King, demanded an Edict against the Religionaries, and protesting they were joyned together for no other purpose, and thereupon rashly break

break off the Conference, mount their Horses, and put new warmth and spirit into their Party, principally those who dwelt in great Cities, and such as were of the Clergy who had most dependance upon *Rome*.

The King whom they had made believe that the whole Party was unhing'd and scatter'd, fell from the greatest security into the greatest consternation. He sends the Queen Mother Order to conclude with them upon any terms whatever. For this a Conference was held at *Nemours* between her and the Duke of *Guise*. *Espernon* would needs be present, fearing lest his Head, or his proscription should be one Article of the Treaty; and this necessity of the times made that haughty Spirit stoop, though contrary to his usual custom: but the Duke would take no advantage unless it were to shew him more civility, and more respect; with design perhaps either to get him on his side, or else render him suspected by the King.

1585. They did not only give the Heads of the League that Edict they demanded against the Religionaries (this was in the Month of *July*) and the full command of the Armies to execute the same: but also the Cities of *Chaalons*, *St. Disier*, *Reims*, *Toul*, *Verdun*, *Soissons*, *Dijon*, *Beaune*, *St. Esprit*, *Rue* in *Picardy*, *Dinan* and *Concarneau* in *Bretagne*. To the Cardinals of *Bourbon* and of *Guise*, the Dukes of *Guise*, of *Mayenne*, and *d'Elbauf*, each of them a Company of *Arquebusers* on Horseback for their Guards; an hundred thousand Crowns to build a Citadel at *Verdun*, and double that Sum to pay off the Men they had levied in *Germany*; as likewise a discharge for what Moneys they had taken of the Kings.

Hitherto the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* had lain quiet without stirring in appearance: the publication of this Agreement gave them cause, to League themselves anew with the *Mareschal de Montmorency*, whose ruine must necessarily have followed theirs, and to send also into *Germany* for the raising of *Lansquenets* and *Reifters*.

Now the King being just ready to be crushed betwixt two potent Parties, who were going desperately to engage each other, could think of no other expedient to avoid that destruction, but to draw the King of *Navarre* to him, to serve as a Bulwark against the League. He therefore sent some Deputies to tempt him a second time; but he could not be wrought upon, neither to return to the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, nor to suspend the Exercise of his own Religion for six Months, much less to surrender the Cities he held for security; He only promised to meet at a Conference with the Queen Mother, when they could agree upon the place of Interview.

Though Orders were given out to prosecute the *Huguenots* in all parts of the Kingdom, nevertheless in several Provinces the Governors knowing the Kings intentions, did not much press the execution of the Edict: *Montmorency* and *Chastillon* restrained *Languedoc*; *Matignon* made no great haste to do any thing in *Guyenne*, but only took care to prevent the King of *Navarre* from making any stir. The *Huguenots* had no other general word but *Vive le Roy*, and white Scarfs with the *Flower-de-Luce* for their Liveries. As to the rest they were weak enough every where, unless it were in *Daufine* and *Poitou*. In *Daufine* *Lesdiguieres* who had put all things in order in good time, took *Chorges*, *Montelimar*, and *Ambrun*, and in *Poitou* and *Saintonge* the Prince found himself in a capacity to besiege *Brouage*.

Whilst he lay before it news was brought him how three Captains had seized on the Castle of *Angers*, having by a base and cruel piece of treachery kill'd the Governor, who was their Friend: but they were immediately besieged by the Citizens, then by *Brissac* and *Joyeuse*. The Prince thought it would be a noble exploit to gain a place at that time so considerable, he would needs go himself with the best part of his Forces: but not willing to abandon the Siege of *Brouage*, he left a small Naval Army there in the Canal, and fifteen hundred Men in the Trenches; to which we may add that the Inhabitants of the Islands offer'd to defend them in case of necessity. He had hopes the Vicount *de Turenne* would in a few days bring four or five thousand Men more out of *Limosin*, and that he would undertake the management of the said Siege in his absence.

Now being eleven days in giving his Orders, and above fifteen in his march, he found the Castle of *Angers*, wherein there was but sixteen Men, had capitulated two days before his arrival. His want of diligence which made him lose so fair an opportunity, had almost utterly ruined him too. For having amused himself two days in attempting the Suburbs of *Angers*, and two more in composing some quarrels between certain Gentlemen, he found when he thought to repass the *Loire*, six great Boats filled with Soldiers upon the River, and five hundred Horse on the other shoar, who were disposed to cut off his Men as fast as they should venture to get over. He knew likewise that *Brissac* coasted him, and that *Joyeuse* was at his Heels; in so much that

1585.

July.

September, and October.

1585.

being beset on all sides; he was forced to divide his Army into small Parties and let them get off as well as they could. Most of them shifted away securely enough, but all the Carriages and his Bagage was left in the Highways, or in Woods and Hedges: the Chiefs with very few in their company slipt happily by the Enemy, some one way, some another without the loss of so much as one. As for the Prince, going down by the Country of *Mayne* into the *Lower-Normandy*, he took shipping between *Auranches* and *St. Malo's*, passed over to *Jersey* Island, and from thence into *England*.

The unfortunate event of this Enterprize made the Forces that were before *Brouage* disperse as soon as the *Mareschal de Matignon* approached; and likewise those under the *Vicount de Turenne*, who disbanded them for fear of being embarrassed between the Duke of *Mayenne's* Army which entered *Poitou*, and that of *Matignon*. So that in those parts the *Huguenots* had no more left but two thousand Men commanded by *Laval* one of the Sons of *Dandelot*, together with *la Boulaye*, who after they saw the miscarriage of the design upon *Angers*, were got over the *Loire* in good time.

1585.

October and November.

The Kings Edicts which seized the Goods, and which gave Order to lay hold of the Bodies of all those that had taken up Arms for the service of the Prince of *Conde*, and commanded them to leave the Kingdom, did yet more increase their consternation. There were many abjured, according to a form prescribed and drawn up by the Bishops, and many who repaired to the King of *Navarre*. This Prince finding that all was like to fall upon his Shoulders, laid aside all former jealousy against the Prince of *Conde* which some Flatterers had possessed him withall, and joyned more strictly to him then ever.

Some Months before a Thunderbolt from the Coast of *Rome* was level'd at the Heads of both those Princes. *Sixtus V.* succeeded *Gregory XIII.* who died in the Month of *April*. He was of a haughty Spirit, and one that delighted to attack those that were highest thereby to exalt his own name and power: so that consenting to the Requests and instant desires of the League, which his Predecessor had constantly refused, he sent forth a roaring Bull against the Princes, in a stile conformable to his Humour and to the grandeur of the Subject. He declared, "Henry, heretofore, King of *Navarre*, and Henry Prince of *Conde*, (whom he stiled the Bastard and detestable Generation of the illustrious House of *Bourbon*) "Hereticks, Relaps'd, "Heads, Abettors and Protectors of Heresie, and as such fell under the Censures "and Peins contained in the Holy Canons, and therefore deprived of all Seigneuries, "Lands and Dignities, and incapable of succeeding to any Principality, namely to "the Crown of *France*, disengaged their Subjects from their Oaths of Fidelity and "Allegiance, and forbid them to pay any Obedience, upon pain of being involved "in the same Excommunication.

This Thunder-clap which one would guess should have been fatal, proved less hurtful to them then to the Holy See. For it excited not only the *Huguenots*, but even Catholics zealous for the ancient Truths and Liberties of *France*, to search to the very bottom what Authority this was that Popes had over Sovereigns, who found it was not such in the Councils and in the Canons as *Rome* imagined and pretended. Besides it gave the Excommunicated Princes an occasion to shew the bravery of their courage; for they found means to post up a Paper in the very Streets and Carefours of *Rome*, containing their oppositions, and appeal from that Sentence, viz. for the Temporal Concern to the Pairs of *France*, and for the Crime of Heresie, to the future Council; Before whom they cited the Pope, and declared him Anti-Christ if he did not appear. This Bull did likewise awaken the King with some apprehension, lest it should be an attempt to dethrone him; he put a stop to it, and would not suffer it to be published in the Kingdom. It were to be wished he had so order'd things as to have obliged the Pope to revoke it absolutely, as the Council of King *Charles IX.* did oblige *Pius IV.* to revoke one he had sent out in the year 1563. against Queen *Jane d'Albret*.

November, and December.

The League had compell'd the King to let them have two Armies to fall upon the Princes. The Duke of *Guise* commanded one towards the Frontiers of *Champaigne*, to prevent the coming in of any succours from the Protestants of *Germany*; with the other the Duke of *Mayenne* entered *Saintonge*. *Matignon* joyned him with those he had raised in *Bourdelois*: but instead of strengthening him he clogged and thwarted him continually, not only because he had private instructions from the Court to do so, but for spite another should have command in his Government.

All

All the places of *Poitou* and *Saintonge* were greatly dismayed at the Princes absence, and the King of *Navarre* on his part extremely perplexed, for that his own Wife had revolted against him: However she not acting in consort with the Court, it was not difficult for him to drive her quickly away. She retired into *Auvergne* with some Gentlemen; There she ran divers Adventures, and remained in that Country till her Husband recalled her to make her consent to the dissolving of their Marriage.

As to the Duke of *Mayenne*, *Matignon* was so stiff in his opinion they ought not to undertake any thing during the Winter, that they separated their Forces as soon almost as they were joyned. The Duke went with his into *Perigord* to clear it of some paltry Retreats which sheltered a company of Robbers, and the *Mareschal* led his own back again to *Bordeaux*, to defend that Town from any attempts of the King of *Navarre*, or rather the Dukes.

The following Month of *February*, *Matignon* besieged the Castle de *Castels* upon the *Garonne*, at the request of the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, and sent word to the Duke of *Mayenne* it was high time to advance towards those parts. The Duke after he had taken some small Castles, which are not so much as mentioned in the Maps, passed the *Dordogne* at *Souillac* with a design of besieging *Montauban*: but when he understood it was too well fortified, he fell upon certain pitiful beggerly places, without name and without defence.

1586.
February and March.

In the mean while the King of *Navarre* made them raise the Siege of *Castels*, and the Prince being return'd from *England* with ten good Ships, and fifty thousand Crowns: lent him by Queen *Elizabeth*, disengaged *Rochel* which was in a manner block'd up, and surprised *Royan* which yielded him two hundred thousand Crowns contribution yearly.

The Sixth of *March*, though amidst the greatest hurry of his Affairs, he Married *Charlota* Daughter of *Lewis de la Trimouille*, and by that means brought into his Party the Duke *Claude* his Wives Brother, and all the Friends of that potent House.

1586.
March.

The Duke of *Mayenne* lost near two Months time in waiting to surprise the King of *Navarre* when he should come on this side the *Garonne*, or go to visit the Countess of *Guiche*, with whom he was desperately in Love; and to that purpose had distributed his Horse in several Posts all along his way.

During this the Prince undertook to ruine the Harbour of *Brouage*; and in effect; he sunk so many Hulls of old Ships, that he choak'd it, and made it, as it is yet to this day, very difficult and dangerous to enter.

Matignon does a second time lay Siege before *Castels*. When he was just upon the point of taking it, the Duke of *Mayenne* runs thither to rob him of that honour, which increased their enmity and feud. The *Mareschal* pretended Sickness that he might not see the Duke: who in the mean time making his approaches to *Montsegur*, which hindered all commerce and passage into *Limousin*, *Perigord*, and *Quercy*, fell really sick, and was carried to *Bordeaux*, leaving to him the command of his Army. During his absence *Montsegur* surrendred the Fifteenth of *May* upon composition, which was but ill observed.

May.

All along the Month of *June* the Army lay idle, because *Matignon* jealous the Duke should be in *Bordeaux*, returned immediately and dismissed the Companies d'*Ordonnance*. When the Duke was well again, they jointly besieged *Castillon*: the Siege was long, toilsom and difficult, the Soldiers being dissatisfied abandoned the Trenches, the Generals were fain to lie themselves there twenty days successively. In the end the place was taken; they made good their capitulation with the Soldiery, but a certain number of the Inhabitants were sent away to the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, who condemned them to the Gallows.

June.

The same year the *Vicount de Turenne* regained it one fair night, forcing his way with a Petard: which gave the *Huguenots* occasion to brag that they with two pounds of Powder and in one quarter of an hour, did what the League could not but in two Months time, and with twenty pieces of Cannon.

This was all, the greatest Captain of the League could perform in nine Months. Perhaps it was no fault of his; He had no Money, for the Clergy within three Months time were grown quite weary of furnishing them, and the Pope contributed nothing but his Benedictions. He wanted Equipage, Artillery and Provisions, Ammunition, and had against him all things that usually ruine the great designs and reputation of Princes, for his Troops did often mutiny, his Captains quarrel'd with each other, his Colleague was jealous and suspicious, and the secret or Cabinet Council, from whence, if we may so speak, all those Animal Spirits ought to flow which keep life in an Army, mortally envenomed against him.

1586.

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He knew this but too well, and therefore, even trembling with rage, he demanded to be dismiss'd and press'd it so home that he obtain'd it. The Duke of Guise did in vain urge him by all imaginable Arguments to prevent it; he could have wished he would have remained in those Countries either for the reputation of his Party, or for fear he should gain the affections of the People of Paris, and deprive him of the voluntary Empire he had acquired over that spacious City.

Whilst he was in Guyenne, the Duke of Guise made use of the Army he had on the Frontiers of Champagne, to seize the Cities of Rancour and Douzy upon the Duke of Bouillon; On the other side the Duke d'Aumale having armed the Picards, (passionate Leaguers) seized on the City of Doullens, and of Pontormy, which is a passage upon the Soan below Pequigny.

The Favourites jealous to see the whole power of the Sword in the hands of the Guises their Enemies, desired the King he would likewise give them such Command; which he granted the more willingly as intending to raise them, and turn the affections of the Soldiery that way, who do more cheerfully follow plentiful Tables, and favour, the Mother of Rewards, than the bravest Captains. He had raised an Army that was to purge Auvergne, Vexelay, Givaudan, and from these Countries pass into Dauphine: this Employment was designed for the Marechal d'Aumont; Joyeuse courted it so eagerly that the King could not deny it him.

He must also give the like to the Duke d'Espernon, and withall a Government as well as to Joyeuse, who had already that of Normandy. The Government of Provence becoming vacant by the death of the Grand Prior, he instantly provided him with it. This Grand Prior had harbour'd a mortal resentment against a Gentleman named Alouity. One day spying him at a Window of an Inn, it was at Aix, he goes directly up into his Chamber, and runs his Sword quite thorough his Body; Alouity feeling himself mortally wounded, lost all Respect with his Life, and plunged his Sword into the Priors Belly.

So many Forces could not be maintained without a prodigious Expence, there was Money enough raised to defray it: but the Kings luxury, and the greediness of the Favourites, were such gulfs as swallowed up all. Paris had furnished two hundred thousand Crowns for this War, this lasted but eight days, the alienation of fifty thousand Crowns Revenue belonging to the Clergy, very little longer, no more then forty thousand Crowns Rent of the Demeain. They would have raised more upon a creation of new Offices, and they sent twenty seven Edicts at once to the Parliament, which were the Lees and Refuse of such as had been invented by the Italian Brokers for twenty years past. But these were all rejected, and this attempt served only to discover the weakness and the injustice of the Government.

The Swiss and the King of Denmark in the first place, then the other Protestant Princes of Germany, sent to the King a solemn Embassy, to desire him to grant a Peace to the Huguenots, pursuant to the Tenour of the Edicts of Pacification. Knowing not what to reply, he for some time avoided the sight of those Ambassadors, and went to Dolinville, having given Order that some Noblemen should go meet and conduct them to Paris; Then from Dolinville, under pretence of some indisposition, he went to the Waters of Pongues, and from thence even to Lyons. But being pressed by their continual instances, he was constrained to return, and in fine he gave them an Answer, but very crude and very disobliging, whether to satiate his Honour, or not to discontent the League, I know not.

He endeavour'd during these delays on the one hand to appease the fervour of the League, making them great profers, and on the other to bring back the King of Navarre, representing to him that his absence from the Court would keep him from the Crown, and gave the Leaguers too much confidence and advantage: but he could gain nothing neither of him nor of the Leaguers. These having held a general Council of their Party at the Abby of Orcam near Noyon, refused those places of security and other great advantages he offer'd them. At their departure thence the Duke of Guise attack'd the Duke of Bouillon, and invested the City of Sedan, as being one of the principal Heads of the Huguenots, and giving the Reisters passage through his Countries. However the Queen Mother, who Negotiated eternally betwixt the two Parties, procured a Truce between them, imagining that by this obligation she might incline the Duke of Bouillon to serve the King towards the Protestant Princes, and hinder their Army from entering into the Kingdom.

As for Joyeuse he could reckon amongst his Exploits nothing but five or six paltry Places; after which Winter coming on he put his Forces, half diminished by Sickness, into quarters. Having made a pompous flourish before Thoulouze, he left the conduct to Laverdin, and came post to Court.

The

The Duke of Espernon was more fortunate then so. The Parliament of Aix had taken the Government of Provence, and Vins having got some Forces together, offer'd him his service. He had an opposite Party, of Huguenots and Male-contents, of whom Francis d'Oraison Vicount de Cadenet, and the Baron d'Alemagne, were the Heads. Now it hapned that Vins pursuing them with too much heat, and besieging the Castle of Alemagne, was defeated by Lesdiguieres who came to their relief; which did marvellously help Espernons business, and gave him so much advantage over either Party, that he became both the Arbitrator and Master, at least for that present time.

Winter approaching, he returned to the King, leaving the Command to Bernard Lord de la Valette his eldest Brother, who had it already in Dauphine; where he was no less active to ruine the Party of the League, then that of the Huguenots, by turning out such Governors as either of them had placed there.

In the Month of December the Queen Mother had a Conference with the King of Navarre and the Prince of Conde at St. Bris, which is within two Leagues of Cognac: She had according to her custom, carried in her Train a good number of the finest Women of her Court: but this time the Princes avoided the Nets she thought to spread for them by those alluring Charms, stood firm in maintenance of their Religion till they might have the judgment and determination of a National Council, and demanded the rupture of the League: the Queen on the contrary declared that the Kings positive resolution was that there should be but one Religion in his Dominions.

The Guises perceived plainly that the Kings main Resolution was to ruine them, and although he did not love the Huguenots, nevertheless he would tolerate them as an indirect opposition to their progress; wherefore they caused him to be decried by their Emissaries and by their Preachers as an Abettor of Hereticks, and proclaimed every where, because he had courted the King of Navarre for an Accommodation, that he conspired with him to oppress all the good Catholics.

The inferior People, who the more ignorant they are, the more they must be meddling still with matters of Religion, grew hot enough of themselves; the Directors and Confessors animated the Citizens, who were both foolish and credulous, at their Confessions, or by the Persuasions of their Wives, and entertained them with Congregations, Confraternities, Paradises and Oratories which they adorned with Plate and Jewels, Images and Agnus Dei, and with Processions which they caused to come thither from Brie, Champagne, and Picardy. These all made their entrance into Paris clothed in white Linnen, bearing Wax Candles in their hands, from whence they called this year, *The year of white Processions*.

It was not so much wondred at to see the People led away thus with false and pretended Devotions, as that the King authorized them by his example. He went perpetually on Pilgrimage to divers parts of the Kingdom, walked in Procession on foot in the Streets of Paris in the habit of a Penitent, wore a String of huge Beads, or Chaplet, at his Girdle, each Bead being carved like a Deaths Head, shut himself up in certain Oratories with the Hieronimites (whom he had sent for out of Spain) or with the Fenillants, who were Bernadines of a new cut begun in the Abby of that name within the Diocess of Rieux in Languedoc. He built Cells for the first in the Bois de Vincennes, and lodged the others in the Fauxbourg Saint Honore, upon one side of the Garden of the Tuilleries.

Amidst these pious Divertisements, he amused himself likewise in carving of Images, casing them, and setting them up in some Closet. He had another Pastime also, which was to buy and breed up little Dogs, such as are wont to be the vanity and delight of Ladies, in which he expended above a hundred thousand Crowns a year, and little less in Monkeys and Perroquets. There were a world of People that followed the Court with all this dainty Equipage, and himself during the last years of his life * carried a Panier or little round Basket on a Scarf full of little Spaniels and the like Creatures, which he often cherished with his Voice, and by stroaking them.)

Espernon raised to the highest degree of favour, from which Joyeuse began to decline, was ever pushing on the King to destroy the Guises, and they in retaliation having conspired his ruine, framed divers Projects for it. He had so much craft as to persuade the King they were all Contrivances against his Sacred Person; and by that means prevailed he should ever keep above him that famous Band of *Forty five**, whom he chose himself, perhaps for that very end which the event will shew us. They were all Gascons, whom the desire of making their own fortunes, had fitted for any undertaking, Lagnac being their Captain. It is credible that the knowledge the Guises had of those intentions, did the more engage them to that unhappy necessity of fortifying themselves against an Authority that was to be employ'd to ruine them.

Notwith-

December.

1586.

* Vide, The Memoirs of Sully, Vol. 1. Fol. 79.

* Quarantecinq.

1587.
January, &c.

(Notwithstanding the embarras of Factions and an open War, the Court of France forbore not to pass the Winter-time merrily in Feasts and Ballets. Their greatest grief was they could not compleat one Ballet of a great invention, which the Queen Mother brought from *Guyenne*, because they wanted Money. The little Court of the King of *Navarre*, which was then at *Rochel*, did likewise make a great effort, and fivell'd, if we may so express it, like the Frog in *Esops* Fable, that they might not fall short of the Kings in those sumptuous Divertisements.

1587.

"During these jollities came news of the Tragical Death of *Mary Steward* Queen of *Scotland*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* her Cousin German, caused to be beheaded, by the common Executioner the Eighteenth of *February*, after she had kept her Prisoner eighteen years. The indiscretion of her Friends were no less the cause of her misfortune than the horrible wickedness of her Enemies: for as the first fought with violent passion after some plausible pretence to ruine her, the other furnished them with divers, by contriving every hour some odd design, and even conspiracies against Queen *Elizabeth*, so that they made her perish by their over much care and endeavours to save her.

Sentence had been pronounced against her three Months before Execution: During which time the King omitted neither to persuade, nor to intreat Queen *Elizabeth*, to forbear that fatal stroke no less prejudicial to all Crowned Heads, then shameful to France, whereof *Mary* was Queen Dowager. The League however forgot not to calumniate the King for this very business, and to accuse him of connivance with *Elizabeth*, and at the same time made use of the horror of that Act to animate their People the more against all the Religionaries.

May, &c.

At the return of Spring, *Joyeuse* who was now become one of the hottest Heads of the League, went and made War in *Poitou*: He there surprised two Regiments of the Prince of *Conde's* in the Burrough of *la Motte Saint Herain*, and after they had surrendered at discretion, cut them all off; He then took *St. Maixan*, and *Tonnay-Charente*, and that done returned to Court, that he might not wholly lose the remainder of his favour.

But ill-fortune followed him close at Heels. Being in the Kings Closet, relating his brave feats of War, one of his Men came and told him the King of *Navarre* had defeated one part of his Army, and pursued the other as far as *la Haye* in *Touraine*. Some few days after *Catharine* the Wife of *Henry* Earl of *Bouche* his Brother, who was Sister to the Duke of *Espermon*, sinking into the Grave under the burthen of her pious Austerities, the Husband renounced the World, and thrust himself into a Convent of Capucins. The Duke was very sensibly affected with it; but that which vexed him most, was that the King redoubled the marks of his affection towards his Rival, by Marrying him to *Margaret de Foix*, who having some Alliance with all the Princes of Christendom, had been sought for by many. She was Daughter of that *Lewis de Foix* Count of *Candale*, slain at the Siege of *Sous-Mieres*, and *Mary* Daughter of the Constable of *Montmorency*.

1587.

Now the Protestants having held a great Assembly at *Luneburgh* upon the offensive Answer the King returned to their Ambassadors, were agreed to send a powerful supply to the *Huguenots* whose general Rendezvous was in *Alsatia*. Never had they taken Arms with so much heat, Mothers carried their own Sons to the Officers to be enroll'd, the Sisters sold their very Rings to fit them out, and the Country Peasants fill'd them with good cheer wherever they met them.

July.

Upon the general review made nigh *Strasbourg*, the Army was found to be twenty nine Cornets of *Reisters*, making six thousand Horse, five thousand *Lansknechts* all Pikemen, and sixteen thousand *Swiss*. Four thousand were already gone into *Dausine* to reinforce *Lesdiguieres* who were all cut in pieces near *Vizilles* by *la Valeta*, *d'Ornane*, and *Mesplez*. There were besides this two thousand Foot and four thousand *French* Horse raised by the Duke of *Bouillon*, without counting two thousand Men more of the same Nation, who joyned them soon after, and eighteen hundred brought by *Chastillon*.

To this huge Body there wanted only a Head sufficiently authorized to conduct it, *Casimir* retained the general Command that he might appoint as he found fit: but not able to go in Person, placed in his stead *Fabian* Baron de *Dona* a Gentleman born in *Prussia*, and trusted the Conduct of the *Lasquenets* with one Doctor *Scrogel*. The Duke of *Bouillon* was Lieutenant General amongst them for the King of *Navarre*, *Anthony de Vienn* Colonel of the *Swiss*, *Chastillon* of the *French* Infantry, and *John de Chaumont* *Guitry* *Mareschal* de *Camp*. *Dona* had a great many good qualities, but little credit with the Soldiery, *Scrogel* had yet less, the Duke of *Bouillon* not much more, as being yet so very young; the other Captains

Captains had eternal quarrels with each other; nor did the Court omit to foment those seeds of Division, and to cast in new ones, which caused the destruction of that Body made up of such different pieces.

One can hardly express those troubles the King suffer'd in his mind, upon the approach of this inundation of strangers. After he had strove in vain, to satisfy the Duke of *Guise*, who came to him at *Meaux*, he was forced in despite of his unwillingness to resolve upon the War. It was named *The War of the three Henries*, because he, the King of *Navarre*, and the Duke of *Guise* were all of that Name. To this end he sent for all his Companies d'Ordonnance, who were to the number of near an hundred and threescore Bands, made Levies within his own Kingdom, and without, and divided his Forces into Three Bodies. One he gave to the Duke of *Montpensier*, another to the Duke of *Guise*, to guard the Frontiers of *Champagne*, and reserved the other to go in Person, and defend the passage over the *Loire* against the *Germans*. 1587.

The King of *Navarre*, after the first defeat of *Joyeuse's* Forces, was come to *Montforeau* in *Touraine*, to receive the Count de *Soissons*, whom he had drawn to his side, upon the hopes of Marrying his only Sister. He had designed to have gone from thence to meet the *Germans*, but his Council thought it much better he should go back into *Guyenne*, to give order for the security of his Places, and then return, by the favour of those Provinces who were friends, and so march as far as *Burgundy* to receive those succors.

The Confederate Army, so were the *Germans* called, having cleared their passage thorough the straits of the Mountains *Vosge*, * which the Duke of *Lorraine* had encumbered, easily entred into the Country: but when they were so got in, shewed their own weakness but too much, by all those rebukes they received before the meanest Castles. * 'Tis the proper term.

The Duke of *Guise* shewed the like: He had vaunted, how upon the least sound of his Trumpets he would bring Threescore thousand Men under his Banner; and yet all the Duke of *Lorraine* and himself could raise, (together with the help of their best friends) amounted not to Ten thousand Men: But indeed his courage supplied that defect of numbers. August.

When the Confederate Army had ravaged *Lorraine* for a Month together, after several deliberations full of confusion and tumult; they took a resolution to come and pass the *Loire*, without having any regard to the intreaties of the Duke of *Bouillon*, who would have employ'd them for the regaining of those Places wherewith the Duke of *Guise* held him as it were continually besieged. They sojourned Ten days at *Bassigny*, from thence advanced towards the head of the *Seine*, and passed it above *Chastillon*, and *L'Yonne* at *Maily*: but disorder and mutinies being already crept in amongst them, they refused to pass the *Loire* at the Foord de *Navy*, as the King of *Navarre* had desired, and which would have been very easy for them, the Waters being extremely low; They chose rather to descend into *Beaune*, because the *Reisters* might run scouring about at their pleasure, and the great abundance of Corn and Forage would afford them wherewith to refresh themselves.

It was great pity to behold France so miserably ravaged by Five or Six Armies at the same time. The Duke of *Joyeuse* led one into *Guyenne*, the King of *Navarre* had another there; *Matignon* a Third, *Montmorency* and *Lesdiguieres* each of them one, the first in *Languedoc*, and the other in *Dausine*. The Prince of *Conty*, brother to the Count de *Soissons*, gathered Forces in *Anjou*, and the Countrey of *Mayne* to make up one. The King had his own, whom he went to about mid-October. It consisted of Eight thousand Horse, half *French*, and half *Germans*, Ten thousand Foot raised in the Kingdom, and Eight thousand *Swiss*. With these he lined the shoars of the *Loire*, and effectually prevented the enemies from finding such another opportunity as they had already lost, to pass over the same.

Near *Montargis* they had some hint of the great Victory obtained by the King of *Navarre*. After that Prince was returned into *Guyenne*, the Duke of *Joyeuse* had express Order from the King to follow him close, and to hinder him from joyning his Forces together to meet the *Reisters*. To which purpose the King had given him a re-inforcement of Ten thousand Men, and order'd *Matignon* to joyn him with all those he could draw out of his Government. This *Mareschal* had perhaps, a desire rather to annoy, then to assist him in gaining of Honour: yet it is certain he was within two days march of him, when that young Lord, intoxicated with the praises of his Flatterers, and the loud boasts of his zealous Preachers, hastned to give Battle, and overtook the King of *Navarre*, between the little Rivers of *Drongne* and *P'Isle*.

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The two Armies drew up their Battallions in the Plain near *Contras*; this was about Eight of the clock in the Morning, upon the Twentieth day of *October*. The shock lasted but half an hour; the Princes running speedily in upon them, rendred *Joyeuse's* great Squadron of Lances useles, and press'd so hard upon his amazed *Gentles d'Arms*, that they could never come to do execution, but were soon cut in pieces. The Infantry lost their courage when their Cavalry were lost, they presently gave ground, were routed, and most of them put to the edge of the Sword, in revenge of *la Mote Saint Herais*. The Duke of *Joyeuse* having generously taken a resolution to dye by the Cannon, fell into the hands of two Captains, who killed him in cold Blood, though they were proffer'd a Ransom of an hundred thousand Crowns. In a word, the Royalists lost Cannon, Bag and Baggage, Ensigns, almost all their Chiefs, and Five thousand Men who died upon the place; amongst whom, there were Four hundred Gentlemen and Officers. The King of *Navarre* had not above Five and twenty or Thirty of his Men missing. The Prince of *Condé* was thrown off his Horse with a rude thrust of a Lance, which did much incommode him. It was the act of the brave *St. Luc*, who not able to make his escape, and fearing to be roughly treated by the Prince his capital Enemy, laid him thus on the ground, and having first forc'd him to ask his life, afterwards surrendred himself prisoner.

The valour of the King of *Navarre* signaliz'd it self much more in this days battle, then did his Conduct in improving the advantages of it: Since very far from drawing directly towards the foreign Army, as the Prince of *Condé* would have had him, undertaking (if they would let him have Men) to go and seize upon the passage at *Saumur*: he lets his victorious Army separate, contenting himself with taking an Oath of his Captains, that they should meet again the Twentieth of *November*, on the confines of *Angoumois* and *Perigord*, to march towards the *Reistres*. He only retained Five hundred Horse, and taking the Count *de Soissons* along with him, pierced into *Gascogne*, whither the violent Love he had for the fair Countess of *Guiche*, attracted him as it were perforce.

The news of the victory of *Contras* had not those effects, or that influence as might well have been imagined; either on the Court, nor in the Confederate Army; the King shewed little sorrow, perhaps, because all that perish'd in that Fight, were of the Leaguers: He made however a magnificent Funeral for *Joyeuse*; and as for the Forces of the Confederate Army, they were so discourag'd by the length of their March, and for that they heard the King of *Navarre* had turned his back upon them, instead of coming towards them, that they had little joy of the news.

Their *Reistres* mutined from time to time, and the *Swiss*, who in the beginning appeared very zealous, treated an accommodation for themselves in particular, promising to retire into their own Countrey, if they would pay them Four hundred thousand Crowns.

That which made them in such haste to be gone, was the defeat of the *Reistres* at *Auneau*; this is a small City in *Beauvais*, enclosed with ill-favour'd Walls, but which hath a pretty good Castle. The Baron *de Dona* had lodged himself in the City, and all the rest of the Army in the adjacent Villages, but could not gain the Castle, and had satisfied himself with taking the Oath of him that was within, that he would commit no act of hostility against him. The Duke of *Guise* was always in the rear of this Army with Three thousand Men, having sent back the Duke of *Mayenne* into *Burgundy*, and *Aumale* into *Picardy*, that they might cover the places there from any surprize of the Duke of *Espernon*. The twenty fourth of *November*, a little after Mid-night, the Captain of the Castle gave his Foot entrance into the Town; they presently forced the *Reistres* barricado's, who having only Pistols, could not defend themselves against Musquets and Pikes. There were near upon Two thousand of them kill'd in the Streets, or in their Lodgments, and all their Baggage plundered. *Dona* with as much courage as good fortune, pierced, he being the Tenth, thorough the enemies, before they had shut up the City Gates, and so saved his Person, and his Great Cornet.

This Army half defeated, and ready to be forsaken by their *Swiss*, pursued their march by going up the *Loire*. They received a second check at the Bridge of *Gien*; *Espernon's* approach struck so great terror in the *Lansquenets*, that Five and twenty of his *Arquibusers* disarmed Twelve hundred of them. The remainder kept on their march by *Morvan*: but they discompos'd themselves by the fatigues and difficult ways of those Countreys, so very much, that they hardly kept together in any warlike Order. This extreame misery forced them to accept of an accommodation offered them by the King; *Chastillon* refused to be comprehended, and retiring with

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an hundred and twenty *Maistres*, and an hundred and fifty *Arquibusers*, before the Articles were Signed, got to the *Vivarets*, having also beaten some Troops of *Mantdelots*, Governor of *Lyons*, who would have barr'd their way to *Rivirien*.

The Accommodation made, the *Reistres* and Chiefs of the Confederate Army were splendidly regaled at *Marsigny les Nonains*, by the Duke of *Espernon*. Going from thence, they divided their Forces into two Bodies, part of them crossed the Countrey of *Foriz*, and a corner of the Duke of *Savoy's* territory, who allowed them passage: The others took their march by *Burgundy* and the *Franche Comte*, with such diligence, that they deceived the Marquis *du Pont*, and the Duke of *Guise* who watched them, and got into the County of *Montbeliard*. Some Companies slipping from thence into *Lorraine*, gave occasions to those two Princes to sack that Countrey most horribly, and to put above Ten thousand People to the edge of the Sword.

The Prince of *Conny* did with much difficulty get into the Countrey of *Mayne*, marching with a small Train, and his white Cornet folded up in his Valise, and lodging in Gentlemens Houses as a private Person. *Clervant* trudg'd away with his *Swiss*, and the Duke of *Bouillon* to *Geneva*; they both languished to death in a short while after; common report accused the Feast at *Marsigny* for it. The Count *de la Mark*, younger Brother to the Duke, died before in *France*, upon his march with the Confederates Army.

The Duke of *Bouillon* * had only one Sister named *Charlotte*, to whom he left his Estate, but he ordained by his Will, that she should not Marry without the consent of the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé*, and the Duke of *Montpensier*, and substituted to her, that Duke and his Son, the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince successively, upon condition, that neither she nor they should not innovate any thing in the Religion. He named *la Noüe* Executor of his Will and Testament, made him Guardian of that Princess, and Governour of his Sovereign Territory: But as divers weighty Reasons hindered this prudent Lord from going into that Countrey, so soon as he could have wished, the Pupil was much oppress'd, and almost ruined.

Although that little State were worth at that time but Forty thousand Livres Rent, nevertheless it was sought for by a great many pretenders. *Robert de la Mark* *Maupevrier*, Uncle to the Pupil, said he had a Right by a tacit Substitution in favour of Males, which he affirmed to be in that House: The King of *Navarre* had an interest to marry this Heyress to a Prince of his Religion: the Duke of *Montpensier* as the nearest Heir, would have put Garrisons into the places to secure them; and the Duke of *Guise* strugled to get it by force of Arms; yet notwithstanding, demanded the Heires for his Son.

He was the most dangerous of all the Competitors: Six weeks after the death of the Duke, he attack'd this petty Estate, made grievous havock about *Sedan*, and besieged *James*. The first three Months he did but invest it, afterwards he besieged it more closely, and then again the valour of those that defended it, enlarged that Siege to a Blockade. In fine, *La Noüe* being arrived in that Countrey, found it safest to surrender it upon composition, the Town only, not the Castle, which yet held out a long time, and surrendred in fine to the Duke of *Lorraine*: but this was not till a little before the death of King *Henry*.

The Catholique party chanted nothing but the praises and triumphs of the Duke of *Guise*, thorow out all Christendom: The Pope presented him with a Sword, graven all over with Flames, marks of his zeal and valour, and the Duke of *Parma* with a Suit of Armour, and this Elogy, *That it belonged to none but Henry of Lorraine, to call himself Head of the League*. All *Paris* echo'd with the loud noise of his victory over the *Reistres*: but amidst this popular applause, he had one mortal displeasure, that the King sought every occasion to pluck him down, and list *Espernon* his Enemy to the highest pitch of Grandeur.

The Duke of *Joyeuse* had had the Government of *Normandy*, and the Admiralty; when he was slain at *Contras*, the Duke of *Guise* pretended to have some relique of his Shipwrack, and therefore earnestly demanded the Admiralty for *Brissac*: But the King, after he had given him some fair hopes, invested the Duke of *Espernon* with that Office, and the Government of *Normandy*; as also that of *Caen*, and *Havre de Grace*; and likewise gave him all the Spoil belonging to *Bellegarde* his Cousin, mortally wounded at *Contras*, i. e. the Government of *Angoulesme*, of *Xaintonge*, and the Countrey of *Aulnis*.

1587.

1587.

November.

November and December.

1587.

* His name was Robert.

December.

From January to the end of the year, 1588.

1587.

November. and December.

1588.
January.

The Duke of *Guise* was more stung and pierced that the Favours were done to his Enemy, then for the denial to him. Wherefore in a great Assembly of the Princes of his House, and the Chiefs of the League whom he had summoned at *Nancy*, upon the First day of *January*, of the year 1588. It was resolved, that they should make a Petition to the King, wherein amongst other Articles, "He should be summoned to joyn more openly with the Holy League, to put away both from his Presence, and from all Offices and Governments, such as were enemies to the Publique, and abettors of Heresies, which should be named to him, to cause the Council of *Trent* to be published; to establish the Holy Inquisition; to command the Clergy to redeem their alienated Lands; to consign such places as they should name, into the hands of certain persons, where they might build Forts; and to maintain an Army on the frontiers of *Lorraine*, to hinder the *Germans* from returning any more.

Espernon having had contest in the Council with *Peter d'Espinae*, Arch-Bishop of *Lyons*, and *Villeroy* Secretary of State, even to the giving them outrageous Language, made the King lose those two most important Servants, who Declared when occasion offer'd.

March.

The League was not a little strenghtned by it; as the *Huguenots* party was much weakned by the death of the Prince of *Condé*; amongst whose Virtues one cannot tell whether it were Courage, or Liberality, Generosity, or love to Justice, or Courtessie and Affability that had the preheminance. He died the Fifth of *March* at *St. Jean d'Angeli*, his ordinary Residence, being poyson'd by his own Domestique Servants.

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The Judges of the place, by an Act above their Power, and against all forms of Law, involved *Charlota-Catherina de la Trimonille* his Wife in this crime, and made Procefs against her, so far, that she had lost her life, had she not proved to be great with Child. It was of a Son, of whom she was happily deliver'd the First day of *September*, six Months after the death of his Father. She was afterwards still detained in the same place till King *Henry IV.* ordered her to appear before the Parliament of *Paris* who declared her innocent, and caused all those proceedings to be burnt, as being injurious, and not to leave any footsteps for slander.

April.

It was now above a year and half since the King resolved to make an exemplary punishment of the Heads of the League, who had stirred up Seditions, and contrived strange Designs, even, as he verily believed, against his own Person. They were called the *Seize* (i.e. the *Sixteen*) because they Abetted and Governed that Party in the Sixteen Divisions, or Wards of the City of *Paris*. The Duke of *Guise* had left Forty or Fifty Gentlemen with them in his behalf, to give them Orders, and take care for their defence; and these had provided Arms, and raised Money privately, to be employ'd upon occasion. These People informed of the Kings intentions, sent to the Duke of *Guise*, to implore he would come to their assistance. He was then departed from *Nancy*, and come into *Picardy*, to justify his Cousin the Duke d'*Aumale* in that Government. For having held it by provision in the life-time of the Prince of *Condé*, he would not resign it after his death, whilst the Duke of *Espernon*, on whom the King had bestowed it, endeavour'd to wrest it out of his hands.

May.

While the Duke of *Guise* was at *Soissons*, the King dispatched *Belieure* to sound his intentions: but some important Affair having called that Minister back to the King, he went away without concluding any thing, and promised he should hear news of him within three days; and indeed he wrote twice, but sent his Letters by the Post, instead of an Express Courier, so that the Duke might plausibly pretend he did not receive them. During these transactions, the Sixteen pressing the Duke earnestly to come to their aid, because the danger was very nigh, he parts from *Soissons* with only Seven Gentlemen, wisely avoids *Philibert de la Guiche*, Grand Master of the Ordnance, who went to seek him on behalf of the King, and arrives at *Paris* on Monday the Ninth of *May* about Noon. He alighted at the *Filles Repenties*, where the Queen-Mother at that time was.

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She leads him immediately to the *Louvre* amidst the croud and acclamations of the People, who flocked about him as their Protector. The King informed of his coming, deliberated, whether he should put him to death, and it was known he had resolved it: but whether he had not time to give his positive Orders, or whether the sight and presence of so formidable a Person, who always kept his hand upon the hilt of his Sword, and by his fiery and piercing looks, did forewarn them, that if they made the least attempt, he would fall directly upon the Author of his death, they offer'd not to touch his Person. This visit was spent in accusations and re-

proaches

proaches on the Kings part, and in justifications, and most humble submissions on the Dukes part. In the Afternoon they had again a long Conference in the Garden of the *Tuilleries*, the Queen-Mother making the Third betwixt those two.

Paris was full of unknown Faces, the Streets and Houses of knots of People buzzing, and of confused murmurings, and hollow whispers, which betokened an approaching Tempest. Things could not rest long in such a turbulent posture: the Duke was not ignorant they bargained for his Head, and the King was told the League designed no less then to make him a Monk, and that the Dutchess of *Montpensier* shewed the very Cizers which were prepared to shave him. This was because he had affronted that Widow, by discovering some secret defects of hers, in his Discourses. An Outrage, much more unpardonable in respect of Women, then any thing beside that can be attempted, or that can be done against their Honour.

The Tenth day of *May* the King therefore gave Command, all strangers should depart the City of *Paris*, and ordered the Houses should be searched, against which the *Parisians* making some resistance, he took occasion to send five or six thousand, as well *French* as *Swiss* into the City, by the Gate *St. Honoré*, which was opened to them by two *Eschevins*.

The honest *Bourgeois* could have been glad the King might still be Master: yet they did not approve, that to seize upon Fifteen or Twenty guilty persons, he should put the Capital of the Kingdom in danger of being plundered, or turning Rebels: and therefore they did not second this so well as they might else have done. He posted City Companies, and Companies of his Soldiers in divers places: The first did him little service, the others were beaten off, or hemm'd in by the Leaguers, who were well prepared for this Attaque. The commotion began near the University, thence got into the City, where about three or fourscore *Swiss* were knock'd on the Head; then Afternoon over all the whole Town; the Barricado's being carried on from Street to Street, till they had brought them as far as the *Louvre*, and made the Sentinel retire.

The King and Duke did yet dissemble their game, though so apparent, and felt each others Pulses by Envoyez, who brought and carried several Propositions. If the Duke of *Guise* had any other design but to defend himself and his friends, it must be granted, that he wanted either Courage or Conduct; for after that part of *Paris* which is called the *Ville* had taken Wild-fire, had he follow'd his blow, he might have surrounded the *Louvre*, and seized on the Kings Person. But he did not press on that opportunity as he might: On the contrary, being picqued with generosity, he went to disengage the Soldiery, and sent them back disarmed to the *Louvre*; then some hours afterwards returned their Arms again, and entred upon Treaty with the Queen-Mother.

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But the next day he was much amazed to hear, that whilst she flatter'd him with the fairest hopes, the King following her Council, or perhaps his own Fears, had made his escape in great disorder, by the new Gate to the Garden of the *Tuilleries*, and from thence to the Monastery of the *Fenillants*, where he took Horse. That night he went and lay at *Trapes*, near *Versailles*, and the next day at *Chartres*; his Officers followed in a great hurry: The Queen-Mother staid at *Paris*, not to pacify those disturbances, but to keep things in such a tottering posture, that they might ever stand in need of her Mediation and Interposition.

From *Chartres* the King wrote to all the Cities and Governours; the Duke of *Guise* from *Paris* to his friends and partisans: The Stile of the former was languishing and fearful; on the contrary, that of the Duke of *Guise* and the League, Victorious and triumphant. They said the day of the Barricadoes, was a day resplending with the protection of the Lord of Hosts, and conjured the other Cities to joyn with them, as Members to their Head.

To make themselves most sure of *Paris*, they set aside the antient *Prevost des Marchands*, and the *Eschevins*, seize upon the *Bastille* and the *Arsenal*; as in the Provinces they seized on several Towns, the Duke of *Aumale* upon all in *Picardy*, excepting *Boulogne*, which he attempted in vain three times; the Cardinal de *Guise* on *Reims* and *Chaulons*, as their friends would have made themselves Masters of the greater part of those in *Normandy*, if the Duke of *Montpensier*, who was gone to take possession of that Government, had not prevented them.

The Queen-Mother ceased not to Treat with the Duke of *Guise*, to which end she made use of the Dutchess of *Montpensier*, whom she cajoled with the hopes of Marrying the old Cardinal de *Bourbon*. These two joyning together, perswaded the Duke of *Guise* to reconcile himself to the King; and for this purpose, obliged the

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the Leaguers, after they had made Processions to appease the wrath of God, to go in the Habits of Penitents to *Chartres* to crave pardon of the King. They were conducted thither by *Henry de Joyeuse*, who was called *Father Angel*, representing our Lord at his going to Mount *Calvary*, with all the Trinkets, and Persons they employ'd in those days, to act the History of the *Passion*. Thus travestied, they went to seek the King, who was then at Church, and coming before him, cast themselves upon their knees, and with a loud voice cried out for Mercy.

For the same end the Parliament sent their Deputies some few days after, to let him know they were most sensibly afflicted and concern'd to find he had forsaken his *Louvre*, and to beseech him to return, and avert his just vengeance from falling on the Heads of his Subjects. He answered to the First, that if he designed to ruin the *Parisians*, as they would have made the People believe, it was in his power to reduce them to ashes; and to the Latter; that he would Treat the Inhabitants of *Paris*, as Children that had offended their Father, not as Slaves.

After Dinner, having sent again for the Latter, he charged them to threaten the *Parisians*, that he would take away their Sovereign Courts, if they persisted in their Factious humour. Then three days afterwards he sent a Master of Requests to the Parliament, to assure them he was resolved to assemble the Estates-General before the expiration of the year; that he would carefully endeavour the Reformation of his Kingdom, and assure them of a Catholique Successor.

It is not certainly known what motive obliged him to engage so far; but the Duke of *Guise* judg'd it fit to press him upon that point. He therefore caused a Petition to be presented to him in the name of the Princes, of the City of *Paris*, and of all the good Catholiques, who did beseech him, to send for that purpose the Duke of *Mayenne* into *Dauphiné* with one Army, and to march himself into *Guyenne* with another, leaving the Command of *Paris* to the Queen-Mother; to forget the Barricades, and other irregularities; to confirm the Election of the *Prevost des Marchands*, and the *Eschevins*; and above all, to put away the Duke of *Espernon*, and *la Vallette* his Brother, who countenanced the Heretiques.

Those enemies *Espernon* had in the Kings Council, greedily embraced this occasion to annoy him; the Queen-Mother clubs with them, and all together, made such an impression on the King, that he sent him word, He must stay a while away, and not come near him or the Court. The Duke did not take himself to be out of Favour for all this: He came to wait upon him at his return, out of *Normandy*; the King would not admit him to the Council, but Commanded him to retire to his Government of *Angoumois*. Before he departed, he surrendered up that of *Normandy*, and indeed he could not have held it: the King bestow'd it upon the Duke of *Montpensier*.

1588.

One would have thought his absence might have calmed the Tempest. In effect, the King shewed himself more willing to come to an accommodation, but this appeared to be only a design to get some places out of the hands of the League, especially *Havre* and *Orleans*. It was upon the score of *Havre* that he went to *Rouen*, but *Villars*, who held it, a haughty Man, and who had engaged his Word to the Duke of *Guise*, soon cut off all his hopes of gaining it. As for *Orleans*, *Entragues* who was Governour thereof, did not positively deny to give Obedience to the Orders brought him by *Schomberg*, to render it to the King. The Duke of *Guise* was then just on the point of concluding his Treaty with the King; when he heard they were dealing with *Entragues*, he made great instance that City should be one amongst the rest which he demanded for security. The King resisted a long time upon this particular, at last he was forced to condescend to it: but afterwards, by a subtilty more ingenious then becoming a great Prince, he said they had mistaken in transcribing the Order from the Secretary; and that it was there the City of *Dourlans*, not *Orleans*: and this contest was one of the main subjects which led him to the greatest extremities, against the Duke of *Guise*.

July.

However upon this foot was the Treaty made of the Month of *July*, which besides that City, granted to the Princes of the League, *Bourges*, *Dourlans*, and *Montreuil*, withal, left in their keeping for Four years, those places that had been given them by the Treaty of *Nemours*: permitted those others who had declared for them, to remain in the same condition they were in: Continued their *Prevost* and *Eschevins des Marchands* at *Paris* for two years more, and allowed them many other things of good advantage.

At the same time appeared at Sea, that formidable Armado of *Philip of Spain*, which he set forth for the Conquest of *England*. They had been seven years about preparing and equipping it, and every year he laid out above a Million of Gold for the expences. The King apprehending that the Leaguers, if he ran them into despair, might get them to land upon the coasts of *France*, durst no longer deny those things they ask'd of him. He gave them that Edict which bare the specious name of *Re-Union*. By which renewing his Coronation Oath, he swear to root out all Schisms and Heresies, and never make any Peace or Edict in favour of the *Huguenots*; ordained likewise all his Subjects of what quality soever, to swear the same; and that his death hapning, they should acknowledge no Prince for their King, who was an Heretique, or abettor of Heresie; Declared Rebels, and Crimiinals *de Lesé Majesté*, those who refused to Sign this Edict, and approved all that had been done the 12th. and 13th. * of *May*, and since, as well at *Paris*, as in other Cities, as being done out of pure Zeal for the Catholique Religion.

1588.

* The Dair-cado's.

He swear this Edict with an appearance of great joy; all those that were of his Council, and of his Court, did the same thing, excepting the Duke of *Nevers*, who refused the Oath three or four times, till the King enjoyned him to it upon pain of disobedience. The Parliament did forthwith Register and make publication of it, and all the great Cities received it. This done, the King returned to *Chartres*, towards the end of the Month, and the Queen brought thither the Duke of *Guise*, and presented him to the King. There appeared in their countenances, and in their discourse, and in either of their proceedings, so many marks of Confidence, and a cordial Affection, that the whole Court was overjoy'd at this reconciliation, and the most cautelous believed it might be unfeigned.

At this time the King of *Navarre* was returned from *Bearn* to *Rocheil*, and sought to gain the favour of that City: where indeed he had no very great credit, during the life of the Prince of *Condé*. *Lefdignieres* was busy in *Dauphiné*, curbing the Cities of *Gap* and *Grenoble* with Force; he mated *Grenoble* so effectually, that they demanded a Truce for six Months. He and *Montmorency* had also besieged the Pont *Saint Esprit*, when the Edict of *Re-Union* was brought to him. It made the Marechal put up his Sword, but hastned *la Vallette* to make a League Offensive and Defensive with *Lefdignieres*.

There was nothing in *Dauphiné* that made head against the last, but only *Charles de Simiane d' Albigny*: nor did he spare any thing to gain his amity, he offer'd to give him his Daughter in Marriage, to share his Authority between them, and to leave it solely to him at his death. These advantageous proffers had less power and influence over the Spirit of *Albigny*, then that zeal he was confirmed in for the Religion of his Ancestors: he ever constantly resisted him, but not with so much success as courage.

The *Provençaux* in the mean time were risen up against *Vallette*; the Kings private Orders, the Parliaments hatred to the Duke of *Espernon*, and the ambition of *Vins*, who pretended to that Government, did but too much animate those Spirits, whose Blood is soon heated, and easily incited to a commotion. The supplies which came to him from *Dauphiné*, did but little service, when the Parliament had once set him beside the Government; most of the Gentry, and all the Cities abandon'd him, excepting four or five petty places, which he maintained till the death of the Duke of *Guise*, when the face of Affairs were changed by the Kings changing of his mind.

September and October.

1588.

August.

In the precedent Month of *August*, the Duke of *Espernon* saw himself in most dreadful danger: his kind fortune and great courage drew him out of it. Having staid some days in the Castle of *Loches*, after his leaving the Court, before he resolved to go to *Angoulesme*, the Mayor of the Town had order from the King to oppose his entrance; and not able to do so, because *Espernon* had prevented the Courier, he undertook to seize him in the Castle * or the Kings House where he lodged. He entred therefore with Ten Men well armed, under colour of bringing a Courier to him: but running rashly into the Wardrobe, instead of going directly to his Closet, he mist his prey, and perish'd with his Brother-in-law, who crept in thorow a hole to come to his aid. The other Conspirators and their friends, who had taken Arms in the City, apprehending to be over-born by the Soldiers, who came thundring in to the Dukes assistance, and the Duke to be starved to death: having not eaten in Thirty hours, this fear and that necessity made an accommodation between them, and obliged them to stand to it.

* This Castle is distinct from the Citadel.

Villeroy was taxed, as having abused, or contrived Letters under the Signet to destroy *Espernon*; but the King clearly owned the business. He was grown so pceevish, that towards the end of the same Month he dismiss'd the Chancellor *de Chiverny*, *Villeroy*, and *Pinard*, Secretaries of State; and *Pomponne de Believre*, Sur-Intendant des Finances. At the same time he heaped Favours upon the Leaguers; for he put the Seals into the hands of *Francis de Montolon*, Advocate in Parliament, whom they revered, because of his fervent zeal for the Catholique Religion. He also declared the Cardinal *de Bourbon* the nearest of kin to his Blood; In effect he was so, but not the fittest to succeed; and he permitted the Clergy to furnish Five hundred thousand Crowns towards the expences of the War. Now that the said Body Ecclesiastical might raise it, without alienating their Fund, he consented to the erection of an alternate Receiver, and two Comptrollers of the Tenths, hereditary in each Diocese.

This Fund was ordained for the maintenance of two Armies which he had raised. He gave the one to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the other to the Duke of *Nevers*; but this was upon the refusal of the Duke of *Guise*, who by advice of the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons*, resolved to remain at Court, and got a constant and certain Fund settled to keep his Table of Grand Maître.

The event made it appear, that this resolution was not prudent; for the beams of his power shining perpetually so bright in the Kings Eyes, awakened his resentments, which perhaps might else by little and little, have been extinguished, and laid to sleep in the shades of oblivion. He was offended that the Pope should in a Letter call the Duke, and the Cardinal *de Bourbon Machabéans*, and say they had saved the people of *Israel*. Besides this, the Duke of *Nevers*, and *Lognac*, Captain of the Forty-five, did perpetually stir up his indignation: The Duke of *Nevers*, because he irreconcilably hated the Duke of *Guise*, and *Lognac*, because having in some manner succeeded to the Kings favour after *Espernon*, as Second with *Bellegarde*, Cousin-Germain to that Duke, well knew that the House of *Guise*, always enemies to the Favorites, would not suffer him long in that post.

They labour'd on both sides to gain the Deputies for the Estates. The over-confidence of the League was a little humbled by the defeat of *Philips* Armado, which equally threatened both *France* and *England*. That *Invincible Fleet*, so they called it, after it had been tossed, beaten, scatter'd every where by continual tempests, and then by the *English* and *Hollanders*, having lost near Ten thousand Men, and above Threescore Ships; had much ado, torn and shatter'd as it was, to recover the Ports of *Spain*. The King was at *Chartres* when he received the news of it; and it was this perhaps which emboldned him to go to *Blois*, where his presence was necessary, to see and take notice of the Deputies, as they repaired thither.

The Fifteenth of *September* being come, but very few of the Deputies, the Assembly was put off till *October*, and the first Session was open'd on a Sunday the Sixteenth of that Month. The Clergy had an hundred thirty four Deputies there, amongst whom appeared Four Arch-Bishops, Bishops One and twenty, and Two Chiefs of Orders, attired in their Rochets and Surplices; The Nobility had an hundred and Four score in Velvet Gowns, and Caps; The Third Estate, an hundred ninety one, part of them Lawyers, part of them Trading People, the First with Gowns and square Caps, the others with short Cloaks and round Bonnets.

Before the opening of this Assembly, the King knew by the tenor of their Papers or Instructions, that there was a party made to diminish his Authority, and augment that of the Estates; wherefore he gave notice in his Harangue, otherwise very eloquent, and very pathétique, of his resentment against the Duke of *Guise*; for which that Prince made such violent complaint to him, by the mouth of the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons*, that he was obliged when he gave it to be Printed, to retrench, and alter many things, which were but the deeper imprinted in his Heart.

At the Second Session which was the following Tuesday, he swore to the Edict of Re-Union, and ordained, that it should be observed for a Fundamental Law of the State, and would have the Three Orders swear to it with one voice; the Clergy laying their hands upon their Breasts, as the others hold theirs aloft. This done, he protested he would forget all that was past, and charged the Prevost des Marchands to assure the City of *Paris* of it.

Who can resolve whether these words were a sincere Truth, or a profound dissimulation; if his Soul were then such as he professed, it did not hold long so. He look'd upon the Duke of *Guise* as a dangerous Rival, all whose actions seemed by his interpretation, to tend to the ruine of his Authority; he was nettled that they should force

force him to swear to the Edict, that the League had constrained the Count *de Soissons* (for he had quitted the King of *Navarre*) to take Absolution of the Pope, notwithstanding they made all their effort, though in vain to hinder his Holiness from granting it, and that when the said Count had brought his Letters of Pardon to the Parliament, a Taylor with a Crew of the most hot-headed Leaguers, went to the Palais and so frightened the Counsellors, that they durst not proceed to verifie it.

He was yet more stung and offended for that the Estates made great Complaints against the Government, demanded the suppression of new Offices, an abatement of the Tailles and Imposts, the punishment of Financiers and Favourites, and used all manner of practises to moderate and clip the Sovereign Power, and set up the Laws. Which did not only proceed from the Factions of the League, but also the unanimous desire of the People, who imagining the King would ere long lose either his Life or Sences, (for *Miron* his chief Physician had imprudently said that the one or the other would come to pass within a twelvemonth) thought it now necessary to make so strong and high a fence against him that should next succeed to the Crown, that he might never be able to force the same, nor bring such heavy Oppressions upon the Subjects as *France* had groaned under ever since the Reign of *Francis I.*

The *Huguenots* prompted by the same Spirit, endeavour'd likewise to restrain the Power of the King of *Navarre* in an Assembly he had Convocated at *Rochel*. For apprehending he might change his Religion, they demanded Protectors in each Province, and Chambers or Courts of Justice to hear their Complaints, and do them Right. He had much ado to avoid the first, and hinder them from making choice of Prince *Casimir* for their Protector General: but as to the second he was forced to grant it, and set up of those Chambers in five or six Cities; However he revoked them two years after when he came to the Crown.

The Duke of *Mayennes* Army made little progress in *Dauphine*, because he staid at *Lyons* to decide some Controversies there were for the Government of the City, between *Mandelot* and the Son of *Villeroy*; they spent all their Fire against the Fort of *Oysans* which *Lefdiguieres* had built in their way: this scurvy Redout resisted thirty days before they would capitulate. In like manner that under the Duke of *Nevers* in *Poitou* was consumed in taking some small places of no importance. They lay before *la Ganache*, when they received the news of the Duke of *Guises* death.

The King thought himself daily wounded by fresh and more hainous offences: their vehement urging him to receive the Council of *Trent* did greatly distaste and perplex him: the demand of the Estates that their Instructions or Memorials should be conclusive, appeared yet ruder to him; but he took the Deputation they made to oblige him expressly to declare the King of *Navarre* incapable of succeeding to the Crown, to be altogether insupportable.

During these times the Duke of *Savoy*, a Man of high courage, and a genius much greater than his State, did not forget to do his own business. Believing the Kingdom of *France* was going to be dismembred, he thought he had more right than any one else to get his share, as being almost the only Male Prince, though by the Female side, that was then remaining of the Blood of the great King *Francis*, and withall having some pretensions upon the Marquisate of *Salusses* and other Lands on this side the *Alpes*. However he would not varnish his design with that pretence, but rather chose the fair Masque of Religion: In effect *Lefdiguieres* being very powerful having taken *Chasteau-Dauphin*, and being leagued with *la Valette* who had the Government of *Salusses*, there was some danger lest *Calvinisme* might from thence step into his Countries, and become the most prevalent under favour of so pernicious a Neighbourhood.

The Duke Armed therefore, feigning he designed against *Montferrat*; and *la Valette* being so embarrassed in *Provence* that he could do nothing on this side, he seized about the end of *September* upon the City of *Carmagnoles*, and invested the Castle. The Lieutenant surrendered it in few days after; *Salusses*, *Cental*, and all the other small places of the Marquisate, made but very little or no defence, excepting *Ravel*. The loss was very great to *France*, as well because there was in *Carmagnoles* an inestimable Magazin of all sorts of Arms, and four hundred pieces of Cannon, as because that Country was the only passage the *French* had left them to get into *Italy*.

Now as in all misfortunes we still lay the blame on them we most hate, the King failed not to accuse the Duke of *Guise* for this, though he appeared to be altogether innocent: for he was so far from corresponding with the Duke of *Savoy*, at least at this very time, that he was at great variance with him. Therefore he profer'd to pass

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July and
August.

1588.

August.

September.

October.

1588.

October.
November.

1588.

September, and
October.

the *Alpes* and tear this Usurpation again out of his hands, and engaged the Estates to declare a War against him.

1588.

November,
and December.

In the mean time the King tired with the difficulties and troubles that started up every day, and which he believed were created by that Duke, was often transported to passion, and had thoughts of the extreamest revenge, but when those fits were over, fell into great astonishments, and unexpressible thoughts of despair. Nay sometimes he took so much disgust at the burthen of Government that he would needs ease himself, and lay the whole weight thereof upon the Queen Mother; and during these intervals, or weakness of Spirit, he seem'd to have an entire confidence in the Duke of *Guise*, even so far, as to seal the same with a solemn Oath upon the sacred Mystery of the Altar, both having communicated, as it was said, at the same Table, either of them taking one half of the same consecrated Wafer. But immediately after, the remembrance of things past, the fear of what was to come, and the never-ceasing reports of the *Quarente-cinq**, who craftily intermixed calumnies with truths, bad him repent his weakness, gave him new fire to his indignation, and made him once for all determine to put him to death.

* Forty-five.

December.

Those of his Council and amongst his Servants who had any sence of honour and generosity, were of opinion he should act King-like, and rid his hands of him by ways that were both just and irreproachable. The *Mareschal d'Aumont* would have him brought to Trial, and forfeit his Head if he deserv'd it; *Grillon Mestre de Camp* of the Regiment of Guards refused to assassinate him, but offer'd to make him draw his Sword, assuring the King he would kill him or forfeit his own Life.

The contrary advice notwithstanding took most with the King; and this not so much for any strength of reason as the present disposition and humour he then was in which this exactly suited. For we must know that during any great Frosts, such as were at this very time and had lasted above three weeks, he was hugely tormented with vapours from the Spleen, which rendred him extream chagrin and severe. Those that were well acquainted knew it very dangerous to offer to disturb him at such Seasons; and it is held, that *Chiverny* and *Miron* had often hinted to the Duke, that if he plaid his Game with him whilst he was invaded with those black and pricking fumes; he would certainly repent it.

This resolution could not be kept so private but it was known to many Persons; the Duke had notice from above a hundred by word of Mouth and Writing; they quoted even the very particular circumstances, and all his Friends press'd him to retire; the Archbishop of *Lyons*, only, was of a contrary sentiment and prevailed above all the rest. He made him believe that all those reports and the notices given him came from the King to fright him away, so to ruine his Reputation, and afterwards make his Process in his absence. This Prelat was since reproached that he had thus exposed the life of his Friend, only out of fear lest if he left the Court, the King would have hindred his promotion to the Cardinalship, which he hoped would be done at *Rome* after *St. Lucies-day*.

1588.

December.

The Duke was so imprudent as to lodge within the Castle, and thereby exposed himself to the mercy of his Enemies, and was deprived of the assistance of above five hundred Gentlemen, and a thousand other Persons who were his Friends that quarter'd about the Town. The better to draw him in, the King pretended he must dispatch several weighty Affairs before the *Christmas* Holidays, and gave order all the Council should come thither early the next Morning being the Three and twentieth of *December*. The Council sat in a Hall of the Castle near the Kings Chamber, who had his Apartment in the second Story, the Queen Mother making use of the first.

* Forty-five.

The King had caused little Cells to be built upon one side of his Chamber, in those he placed his *Quarente-Cinq** about four hours after mid-night, leading them thither himself with a small Wax light. In the morning about Eight of the Clock, the Duke being come to the Council-Hall with the Cardinal his Brother, the Archbishop of *Lyons*, and some others, the King sends for him to come speak with him in his Chamber; Nine of those Forty-five who were placed at the entrance of the passage, fall upon him, some catch him by the Collar, others hold him by the Arms and Legs, give him twelve or fifteen stabs with their Daggers, he shakes them, drags them along, and used all the efforts of an invincible despair, till being thrust into the Reins with a Sword, he falls down at whole length with these words, *Ab! thou Traytor!*

Imme-

Immediately the *Mareschal d'Aumont* seizes the Cardinal and the Archbishop in the Council Hall, and shuts them up in a Garret; others in divers places lay hold on the old Cardinal *de Bourbon*, the Dutcheis of *Nemours*, the Prince *de Joinville*, the Dukes of *Nemours* and *Elbeuf*, *de Hantefort*, *St. Agnan*, *Bois-Dauphin*, *Brissac*, *La Bourdaisiere* and *Picard* the Dukes Secretary. At the same instant almost *Richelieu* Grand Prevost *de l'Hôtel* enters the Council Hall, bawling out they would have murder'd the King, and lays hands on the President *de Nully*, *la Chappelle Mortem* Prevost *des Merchands*, two *Echevins* of *Paris*, and *Vincent le Roy* Lieutenant Civil of the City of *Amiens*. The rest ran forth in great confusion. Some made a shift to get to *Orleans*; such as could not make their escape, because the Gates were strongly guarded, were forced stay behind, and cover their apprehensions with a seeming joy.

Those that had slain the Duke, dreading lest the Cardinal should another day demand satisfaction for his Blood, solicited the King with so much vehemence that he consented likewise to his death. Two things amongst the rest moved him to determine it, the one was they reported he spit forth all the injurious language, reproaches and imprecations that a despairing fury and rage could possibly expels; the other was that having found the Popes Legat easily inclined to allow of his justification touching the death of the Duke, he imagined it would be no hard task to obtain his remission for the Murder of the Cardinal. *Du Guast* a Captain in the Regiment of Guards, provided four Soldiers for this execution, each of them being promised an hundred Crowns. The Cardinal therefore being called for by the King, these Murderers, who waited his coming thorough a Gallery slew him with their Halberts.

1588.

Richelieu caused the Bodies of these two Brothers to be burnt, and their Ashes to be scatter'd in the Air lest the People should make Reliques of them. *Pericard* redeemed his life and liberty at the price of all his Masters secrets: but neither threats nor caresses could extort the least syllable from the Archbishop that might stain the memory of his Friend; and yet the King, either because his fury was spent, or because he had formerly loved him; would not have them take away his Life.

Few People boasted of having a hand in this action, either out of shame, or for fear of a future revenge. It will not be amiss to observe two things; the one, that such as had the greatest obligation to the House of *Guise*, were the main Instruments of their destruction, the other that these Princes were drawn into the snare under the publick faith, and by the like most subtle and artificial dissimulations, as they had joyned in to decoy those of the House of *Bourbon* and the Admiral *de Coligny*, at the Massacre in the year 1572.

Such as were most clear-sighted did from that very time judge this must be attended with terrible Consequences: the King himself began to perceive it, when after the Murder of the Duke of *Guise* going to the Queen Mother to let her know what had past, saying to her, *Madam, now I am King indeed*, she asked him whether he had taken order to secure *Paris*, and hinder the People from rising in all parts of the Kingdom, and made him sensible as well by her countenance as her discourse, that he was not yet in the condition he thought himself. And then again when he found the Legat, who though not much mov'd at the death of the Duke of *Guise*, came now and declared he had incur'd *Excommunicatio Majorem* for that of the Cardinal: but much more yet when he came to know that not one of those Orders he had sent abroad had succeeded, they not being able to seize upon any one of the Heads of the League.

December.

For the Duke of *Mercaur* who was at *Nantes*, had diligent notice given him by the Queen *Louisa* his Sister, and prevented their taking of him. Likewise the Duke of *Mayenne* received a Courier at *Lyons* sent him by *Roissieux* a Gentleman belonging to his Brother, and not finding the People of that Town in a disposition to protect him amongst them, he went to *Chalon* in *Burgundy*, made himself Master of the Citadel, and from thence hastned to secure *Dijon*. The same *Roissieux* made them of *Orleans* take up Arms who besieged *Entragues* their Governor in his Redoubt at the Gate *Baniere*.

The Sixteen, having kept the news private till they were secured of the Gates of *Paris*, held an Assembly in the Town-Hall, where they chose the Duke of *Aumale* to be their Governor. For the first two or three days being yet uncertain of the events, they put this colour upon their Revolt, that it was to maintain themselves in perfect unity against all such attempts as might be made in prejudice to their liberties, and the Catholick Religion; but when they heard and found *Orleans* had declared, and the Duke of *Mayenne* in *Burgundy*, they were no longer afraid to withdraw themselves from the Kings obedience, whom they now called only *Henry de Valois*.

1588.

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With

1589.
January.

With this beginning of new Troubles ended the year 1588, which the Prognosticators had predicted would be fatal to all great Empires. It would be prudence to bury in forgetfulness the furious heats of the *Parisians* against the King, the declamations of the Pulpiters, the lewd songs, the infamous Discourses, the bloody Satyrs, wherewith they mangled his Reputation, and I might omit, were it not too great an injury and breach in History, what the Faculty in Divinity, esteemed the leading one of all Christendom, asserted, upon a Consultation held with them, *That the French were discharged of all Oaths of Fidelity and their Duty of Obedience towards Henry de Valois, and that they might with a safe Conscience take up Arms against him,* which drew somewhat after it of a most terrible Consequence.

The first President *Achilles de Harlay* and many more of the Parliament directly opposed these phrenies, and endeavoured to moderate their overheated Spirits. *Buffy le Clerc* otherwhile a Fencer, and then a Procureur in Parliament, had the confidence to come into the Grand Chamber, and cause a List to be read over of such as he said he had Order to Arrest. When they had named the first President, and ten or twelve others, all the rest of the Company rose up and followed them most generously to the *Bastille*, marching by two and two along the Streets to move the People to compassion. In effect they were ready to run to their Arms, but their Preachers hindred it, by giving them to understand that all this was done for the maintenance of Religion and the publick safety. *Buffy* kept those he had a mind to in the *Bastille*, as the first President, and some others.

The same day he seized upon many more in their Houses, as well such as belonged to the same Company as to the *Chambre des Comptes* and the *Cour des Aides*: but most of them got out again the same day or soon after, having given their Oaths against the King. Some really changed Parties, others dissembled till occasion presented to evade, but many believed that they should be better able to serve their Country by returning to their places in the Parliament. Of those was *Barnabe Briffon* who supplied the Office of first President, and the next day held Audience with Doors wide open, having made his protestation before a Notary, that he did it by compulsion to save his own life and all his Families. The Leaguers likewise changed the whole Bar as they pleased; *Molle* was chosen Solicitor General because the People earnestly demanded it for the reputation of his great Probity.

1589.
January.

When the League had thus reformed the Parliament, the first Act they demanded of them, was a Declaration to be sworn to by the Princes, Cities, and Commonalties of the Kingdom, united with the three Estates for the preservation of Religion and publick security. These three Estates were but the Seize, and the Deputies of five or six Cities of that Party, out of whom they had chosen a *Council of Forty Persons*. They afterwards obliged them to receive the Petition of *Catharine de Cleves*, Widow of the Duke of *Guise*, who desired leave to take information concerning the death of her Husband, and Commissioners to make Process against such as should be convicted. The Parliaments, the Chambers Assembled, having heard the Solicitor General's motion admitted and granted her Petition, and named two Counsellors to manage and carry on the said Process.

The King, against all these attempts, opposed nothing but a little Parchment and Wax, multitudes of Letters which he sent every way, and several Declarations, at first very soft and gentle, then somewhat more vigorous; One amongst others which commanded the Duke of *Aumale* to go out of *Paris*, interdicted the Parliament, and all other the Kings Judges to exercise any Jurisdiction; then another which declared the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Aumale*, and all the revolted Cities, guilty of the Crime of *Lèse Majesté* in the highest degree, and deprived them of all Offices, Honours, and Priviledges; In pursuance whereof he made an Edict which transferr'd the Parliament and the *Chambre des Comptes* to *Tours*, as he afterwards did that of *Rouen* to *Caen*, and the University and the Presidial of *Orleans* to *Beaugency*.

It was thought that if he had but mounted on Horseback and appeared at the Gates of *Orleans* or *Paris*, who lead the dance to all other Tumults, he had stilled them with ease: but he was grown so effeminate thorough idleness that he could neither perform any thing with vigor, nor keep himself any competent time steady to the same resolution. He stirred not from *Blois*, but continued the Estates there, whom he persuaded himself would suddenly find out some remedy for all the grievances and troubles in the Kingdom.

In the mean while the Leaguers and Friends of the deceased Duke, drew after them almost all the People of the whole Nation, already too much prepossessed with ill-favour'd sentiments against him. Even those very Persons who ever had abhorred

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Faction and Rebellion, finding he had caused a Cardinal to be Massacred, imagined he struck at the Catholick Religion it self, the manner and circumstances of those Murthers gave a horror to all the World; even the King of *Navarre*, though it were really very advantageous to him, could not find in his heart to rejoyce, and *le Plessis Moruay* hindred the *Rebellers* from any publick Expressions of it, for fear they might be reproached for approving that ambiguous act by any solemnity.

1589.
January.

It could never be certainly known whether the Queen Mother had any hand in it, there being only conjectures both for and against it: but it is certain the King did never afterwards communicate any affairs to her. So that thinking Life a burthen without any Authority or Power, being overwhelmed with Age, for she was Seventy and two years old, but much more with trouble and sorrow to see that fate, maugre all the obstructions she had contrived, brought her greatest Enemy so near the Crown; and withal being pierced to the heart that the Cardinal de *Bacon*, when she would needs visit him upon his Bed of Sickness and languishment, cast that bloody reproach in her teeth, *Ah, Madam, is it thus you have brought us all to the Butchery*: she fell sick and died of it the Fifth of *January*. (Her death was esteemed a thing very indifferent, causing neither joy, nor sorrow; and her memory would have vanished with her breath after all the noise and stir she had made for thirty years together, had she not brought down too many curses upon *France* to be so soon forgotten.)

A second time the King made the Estates swear to the Edict of Union, to shew he was a Zealous Catholick. After this they presented their Papers to him, which he began to examine for some days. The Fifteenth and Sixteenth of the Month he heard their Harangues: which were full of fine words, sound Reasons, wise Expedients, but their Tongues and Hearts were very far asunder, so that it was nothing but a Scene where each one acted a part quite different from what he was indeed.

Now they sending him notice from all parts of new Commotions, and finding most of the Deputies retired without taking leave, he dismiss'd them all, upon the Twentieth day of the Month; and that they might carry with them into the Provinces some Marks of his Bounty, to the Nobility he gave *Brissac* and *Bois-Dauphin* their liberty, and to the Third Estate that of three or four Deputies whom *Richelieu* had seized on. But all of them made him an ill requital, relerving only the injury in memory, but not the favour and pardon. Moreover he granted and caused several Articles of their Instructions or Memorials to be proclaimed, amongst others an abatement of the fourth part of their Tailles; of which in truth there was above a third part of non-value, and never could be raised.

From *Blois* he caused all his Prisoners to be transfer'd to the Castle of *Amboise*: but the Duke of *Nemours*, of a bold and active Spirit, found the invention to escape disguised like a Kitchen Scullion, and got to *Paris* without stop or stay. The last day of the Month he had news that the Citadel of *Orleans* had surrendered to the *Bourgeois*. He had hoped that the Duke of *Nevers* whom he recalled from *Poitou*, would have relieved it: but after the taking of *la Ganache*, his Forces being all Leaguers, either dispersed or went over to his Enemies.

1589.
January.

He heard almost at the same time that *Paris* had drawn in all the Towns and Passages round about them, excepting *Melun*; That *Dreux*, *Crespy* in *Valois*, *Senlis*, *Clermont* in *Beauvoisis*, *Pont Sainte Maixence*, *Amiens*, *Abbeville*, *Rouen*, and all those of *Normandy*, excepting the *Pont de L'Arche*, *Diepe*, and *Caen*, had set up the Colours of the League; That *Bois-Dauphin* had stirred up all the Country of *Mans*; That the Duke of *Mayenne* was Master of all *Burgundy*, excepting *Semur* and *Flapigny*; That *Lyons* had cast their Rider and chose for Governor the Duke of *Genevois*; so they called the Duke of *Nemours*.

As to *Bretagne*, the Duke of *Mercoeur* did not make them move as yet, because the King his Brother in Law amused him with the hopes of giving him that Dutchy after his death. *Stephen Duranti* First President of *Toulouze*, and *James Dasis* Attorney General, contained that City near a Month: but at last *Urban de Saint Gelais* *Lansac* Bishop of *Cominges*, a Man equally ambitious and violent, made it revolt, and put the Populace into such a fury that they inhumanely massacred those two Magistrates, dragg'd their dead Bodies thorough the Streets with the Kings Effigies, and hanged them on the Gallows.

The *Parisians*, and the Dutchess of *Montpensier*, who could not well agree with the Duke of *Aumale*, invited the Duke of *Mayenne* to *Paris*: as soon as he had settled *Burgundy* in good order, he begins his Journey thither to satisfy them. All *Champagne* was of his Party, but only *Chaalons*, for the Inhabitants having received information of the death of *Guise* before the Governor had any notice, which was *Rosne*, assembled

February.

assembled together and turned him out. From thence he went to *Sens* where his presence was requisite to fortify his Friends, then to *Orleans*, where he found the Citadel surrendered to his Party, afterwards to *Chartres*, who received him with extraordinary joy, and lastly to *Paris*, where he arrived the Tenth day of February.

That vast number of People were yet so furiously enchanted with the memory of the Duke of *Guise*, that they would needs bestow the Title of King upon this Brother, but he did not find himself sufficiently bottom'd to accept of so high a Dignity. He consider'd that besides the divisions it would necessarily have begot betwixt him and the other Chiefs, who were content to be his Companions, but not his Subjects, the Spirits of the Authors of that grand Revolution, tended rather to establish a Democracy than a Monarchy. Wherefore he presently labour'd to diminish their Power: increased the Council of Forty, with fourteen more wholly at his own devotion, and admitted not only all the Princes of the League, but likewise the Presidents, the Kings Attorneys and Solicitors in Parliament, the Prevost *des Marchands* and *Echevins*, that he might carry things by Multitude upon occasion. Then not able to endure this curb by any means breaks it quite the following year when he was going to give the Battle of *Jvry*.

1589.
March.

Notwithstanding, it was that Council had confer'd upon him the command of the Armies, and the Quality of *Lieutenant General of the State and Crown of France*: but he gave them little thanks for it, because they limited his Power to the meeting of the General Estates which was to be upon the Fifteenth of July. His Commission was verified in Parliament the Seventh of March, and he took the Oath before the President *de Brisson*. They caused new Seals to be made, a great one for Council Affairs, and a little one for the Chanceries and Parliaments; either of them had on one side the Flower-de-Luce, as was usual, but on the other an Empty Throne, with these words about it, *The Seal of the Kingdom of France*.

Now to make a real Union of this Party, as they had the name, and to link all the Cities to them that had declar'd already and intended to declare, he made an excellent Reglement, which being sent into the Provinces, brought others into him. Especially *Laon*, where *John Bodin* the Kings Attorney in that Court, prevailed so by his Interest and Eloquence that it was accepted, having made it clear that the joining of so many Cities ought not to be called Rebellion, but Revolution, that this was a just one against an Hypocrite and Tyrant King, that Heaven it self seemed to authorize it, because States have their periods as well as Men, and the Reign of *Henry III.* ought to be the Climacterical to *France*, he being the LXI. King since *Pharamond*, who, according to the Vulgar Account, was the first King of the *French*.

To this pretended Order, succeeded a general Disorder, an universal Robbery thorough the whole Kingdom, seizures of Goods, sales by outcry, Imprisonments, Ransoms, and Reprizals. The Offices, Benefices, and Governments, were divided into two or three, private Families were even divided within themselves, the Father bandying against the Sons, Brothers against Brothers, Nephews against their Uncles. Nothing was to be gained but by those that had nothing to lose; those that had wherewithal were obliged to spend it, but the Thieves gained on both hands. They nestled themselves in old Castles, or in small Towns, from whence they bolted out to pillage the Neighbouring Countries, took up the Kings Rents, made private Persons compound for theirs, enjoy'd the Churches Revenues, and thus enriched themselves with great ease and little danger.

March,

In the beginning of March, the King not finding himself secure at *Blois*, retired to *Tours*. He first took out his Prisoners from the Castle of *Amboise*, sent the Cardinal *de Bourbon* to *Chinon* whereof *Chavigny* an ancient Gentleman was Governor, the Prince of *Joinville* (who from henceforward was and called himself Duke of *Guise*) to *Tours*, and the Duke of *Elbeuf* to *Loches*. The Duke of *Mayenne's* Affairs, as we may say, did do of themselves. For even in the Month of February the Cities of *Aix*, *Arles*, and *Marseilles*, offended at the Kings restoring *la Valette* to that Government, took the Oath for the League: but he in the mean while passed his time at *Paris*, where he and his Officers consumed in fruitless Expences the Moneys assailed upon the Country, with the Confiscations and Sequestrations of the Politicks and *Huguenots* Estates.

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While that Duke was in the greatest hurry of his Affairs, it hapned that four or five of his Friends and Intimates being in debauch with some Ladies of Pleasure in the *Hôtel de Carnavalet*, one of them seeing him pass by ran after him, and haled him in almost by force: he did not stay above half an hour with this Company, yet made a shift to get and carry that away with him, that forced him to keep his Chamber several

several weeks after, but being in haste, he had time to take only palliative Remedies, so that the venom remaining still in his Blood, rendred him more slow, lumpish, and melancholy, and in his Person stupified the activity of his whole Party.

In the Month of March, *John Lewis de la Rochefoucault* Count *de Randan*, debauched *Rion*, and part of *Auvergne* whereof he was Governor; he had drawn the whole Country after him, if some Lords, as *Rostignac*, *Saint-Herem*, *Allegre*, *Fleurat*, *Cannillac*, and *Oradour*, amongst whom *d'Effiat*, having the Kings particular Orders had acquired great credit, had not opposed their courage and skill against his Interest and Faction.

The Duke of *Mercaur* having balanced a while, debauched likewise all *Bretagne*, excepting only *Vitre*; the Nobility of the Country were cantonized there against him, and whilst he besieged it, *Renes* escaped from him. *Gefroy de Saint Belin* Bishop of *Poitiers*, and the Mayor and some other Leaguers stirred up that Town, which however did not yet declare for the League.

Limoges remained under obedience of the King. *Pichery* retained the City of *Angers* in despite of *Brissac* who had put them upon rising, and reduced them by means of the Castle where he commanded. *Matignons* prudence defeated the Conspiracy of the Leaguers, who were beginning to barricade themselves at *Bourdeaux*: but he durst not search it to the quick, the Combination being too general, and so thought it sufficient to hang two or three of the most Zealous.

Since the King of *Navarres* return to *Rochel*, he had taken *Maran*, and then *Niort* by *Escalado*. Some few days after hapned the Murther at *Blois*, but that made no alteration in the conduct of his Affairs; neither did it oblige him to discontinue his War. The Cities of *Loudun*, *Thouars*, *Montreuil*, *L'Isle Bouchard*, and even *Chastelleraud* it self, open'd their Gates to him. From thence he advanced as far as *Argenton* in *Berry* to aid the City which held for the King, against the Castle that stood for the League. Which gave so much jealousy to *la Chastre*, that he declared for the League, and made the City of *Bourges* declare with him.

The happy progress of this Prince and his Proximity, gave the King some reason to court his assistance in his extream necessity, the Duke of *Nevers* who apprehended this medley of *Huguenots* and Catholics might bring Religion into danger, dissuaded him with all his might, and there were withal great obstructions on either hand. On the Kings part, the fear of farther offending the Court of *Rome*, and scandalizing the Catholics, the Conscience of so soon violating an Oath twice reiterated before the Estates, and the shame of being forced to call into his assistance him whom he had so roughly persecuted. On the King of *Navarres* part, the just suspicion lest they should sacrifice him to appease the fury of the League, (for this King that invited him was himself one of the principal Authors of the bloody *St. Bartholomew*) and the constraint of stooping to the Favourites, who sported with the lives of those that did not bow the knee before them. Notwithstanding *Du Plessis Mornay* and some others by their prudent management removed all these Obstacles, and accommodated every thing between these two Kings, upon condition the Treaty should not be divulged till the King should think it fit.

It contained an agreement of a Truce for a year, during which time the King of *Navarre* should aid him with all his Forces, and should give him up all such places as he should take from the common Enemy; Reciprocally the King should give him the *Pont de Ce* upon the *Loire*, and one place in every Bailiwick as a retreat for his sick Men.

When the Legat had discover'd this new Confederation, he employ'd all his power and interest to incline the Duke of *Mayenne* to an Accommodation, even so far as to offer him Conditions much beyond the power of his Commission. The King finding he did but only lose time, that in the Dukes Army they gave him no better Title then *the Tyrant*, *the Massacrer*, and *dethroned Henry*, and that the Duke was at *Chasteaudun*, within three days Journey of *Tours*, he caused the Truce to be proclaimed, though with a great deal of repugnance.

There were at *Rome* some Envoys on his behalf to sollicite for his Absolution, and others in behalf of the League to oppose it. The thing was found to be much more difficult to obtain of the Pope, then he had imagined; In that Court the Blood of a Cardinal is not so lightly valued, and Pope *Sixtus* who gloried in trampling upon Crowned Heads, would be sure not to let slip this opportunity of magnifying his own power. He demanded before any further proceedings, that they should set the Cardinal *de Bourbon* and the Archbishop of *Lyons* at liberty: *Charles d'Angennes* Bishop of *Mans*, had made him believe the King would grant him this: but when

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in

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in stead of a compliance, that Prelat entertain'd him with excuses and *ragione di stato*, and at the same time they were informed by Letters from the Legat, of the Kings Confederation with the Head of the *Huguenots*, the Pope lets fly a *Monitory* the Fifth of May, by which "he demanded and commanded to set the Cardinal and the Archbishop at liberty within ten days after publication, and to give certain notice thereof within thirty by an authentick Act: In default whereof he declared he "had incurr'd the Censures Ecclesiastical, especially those which are contained in the "Bull in *Cena Domini*, of which he could not be absolv'd but by the Pope himself, "unless at the point of death, and upon giving security to make satisfaction; cited "him to appear personally at Rome within sixty days, allowing him twenty days "for each Admonition, and disavowing all Indulgences, Faculties, and Privileges "to the contrary, granted by the Holy See either to him or to any of his Predecessors.

This Monitory was published in Rome, and affixed upon the Church doors of St. Peters, and St. John de Latran the Three and twentieth of May, and the Month of June following in the Cathedral of Chartres, in that of Meaux, and some other Churches in France: but the King still pretended cause of ignorance. He notwithstanding had well enough foreseen this thing, and the apprehension he had of it hastened him to satisfy the King of Navarre by giving him a passage upon the Loire. Du Plessis Mornay by his Address brought it so about as in lieu of Pont de Ce, a very ill-favoured place, he gave him the City of Saumur, whereof his Master gave him the Government.

This security being granted, the two Kings met about the Thirtieth of April about the hour of One in the Afternoon at Plessis Les Tours in the Park, he of Navarre was come to the Bridge de la Motte, which is a Rivolet a quarter of a league beyond Tours, and had brought part of his Forces which were quarter'd about two leagues beyond that, but would venture no farther. Nevertheless d'Anmont and Chastillon having informed him that such mistrust displeased the King, pressed him so home that they prevailed with him to pass the River of Cher and come into the Park. His old Captains trembled both for anger and for fear, lest the King, said they, in a season wherein treachery may be so advantageous to free himself out of that Labyrinth whereinto another had drawn him, should have agreed for his Absolution at the price of this Princes Life, and destined his Head a present to the pope to accompany the Admirals.

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The same day to dispel their fears, he returned to his lodgment: but the next day by six in the morning, and without giving them notice, he repasses the River with only one Page, and came to the King as he was rising. The two Princes spent all that morning and the next, in consulting of their Affairs. Their resolution in gross was to attack Paris the principal head of the League, and that which gave motion to all the rest. They reckon they should for this purpose have the Forces of the Huguenot Party, and great numbers of the Nobility, a powerful assistance which the King expected from England, and a levy of twelve thousand Swiss whom Sancy was gone to raise in the Protestant Cantons. After they had remained together two days, the King of Navarre went to Chinon to bring forward the rest of those Troops he had left there.

In the Provinces the two Parties had had divers Rencontres, Sautour a Royalist besieging Mery upon Seine, Hautefort who qualified himself Lieutenant General for the Union in Brie and Champagne, charged him, kill'd, or caused most of his Men to drown themselves in the Marishes.

But the advantage which the Duke of Montpensier, Governor of Normandy, gained over the Leaguers, was much more considerable: He had besieged Falaise, Brissac brought four thousand Gantiers to its relief, he marches out to meet them and cut them all off near the Village of Pierrefite, which is within two leagues of Falaise, and afterwards went and rooted out the whole Nursery of them at Vimoutier, Bernay, and la Chapelle-Gautier, where part of them were knock'd on the Head, part scatter'd, and the rest constrained to lay down their Swords, and fall to the Plough-share.

These were all Peasants that for two years had held those places, not for any particular Party, but to defend themselves from the robbing Soldiery, and from the Tax-gatherers, greater Villains yet then the Men of the Sword. Their first place of meeting was in the Parish of la Chapelle-Gautier, whence they had their name: they were to the number of ten or twelve thousand. Happy if they had not admitted two Gentlemen amongst them, who did engage them in the quarrels of the Grandees, for which they had not the least concern.

At

At parting from Chasteaudun the Duke of Mayenne did not go directly to Tours, as it seems he ought to have done; but turns himself to some other Enterprizes. The one was upon the City of Vendosme: he took it by the treachery of Francis Maille Benehard, to whom the King of Navarre had given the Government, and in the same draught of his Net caught all the grand Council who lodged there.

He had another, to surprize the Duke of Espernons Cavalry, who were quarter'd about St. Ouen, and to have taken Prisoner Charles de Luxembourg Count de Brienne his Brother in Law, that he might exchange him for the Duke d'Elbous. For we must know that the Duke of Espernon was come back to the King with a good party of Soldiers, and had quarter'd his Foot at Blois to defend it from the fury of the Duke of Mayenne, who threatened to lay it level with the ground, and sow it with Salt in revenge of the death of his Brothers. The Cavalry of the Count de Brienne were wholly cut off, and he hemm'd in and then made Prisoner in St. Ouen: but the King left him there not much caring to exchange him. This hapned some few days after the Interview of the two Kings.

The King of Navarres absence made way for the Duke of Mayenne soon after to attempt upon the City of Tours. Perhaps the secret correspondence he held with some of the Inhabitants who were Leaguers, or even the Kings own Officers invited him. He parted about Evening on the Seventh of May with his Army, and after a march of thirteen Leagues, got the next day by Ten of the Clock in the Morning so near the Suburbs, that the King, who was gone out to walk towards Marmoutier, did narrowly miss of being surprized by some light Horsemen.

The Duke a great Temporiser, lost half the day in light Skirmishes: it was near four in the Afternoon, when having felt their pulses, he roundly attack'd the Faubourg St. Symphorien, and carried it in less then half an hour. Which made it seem probable, that if he had done so at the very first, he might have taken the Town wherein he had a great Faction: but towards the Evening Chastillon arrived with the King of Navarres Forces who lay not far from Tours, and intrenched himself in an Island right over against the City.

Upon this the Duke reflecting that he had but few Horse, and that his Foot were all new raised Men, that the King of Navarre would soon return in Person with that part of his Troops who were remaining at Chinon, judg'd it safest to make a retreat, and dislodged without noise at the first break of day, taking his march towards Anjou to gather up in that Country, and in Perche and Mayne, those Companies which the Gentlemen of the League had raised there.

This first Effort of the League having succeeded so ill, the Nobles, who before gave the King for lost, perceived now he would be able to defend himself, and hastened to come to him with great diligence. Then having room to march into the Field which way he pleased, he desired the King of Navarre to draw his Forces to Boisgncy to make an essay upon Orleans, sent the Count de Soissons into Bretagne to secure the City of Rennes, and himself made a Cavalcade to Poitiers, thinking to confirm that City to his own Service, which as yet did vacillate betwixt both Parties. But Orleans stirred not for the approach of the Navarrais Army; the Count unfortunately fell into the hands of the Duke of Mercœur, who made him Prisoner in Chasteaugiron within three leagues of Rennes; and the King did not find in Poitiers that kind disposition they had given him hopes of.

He returned therefore to Tours, where he began afresh to fall into his wonted idleness, still flattering himself with some accommodation with the League: when the King of Navarre took the liberty to wait upon him, and rowzed up his sloath by so many arguments of danger and honour, that he forced him to mount on Horseback, desiring of him but only two Months labour and activity to set him at rest all the remainder of his life.

Two messâges of good news did likewise help to awake and spur him forwards, one the defeat of the Lords de Savenne and de Brosse; the other the gaining of a Battle at Senlis. Savenne and Brosse were Brothers, and of the bravest, indeed, amongst all the Picards, and the most zealous Leaguers; who as they were bringing two hundred Lancers to the Duke of Mayenne, were charged by Chastillon in that part of la Beausse near Bonneval, where yet the Cross of Savenne is to be seen. He slew a hundred of them, and took fourscore Prisoners, whereof the most part died of their Wounds. Amongst others Savenne, who refusing any manner of help or consolation, let his Soul fall forth together with his Blood, detesting the Murder at Blois, and spending his last breath in praising the heroick virtues of the Duke of Guise.

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As

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As to the affair of *Senlis*, *Tore* who had great influence over that City, because of the Voicinage of *Chantilly*, having reclaimed them to the Kings service, the Duke of *Almale* would needs set upon it with some *Parisian* Forces, and four thousand Men brought him by *Balagny*, who called himself Prince of *Cambray*. Now the very same day they had capitulated to surrender, *la Noue* and the young Duke of *Longueville* who had drawn together some Ten thousand Men to go and meet the *Swiss* raised by *Sancy*, and some Lords of *Picardy*, whose Houses *Balagny* had ruined, resolved to succour it.

They briskly attacked that Citizen-Camp, and found no great resistance, for they defeated and routed themselves upon the very first fight of their Army. There fell about two thousand of them upon the place, and almost as many in the Woods of *Chantilly*, who were knock'd at Head by the Peasants, and a thousand Prisoners with all their Bagage and Artillery. *Mayneville* and *Chamois* lost their lives upon the spot. *Almale* made but one continued Stage in running to *St. Denis*, where he pickt up some small fragments of his defeat. The Victors marched along by the very Gates of *Paris*, throwing in some Volees of Cannon, which carried to the *Hales*, and afterwards they put Provisions into *Vincennes* which held yet for the King.

July.

The Dutchess of *Montpensier* finding *Paris* much startled at this grand rout, press'd the Duke of *Mayenne* to come and take some course, otherwise all would be lost. He came therefore within fifteen days having first reduced the City of *Alencon*. When he had held some Consults with the Sixteen concerning the present state of Affairs, he went to regain the City of *Montreuil* which had surrendered to the Duke of *Espernon*, then immediately descended along the *Seine*, and encamped near *Paris* to cover it. For already the Kings Army was before *Pontoise*; and took it upon composition after *Hautefort* was slain, and *Alincourt* the Governor, grievously wounded in the Shoulder.

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The Evening of the Capitulation, the King had notice that the Foreign Assistance he expected, consisting of Ten thousand *Swiss*, two thousand *Lansquenets*, and some Light-Horse, were arrived at *Poissy*. By this means his Army amounting to above Thirty eight thousand Men, the opinion of the King of *Navarre* and the younger Captains (though contradicted by the old ones) made them resolve to attack *Paris* by main force. So that the King extended his Army from *St. Cloud* (where he lodged in the House of *Gondy*, even to the Gate of *Nuilly*, and the King of *Navarre* his from *Vanvres* to the Bridge of *Charenton*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* had enclosed the Suburbs on that side with great Retrenchments, and distributed his Men about to guard them. *La Chastre* was to defend those of *St. Germain*, *St. James*, and *St. Marcel*, and himself those of *St. Honore*, *St. Denis*, *St. Martin*, and *St. Laurence*, in case the King should bring any Forces on that side. He had not above ten thousand Soldiers: but the Duke of *Nemours* was on his march to bring him the like number, and he expected three thousand from *Lorraine*, and some Cavalry from divers parts of the Kingdom: sufficient Supplies, but not so near at hand, as was their danger.

Upon sight of the Kings Army, the Royalists who were numerous in *Paris*, the Cowards, and such as had a great deal to lose, did almost all declare bare-fac'd for an Accommodation, and they were already observed to run from House to House to exhort their Friends to follow their example. The apprehensions of a most bloody punishment did chill the Spirits of the hottest Leaguers and turn their zealous hearts into lumps of Ice, to little purpose did their declaiming Pulpiteers endeavour to encourage them, and keep their Souls from fainting with false reports, pretended to be sent them from all parts of the Nation: there was great danger left upon some general attack, which was resolved to be made on the Second day of *August*, their Swords should fall out of their trembling hands, and more yet, lest whilst they were engaged in Fight, the Royalists should charge them in the Rear, and set open some Gate for the Assailants entrance.

The Duke of *Mayenne* rather then come to such a dangerous extremity, had made his Party to go forth with four thousand Men all resolved to die like him, to run head-long upon the Enemies Lodgment and sollicite fortune de la guerre (who sometimes shews a kindness to the generous in despair) either to lead him safe by the hand out of that dismal Storm, or bury his high and noble designs in a most glorious death.

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He was yet in this extream resolution, when an accident as dreadful as it was unforeseen, snatch'd him from the very brink of the Precipice. A *Jacobin* Monk named *Frier Jacques Clement*, a Native of the Village of *Sorbonne* near *Sens*, aged Twenty five years, Profess'd of a Convent in *Paris*, and lately made a Priest, (other-

wife

wife dull and ignorant enough) of a very melancholy temper, and susceptible of those black vapours and imaginations formed in the brain by aduitcholer, unhappily undertook to deprive the King of life. In what manner and by whom he was induced to this, is a matter of too great importance to be discoursed without more certainty and light then I could ever find: but this is plain that if he were not prompted by any other to this design, there were some at least much pleased he had undertaken it, and who gave him instructions and an opportunity, since they brought him acquainted with the Count de *Brienne*, and some other Royalist Lords Prisoners in the *Bastille*, and gave him a Pass-port of that Counts, and a Letter of Credence from the President de *Harlay* for the King, but which was counterfeit.

La Guesle Solicitor General, going from his House of *Vanvres* with his Brother to *St. Cloud*, met him upon that Road, and learning from him that he had business of great importance to deliver to the King, caused him to get on Horseback behind his Brother, and carried him to *St. Cloud*. Were it brutality, strength of courage, or an allurance of his pretended glory of Martyrdom, never was so undaunted a Fellow seen as this pestilent Monk: he supped merrily with *La Guesle*s Servants, was not concerned at all the questions they put to him, and rested all night in a profound sleep. The next morning being brought by *La Guesle* into the Kings Chamber, he goes up to him without any dread, speaks to him without hesitation, presents him certain Letters, and as he was reading, takes his time, draws a Knife out of his Sleeve and plungeth it into his Belly. The King feeling himself wounded cries out, plucks the Knife out of his Wound, and gives him two blows, the one on the Forehead, the other in his Cheek. *La Guesle* draws his Sword, strikes the Monk imprudently upon the Forehead with the Pommel, and two or three of the *Quarente-cinq* more imprudent yet, kill him upon the place. When they had found whom he was, the Grand Prevost caused his Body to be torn asunder by four Horses, burnt the Quarters, and threw the Ashes into the Air.

At first the Wound did not appear to be very dangerous: but as soon as they had indication by a Glister given him that the small Guts were cut, and that there was no cure, he waited for death patiently and prepared himself in such manner as a most Christian King ought to do. He made his Confession to the Chaplain of his Closet, who gave him Absolution, upon the promise he made, of being ready to submit to whatever the Pope should Ordain, yet spake not a word of setting the Cardinal de *Bourbon* and the Archbishop at liberty. While he was entering the second time upon his Confession, he fell into a swoon, then utterly losing his speech, he expir'd about four in the morning, the Second day of *August*, which was the next after his being wounded.

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The preceding Evening, the King of *Navarre* informed of the danger he was in, came to visit him, the frequent fits of fainting he fell into every moment, would not allow him to make long discourses: but when dead, the several Factions made many different ones for him according to their Interests. The Catholics reported he exhorted him to abjure his Heresie, and to profess the true Faith; the *Huguenots* on the contrary, that he desired them to refer those Disputes to the Convocation of the Estates General; some others, that he conjured them to remain united, and pursue the Revenge for his Death: but it is most certain that he embraced him several times, and that he called him his good Brother, and his lawful Successor.

They carried his Corps to *St. Cornille de Compeigne*, where it reposed till the year 1610. when it was brought to *St. Denis* with that of the Queen his Mother which was at *Blois*, to accompany the Funeral Pomp of *Henry the Great*. Both of them were placed in the *Mausoleum* of the *Valois*. *Benoise* Secretary of the Closet, a faithful Servant, caused his Heart and Bowels to be buried in a private place of the Church of *St. Cloud*, then when *Henry IV.* had restored *France* to its perfect Peace, he placed an Epitaph there which is yet to be seen, and founded an Anniversary for him.

Henry III. ceased to live in the Eleventh Month of the Nine and thirtieth year of his Age, and the second of the sixteenth of his Reign. He had no Children by Queen *Louisa* his Wife, she survived him till the year 1601. and the Forty seventh of her Age. She made choice for her retirement of the Castle of *Monlins*, which was part of her Dower, where she passed the remainder of her days in the continual exercise of Piety and Christian Vertues.

With this King ended the Branch of the *Valois*, who had Reigned One hundred and sixty one years, (accounting from *Philip IV.*) and furnished *France* with thirteen Kings, most of them Magnificent, Liberal, Valiant, Religious, and Lovers of Polite Learning: but, to say the truth, not over-fortunate in War; who notwithstanding

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have

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have acquired to this Kingdom by good Conduct, rather than by force, *Dauphine*, *Burgundy*, *Provence*, and *Bretagne*: and chased the *English* wholly out of *France*, after a War of an hundred and thirty years together, with various success and fortune.

But, who began to burthen the People with Tails and Impositions, (little known in the Reigns of their Predecessors, unless in cases of urgent necessity, by grant of the Estates, and only for a time) who have alienated the Sacred Demesns of the Crown, permitted *Plebeians* to possess Fiefs, taken away Canonial Elections of Benefices, introduced the Venality of Offices, and even of Nobility, multiplied Officers of Justice, and of Finance, composed great numbers of Reiglements and Ordonances, changed the ancient Militia of the Kingdom to entertain Soldiers upon pay, level'd the power of the great Lords, called Women into the Court; and in fine made many other changes, whereof we must refer the Judgment to the Sages whether they be more profitable, or prejudicial to the State.

Henry

Henry IV. King LXII.

P O P E S,

SIXTUS V. near thirteen years
under this Reign. Months.

URBAN VII. Elected the 15th of
September 1590. S. only twelve
days.

GREGORY XIV. Elected the
fifth of December 1590. S. ten
Months ten days.

INNOCENT IX. Elected the
29th of October 1591. S. two

CLEMENT VIII. Elected the
30th of January 1592. S. thirteen
years and one Month.

LEO XI. Elected the first of April
1605. S. twenty seven days.

PAUL V. Elected the 16th of
May 1605. S. fifteen years, and
near nine Months, whereof five
years under this Reign.

HENRY IV. King LXII. Aged Thirty five years and
eight Months.

Although there had been hitherto no example in *France* of a Prince that came to the Crown from a degree so remote as was *Henry* King of *Navarre* in respect of King *Henry* III. to whom he was of Kin but in the tenth or eleventh: nevertheless it was the Sentiment both of the People and the Lawyers, that this succession in a Masculine Line, extended to infinity. And indeed those that would have excluded him did not make this distance beyond the seventh degree any part of their pretence, but the defect of his Religion, and they believed they had so shut up all the Avenues by the Edict of Re-union, which the Estates General and the deceased King had twice sworn, and by Pope *Sixtus* his Bull, that they imagined he could never attain it, even though he were converted.

During the night between the Second and third of *August* whilst his Predecessor was in his greatest agony, he held several Councils tumultuarly in the same House with his most cordial Servants; then when he saw he was giving up the ghost, he retired to his quarters at *Mendou*, followed at first by a good number of the Nobility, who accompanied him out of curiosity rather than affection. And there being lock'd up in his Chamber he consulted sometimes with one, sometimes with others, shewing great confidence to all, but generally suspecting every one.

Some, though but a very few, swore fealty to him without any Condition. *Biron*, the most considerable, and the most imperious of all those that were there, believing the Kingdom was going to be dismembred, as it had been at the end of the *Carlien* Race, made known he desired to have the County of *Perigord* for his share. The King commanded *Saucy* to offer it to him: but *Saucy*, who could not claim the like advantage for himself, did so picque him with generosity, as he renounced that demand, and went along with him to the *Swiss* Soldiers, to persuade them to remain in the Service of the new King. The fear they had of losing their pay, was a strong charm to hold them by; however some of them disbanded.

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August.

This

This was a great advantage for the new King : but as to the rest he was without Money and without Credit, the Princes of the Blood had neither the power nor will to serve him : the old Cardinal *de Bourbon* was his Concurrent ; the Cardinal *de Vendosmes* ambition gave him jealousy ; the humour of the Count *de Soissons* agreed but ill with his ; the Prince of *Conty* Brother to those two Princes, was of little effect, by reason of his deafness and his other natural defects ; *Montpensier* their Cousin, the richest and most powerful of them all, was well enough content he should be King, and never would have endured any other : but he desired he would abjure his Religion.

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As to the Lords who were in the deceased Kings Army, they were not very well inclined towards him. Those that had been in favour, apprehended lest he should take revenge for the ill impressions they had given their Master of him, and besides they would willingly have preserved the same power they had in the late Court, for which reason they made their Cabals apart four or five years together. The rest feared he would bestow their Commands upon his *Huguenots*, and the *Huguenots* themselves apprehended he might change his Religion. A suspicion which they had long before conceived, and which they began to look upon as an approaching truth, when they saw him ready to step into the Throne.

Thus did he not know whom to advise with : every resolution seemed perillous, he found it as greatly inconvenient to declare himself immediately a Catholick, as to persist in his *Huguenotism*, and the medium between those two Extreams was attended with the inconveniencies of both. Whilst these different thoughts were rowling in his Head, there met an Assembly of Nobility, right against his Lodging, where it was resolved it should be declared to him, that the Quality of *Most Christian*, being essential to a King of France, they did beseech him to take up the Crown with that Condition. The Duke of *Longueville* undertook to carry him this Message : being come to the Door he fell upon some Considerations, and gave ground, but *Francis d'O* supplied his place, and deliver'd it boldly.

The following night, the King held Council with five or six of his most intimate Friends to give an Answer to the Nobles, who at the same time were all Assembled in the House of *Francis de Luxembourg* Duke of *Piney*. It was resolved in the Kings Council, that happen what would, he should yet persevere in his Belief ; In the Assembly it was Decreed they might acknowledge him upon these Conditions ; That he should instruct himself within six Months ; That in the mean time he should forbid the Exercise of the new Religion ; That he should admit none to Commands or Offices that did profess it, and should suffer the Nobility to send their Deputies to the Pope, to make him understand and allow of the Reasons which obliged them to remain firm to his Service. He readily condescended to all these points, excepting the second, in compensation whereof he promised to restore the Exercise of the Catholick Religion over all, and the Clergy to their Livings.

There were divers that Signed this Accommodation with regret, and some who did absolutely refuse it ; amongst others *Espernon* and *Vitry* : This last threw himself into *Paris*, and for a while gave himself to the League : the other having protested he would never be either Leaguer or *Spaniard*, ask'd leave to be gone, yet allowed some days for the new King to raise the Siege of *Paris* with honour. Was it that he feared lest this Prince, to whom he had very lately done ill Offices near *Henry III.* would shew him some foul play, or rather borrow some great Sums of Money never to be repay'd ? Whatever Motive it were, his example was cause that the greatest part of the Army disbanded, for which the King had such a Resentment against him all his whole life as was the occasion of great mischiefs.

On the Leagues side, the *Parisians*, when they knew of the death of the King, considering rather the greatness of that peril had been so near them, then the enormity of this detestable Parricide, made publick Rejoycings, lighted Bonfires, set up Tables in the Streets, threw aside their black Scarves, and put on green ones, running desperately from the Town to the Trenches, and from the Trenches into the Town again.

Mean while in the Morning about Ten of the Clock was fought that famous Duel between *John de l'Isle Marivaut* and *Claude de Maroles*, both very brave Sword Men. The latter much moreskilful, though a great deal younger, had generously accepted the others Challenge. They chose for their Field of Battle, the Plain behind the *Chartreux*, *Maroles* directed so well, that he ran *Marivaut* into the Eye with his Lance and kill'd him. He gave his Corps to his Friends, being satisfied with his Sword and Horse as Trophies of his Victory.

When

When the *Parisians* were a little recover'd of their first Transports, they were all of this mind, that they ought not to admit of an Heretical Prince to the Throne of *St. Lewis*. This Resolution appeared so plausible and so Christian-like, that it was embraced even by those that had always detested the League as a Faction. And indeed this drew great numbers of People that were truly pious and considerable throughout the Kingdom to their Party : with whom they joyned till the Kings Conversion had satisfied their Consciencies, and secured the Catholick Religion, which certainly must have run a great hazard, had they not obliged him to change. But on the other hand *Henry III.* against whom the fury of the People was bent to revenge the death of the *Guises*, being now out of the World, their heat was abated of a sudden, and those angry Spirits having that Object no longer in view, did not act with the same passion and violence.

The Duke of *Mayenne* considering all these things, perhaps with more slowness then is requisite in such great and such pressing occasions, knew not what to resolve upon ; His Friends advis'd to have him be declared King, so to collect and unite the scatter'd Members of his Party, and although this Advice did not please the Sixteen, nor *Mendoza* the Spanish Ambassador, yet had the thing been done, they must then have consented. Others would have him agree with the King, who offer'd him Conditions very advantageous, and did almost promise to share the Kingdom with him. Another sort press'd him to declare to the Catholicks of the Royal Army, that all his Resentments being extinguished by the death of *Henry III.* to which he did not in the least contribute, he had now no other Interest in that Cause but for Religion ; and that therefore he should intreat they would all joyn with him, and oblige the King of *Navarre* to return into the bosom of the true Church, or if he would not come in, to elect another of the Blood Royal whom they should think fit. He embraced neither of these three ways, but following that of the *Quarante* and the most notable of the *Bourgeois*, he resolved to Proclaim *Charles* Cardinal of *Bourbon* King, which however was not done till four or five Months after.

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In vain therefore did the King essay by divers ways to make him submit : he could get no other Answer, but that he would hearken to no Conditions till he had set the Cardinal at liberty, and did himself return unto the Church. In the mean time observing the Duke debauched many of his Captains from him, as well by the temptations and caresses of the *Parisian* Gossips, as by his secret Bribes, he resolved to decamp and march into *Normandy* to secure himself of those Cities whose Governors had not hitherto declared for the League. This was in truth, to go and gather those Sums that were due, and to receive the *English* succours : but he first accompanied the Corps of his Predecessor to *St. Comille de Compeigne*, and in his way took *Creil* upon *Oyse*, *Meulan* on the *Seine*, *Clermont* in *Beauvoisis*, and *Gisors*.

He was after this forced to give his Nobility leave to go and take care of their Harvest : but he sent part of his Troops with those of *Picardy* commanded by the Duke of *Longueville*, another with those of *Champagne* conducted by the *Marschal d'Aumont*, and even some Companies into *Angoulmois* with the Duke of *Espernon*, that it might be thought he went not into those Countries but by his Order.

The more affectionate to the publick Liberty, said it belonged to the Estates General to decide a Question so important ; and, indeed, the King had assigned them at *Tours* in the Month of *October*, and the Duke at *Paris* in the Month of *November*, though neither the one nor the other did it out of any other end but to amuse the People. They did not forget on either part to give notice to all the Princes their Friends of what had hapned, and to seek their assistance. They were both of them near the same Age, both very valiant, the Duke of *Mayenne* till then in reputation as the better Commander : but he soon lost it, wanting celerity, which is one of the main qualifications.

In effect, he was slow in resolving, much slower yet in execution, negligent in pursuing his advantages, heavy of Body, a great sleeper, and a huge Trencher-man. His Secretaries and Officers were stupified with the same Laziness ; There were Pacquets of great importance lay oft-times two or three days on his Table and never open'd. Those that managed his Moneys were prodigal and ill Husbands, so that he never had enough at a time of need. His sloath tired the more active, and his sullen gravity, not to say pride, distastd his most zealous and faithful Partisans, as his suspicions and eternal jealousies disgusted and offended such by whom he might have been very much assisted. The King on the contrary, was not sparing of caresses and fair words, shewed a great deal of confidence in those Princes from whom he received any help, was affable and familiar, quick, active, and vigilant, not lying

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so long time in Bed, as the Duke was sitting at Table, with this sparing and frugal even to excess; yet handsomely bestowed what he could not well refuse.

As for the two Parties, that of the League was much the greater, for they had the generality of the common People, most of the biggest Cities, all the Parliaments, except *Renes*, and *Bourdeaux* (and this last did not own him till a year after) the better part of the Ecclesiastical Order, the assistance of *Spain*, the encouragement of *Rome*, and all the Catholick Princes (but the Republick of *Venice*, and the Duke of *Florence*): yet there was no union amongst their Chiefs, nor Authority sufficient in their General to fasten and hold all these different untack't pieces together, who were more opposed by each other than by the King himself.

The Royalists Party had almost all the Nobles, the Officers belonging to the late Court, all the Protestant Princes to Friend, and the *Huguenots* with their old Soldiers enured to hardships and trials, ready to expose all, that they might get a King of their own Religion; and indeed, they did render him most signal service, and would have done him much greater yet, if a suspicion of his Conversion had not tied up their hands. As for the Nobility, having no pay, they served him as it were by turns, a Month or six weeks together was the most, then they returned to their own homes, and those of some other Province came and supplied their places.

He had but three thousand *French* Foot left, two Regiments of *Swiss*, and twelve hundred Horse: with these he descends into *Normandy* along the *Seine*. *N. le Blanc-Rolet*, a Man of courage and judgment, Governor of *Pont de l'Arche*, was the first that declared, and came to meet and bring him the Keys of the place, *Emar de Chates* gave him the same assurance for *Diepe*, and *Gaspard de Polet la Verone* for the City and Castle of *Caen*. These favourable successes engaged him to the Siege of *Rouen*, *Amale* and *Briffac* were within with twelve hundred Horse, nevertheless the People beginning to waver, and not knowing how to rely either upon their conduct, or their valour, the Duke of *Mayenne* judged it necessary to go thither himself.

He had near four thousand Horse, and fifteen thousand Foot; for *Henry Marquis de Pont* Son of the Duke of *Lorraine*, after the taking of *Jumets*, was come to joyn him with a thousand Horse, *Christopher de Bassompierre* with four Cornets of *Reisters*, the Duke of *Nemours* with three thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse, *Balogny* with two thousand Men, and the Duke of *Parma* had sent him as many. The King did not believe this Army could have been ready so soon, nor that they would march this way. When he found they came directly to him, he decamped from before *Rouen*, and went and took the City of *Eu*: but he was much astonished when they came and told him they had pass'd the *Seine* at *Vernon*.

He then perceived he had no other course to take, till he could get his Nobility and Friends together, but to retire under the Walls of *Diepe*; and perhaps he might not have had time to do this, if the celerity of the Duke of *Mayenne's* Army had not been retarded by the absence of their Chief: for he was gone post from *Mantes* to *Beins* in *Haynault*, to confer with the Duke of *Parma*.

When he return'd, he designed to coop the King up in that corner; and to that purpose took all the little places round about it. By this means he thought first to invest him, and afterwards wholly overwhelm him: which appeared so feasible and undoubted, that he sent word every where, even into *Spain*, that he held the *Bearnois* pent up in a place from whence he could not escape him, unless he would leap into the Sea.

The Parliament of *Tours* had so great a dread of it, that they sent Deputies to propound to the King to associate the old Cardinal de *Bourbon* to the Crown, and the King himself startled by the timorous Councils of such as were about him, and apprehending lest the Barks that descended from *Rouen*, and those vessels the Duke of *Parma* was preparing at *Dunkirk*, should invest him by Sea, as he was already by Land, took it into consideration whether he ought not to go away for *England* while the Coast was clear. The plurality of Votes had carried it on that side, if the bold Remonstrances of the Marechal de *Biron*, who could do every thing with him, had not made them reject that mean-spirited Advice.

He lodged himself therefore at *Arques*, which is a Burrough with a Castle situate upon a rising ground, within a League and a half of *Diepe*, between the two little Hillocks that shut up the Valley where runs the River of *Betune*, of whose Mouth the Sea makes the Port of that City. The Duke Lodged on the Hill at the right hand, and attacked the Suburb du *Polet*, whence being repulsed, he lay still three days together without attempting any thing. The fourth he made a great effort to gain the Kings Retrenchment; but having lost five hundred Men, he retired, and rested

quiet two days more, after which having decamped and taken a march of seven or eight Leagues, he returns of a sudden to *Polet*, and began to batter it, but it was at a distance only and very coldly. The tenth day he raised the Siege for good and all, and retreated a great way into *Picardy*.

Besides his slowness and uncertainty, there were other clogs no less heavy, that hindered him from moving with that force and promptitude requisite in such great Enterprises: his *Germans* and *Swiss* refused to fight, unless he would first pay their Musters; and they were hourly ready to fall together by the Ears with the *French*, upon such picques as are ordinary betwixt different Nations. Besides all the Commanders of his Army, taking the Kings surrender or flight to be unavoidable, fell already into disputes about the sharing of the Kingdom. The Marquis du *Pont* believed the Crown was his due, the Duke of *Nemours*, the Duke and the Chevalier d'*Amale* scoffed at his Pretensions, and being possessed against each other with the like jealousies, as against him, did narrowly watch each others motions. This was it that upon this very first occasion betray'd the weakness of the Duke of *Mayenne* and the League, and gave the Royal Party so mean an opinion of them, and so good a one of themselves, that after this very day they made no difficulty, not only of standing their ground in any place, but of following and seeking them with unequal Forces.

Before we enter any further into this confusion of Troubles, it will be fit to note the disposition of *France* both within and without, in respect of the two Parties. Pope *Sixtus* had declared for the League, because the first news he had after the death of *Henry III.* reported they were absolute Masters of the whole Kingdom, and he believed that depending upon him, they would let him make such a King as should entirely submit the Crown to the Crozier.

The King of *Spain* would not determine this grand Quarrel, which he might very easily have done, had he at first commanded the Duke of *Parma* to enter *France* and to joyn with the Duke of *Mayenne*: but his interest was to ruine the Kingdom by their own Contentions, and then snatch up some fragments for himself. Upon this prospect, he never sent but slender assistance to the Duke, but with fair promises joyned to a great deal of ostentation. And indeed the Duke never had any sincere amity for, or strict tie with him, but knowing, as he thoroughly did, his intentions, the Forces they lent did often give him more fear and embarras, then they did him service.

The Seignury of *Venice* and the Duke of *Florence* had an interest that there should be a King in *France* to balance the overgrown power of the *Spaniard*, who too much over-topp'd them. Wherefore the Seignury owned *Henry IV.* at first dash, notwithstanding the oppositions of the Popes Nuncio and the *Spanish* Ambassador: and the *Florentine* offer'd to lend him three hundred thousand Crowns, provided he would make a Match for *Mary de Medicis* with one of the Princes of his Blood.

The Duke of *Lorraine* pretended to the Crown for his Son the Marquis du *Pont*: but in an Assembly of some Deputies of the Cities in *Champagne*, at *Chaumont*, in *Bassigny*, where he made his demand of it, not one gave him their Vote; and his Son whom he sent into *France* with some Forces, acquired so little reputation, and had moreover such ill fortune amongst the Women, that he carried back nothing, as 'tis said, but the Crown of *Venus*.

The Duke of *Savoy* had no less pretensions then the said Marquis, he derived his Title from his Mother, Daughter of the great King *Francis*, and that supported with the Alliance of *Spain*: However knowing himself too weak to carry the whole Kingdom, he would only have laid his hands upon *Provence* and *Dauphine*; and to that effect sent to the Parliament of *Grenoble*, whom he thought pretty well disposed to favour him by the care of *Charles de Simiane d'Albigny*, to make out his right to them, and incline them to own him. But he met with no great satisfaction: the Parliament replying that his demand concerned the whole Kingdom, that therefore he ought to make it to the Estates General, in whose determination they would absolutely acquiesce.

As for the Provinces, the Duke of *Mercoeur* was Master of the better part of *Bretagne*; *Normandy*, *Picardy*, and *Champagne* were almost all Leaguers; *Burgundy* was kept quiet under the commands of the Duke of *Mayenne*, excepting that in the following year the Count de *Tavannes* a Royalist took some Castles there, from whence he made War upon the Vicount his Brother, a passionate friend to the Duke of *Mayenne*. The greater part of *Guyenne* obey'd the Kings commands, there being none but the Cities of *Agen*, *Villeneuve*, and *Marmande*, as also some Castles in

Aginois and in *Quercy*, who were of the opposite party. The Duke of *Mayenne* had no doubt drawn all that Province after him, had he bestowed the Government upon *Biron*, and not on the Marquis *de Villars* his Wives Son, who by her importunities made him commit that gross mistake. As to the rest the Marechal *de Matignon* had retained *Bordeaux*, *Anne de Levis* Count *de la Voute* *Limoges*, some others *Perigord* and *Quercy*, and the Duke of *Espenon* *Angoulmois*. *Poitiers* on the contrary remained *fort-free*.

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September.

The Country along the *Loire* was much embroil'd : *Berry* and *Orleannois*, as also *Mayne*, *Perche*, and *Beauvais*, held for the League ; *Touraine* and *Bleis* for the King. *Montmorency* had secured for him that part of *Languedoc* whereof he was Master, having sent him a promise of the Constables Sword : but he would not break that Truce he had made with *Joyeuse* ; who held the Cities of *Narbonne*, *Carcassonne*, *d'Alby*, *Rodes*, and even that of *Toulonze*, which is capital of the Province, with some other lesser places.

* *Vile*, in
March pre-
ceding.

In *Provence*, the Parliament and *la Valette* made War against each other, more out of private animosities than affection to either Party. The Duke of *Savoy* concern'd himself for his own Interest ; but this year he was employ'd against the *Swiss*, and in the pursuit of a design he had conceived of taking the City of *Geneva*. The Duke of *Nemours* held *Lyons*, and *Vienne* ; and *d'Albigy* *Grenoble* and some petty Towns for the League ; *Lesdiguières* Head of the *Huguenots*, and *Alonso Dornano* Head of the Catholick Royalists, being allied together, master'd almost all the rest of *Dauphine*. In *Auvergne* the Count *de Randan* a zealous Catholick, had made sure of *Limagne* ; but on the contrary most of the Lords of the Province, as we have before hinted *, resisted him stoutly.

* Or Suburbs
St. James.
November.

The *Parisians* who thought the taking of the *Bearnois* (so they called him) infallible, were mightily surprized, when they saw he (after the having received a supply of four thousand *English* the evening before the day that the Duke of *Mayenne* decamp'd from *Diepe*) having made a long march, came on *All-Saints* day attack'd and forced their great Retrenchments of the *Fauxbourgs* * *Saint Jacques* and *Saint Germain*, then the *Fauxbourgs* themselves, with so much vigour, that he might have entred the City, had his Cannon but come timely enough to beat open the Gates. It's said he got up into the Steeple of the Abby *St. Germain*, and thence at leisure contemplated the tumults and hurry he caus'd in *Paris*.

Bourgoing Prior of the *Jacobins*, was taken in the Trenches of the *Fauxbourg Saint Jacques*, with his Armour on and fighting courageously ; they convey'd him to *Tours* where the Parliament condemn'd him to be drawn by four Horses, upon the Depositions of some Witnesses, whether true or false, who gave Evidence that he had incited *Jacques Clement* to kill *Henry III.* which he ever constantly denied, and died so.

1589.
November.

The Duke of *Mayenne* knowing the King drew toward *Paris*, sent the Duke of *Nemours* thither with all expedition, who did not arrive till towards night ; the next day he came himself with the gross of his Army. Upon the noise of his arrival, the King withdrew his out of the *Fauxbourgs* into the Field, and having stood there three hours in battalia, went to *Lins*. From thence he went and took *Estampes*, and *Jarville*, then *Vendosme*. *Maille Benchard* who was Governor, not having the discretion either to surrender it in time, or defend it bravely, was there beheaded.

He march'd afterwards to *Tours*, where he staid but two days, and went to attack *Mans*. In it there were twenty Companies of Foot, and one hundred Gentlemen ; *Bois-Dauphin* commanded there. They had caus'd all the Suburbs to be burnt down, as if resolv'd to defend themselves to the utmost extremity, and yet at the first Cannon Shot glancing upon their Wall, they made Composition, which the more honourable, by so much was it the more shameful. In fine, in *Anjou*, *Mayne*, and *Touraine*, the League could preserve only the Town *de la Ferte Bernard*. The King left that, it being of more importance to employ his Arms for the reduction of *Normandy*.

September.

In the Month of *September*, Pope *Sixtus* had chosen the Cardinal *Caetan* to go Legat into *France*. His Orders were, "To take care they should provide *France* "with a King that were Pious, a Catholick, and agreeable to the *French* ; To that "effect to go directly to *Paris*, where the Ambassadors of *Spain* and *Savoy* were to "meet, to hear all the Propositions should be made to him, to shew himself wholly "disinterested, to engage for no Pretender, to hear even the King of *Navarre*, if "there were any hopes of reconciling him to the Church, with honour and dignity "to the Holy See. After these Instructions given, the Pope received Letters written to him by the Duke *de Piney*, (deputed to his Holiness on behalf of the Royalist Nobility)

Nobility) assuring him he was upon his Journey towards *Rome* to give him a good Account of that Body ; this caus'd him to stop his Legat for some weeks : but the League importuned him so much that he was at last oblig'd to let him go.

He arriv'd at *Lyons* the Ninth of *November*, so fraught with an opinion of his great Power and Conduct, that he thought to dispose of all *France* at to his own pleasure, and unravel all the grand Affairs with those little Intrigues, and trivial Subtilties they make use of in deciding those amongst themselves at *Rome*. So having refused the offer the Duke of *Nevers* made him of his City (which ever since the death of *Henry III.* he had kept neuter betwixt both Parties) and without giving notice of his coming to the Catholick Lords who were with the King, but only to the Duke of *Mayenne*, he caus'd his Brief to be published containing the subject of his Legation, and afterwards came to *Paris*.

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November.

Now because in the Brief no mention was made of the Cardinal *de Bourbon*, the Duke was possess'd with some apprehensions, lest the Pope and the *Spaniard* had agreed to make some other Person King, and by consequence make him lose that Authority he would preserve under the name of that Cardinal, and therefore to prevent that danger, he made haste before the arrival of the Legat, to have him solemnly declared King ; and in effect he was proclaimed so in all the Cities of that Party by virtue of a Decree of the Council for the Union verified in Parliament ; and from that time Justice, and all other publick Acts, began to be administred in the name of *Charles X.* the Title and the Power of Lieutenant General still reserved to the Duke.

There were then four different Factions in *Paris*, (besides that of the Royalists who durst not too openly discover themselves ;) That is the Party called the Politicks, because they considered the State much more than Religion, for which the greater part being less concern'd then for their own proper interest, believed the stronger side was ever the most just ; and wish'd the King might become so, but in the mean while never declar'd for him. The second, was that of the *Lorrain* Princes, consisting of their Friends and a Party of Zealous Catholicks ; The third, were the *Spanioliz'd*, (if we may use this Phrase) whom the luster of *Peruvian* Gold had fetter'd to King *Philip's* Interest : and the fourth a sort of People too amorous and fond of liberty, who aimed to set up a Government whereby absolute Authority might be restrained within the bounds of Laws. This latter did not long subsist, the other three (though Enemies amongst themselves) conspiring to make them odious and to destroy them : in so much as not knowing which way to turn, they quickly joyned with the *Spanish* who received them with open Arms.

In the beginning the *Spaniards* promised themselves their own hearts desires from the charming power of their Pistols : they did not know they had to do with People that were ever craving and never satisfied. Wherefore when *Mendoza* the Ambassador (imagining he had made a Party sufficient) propounded in Council that they should chuse the King his Master for Protector of the Holy Union. The Duke was hugely surprized, and after he had consulted with his ablest Heads, made Answer, that the Legat being so near, it would be thought a Crime to resolve upon so weighty a business without first communicating of it to him. This reply piqued the *Spaniard* much ; and they were quits with him, for some days after, when he demanded Money, they paid him with the very same evasion. In this manner being all jealous of each other, and employing their greatest care, the one to usurp, the other to defend themselves, they in this mean while let slip the opportunity of destroying the common Enemy, and continuing to act in the same manner still, they labour'd only to the advancement of his Affairs, and the destruction of their own.

1589.
November.

The Duke sensibly touch'd with the reproaches of the *Parisians*, for having kept his Army three weeks about the Town without doing any thing, takes the Field the Two and twentieth of *November*. He gains the *Bois de Vincennes* and some other Castles upon Composition, laid Siege to *Pontoise* which defended it self but very poorly, this was in the beginning of *January*, then went to attack *Meulan*. He promis'd himself after the taking of this last place, to do the same by *Pont de l'Arche*, and by that means keep the River of *Seine* open from *Paris* even to *Rouen*. It was easie enough for him to gain the Town of *Meulan*, the difficulty was to take the Fort, which is an Island joyn'd to the two Shoars by two Bridges.

1589.
January.

As then the King was in *Normandy*, where he had reduced almost all the places, *Alencon*, *Argentan*, *Domfront*, *Lisieux*, *Bayeux*, *Falaise*, and *Honfleur*. There were none but the two last that sustained a Siege ; the first was taken by assault from the Castle, (the Mote which was its chiefest strength being frozen up) and was miserably sacked ; the other capitulated as soon as the King had block'd up their

Harbour,

Harbour, by which they daily received refreshment sent them by *Villars* from *Rouen*.

Now when he was informed the Duke was before *Meulan*, he hastens thither with part of his Men, puts relief into the Fort, then some few days after comes again with his whole Army. Now the Duke being well lodged in the Burrough, and he much incommoded in the Field by the great Frosts, resolved to draw him out thence by attacking *Poissy*, which lies a League above it. He immediately gains the Town by *Escalado*, and falls a battering the Bridge: The Duke runs thither upon the noise of the Cannon, and could no way stop their fury but by breaking down two Arches of the Bridge. The King having done what he desired, went and laid Siege to *Dreux*.

During this the Legat was arrived at *Paris*. He there received the Compliments of the Magistrates, and all the distinct Bodies Corporate of the City, presented his Bull in Parliament who verified it without any modification, and went afterwards thither himself in great pomp, believing there remained nothing more for him to do but to take possession of the Sovereign Authority. But as he would have placed himself in the Kings Seat, which is in the corner under a Canopy, the first President pull'd him gently by the hand, as if to shew him respect, and sat him on the Bench below him. The Parliament of *Tours* having seen his Bull, and observ'd it was directed to the Kings Enemies, forbid he should be owned for Legat; that of *Paris* on the contrary damn'd their Decree; and thus these two Companies often fought with the points of their Pens.

The King making much ado with his demanding a Conference to be instructed (writing however quite contrary to the Protestant Princes) many of the Leaguers began to grow cool, and even some Preachers were so bold as to speak in favour of him. The Faculty of Theology made a Decree of the Tenth of February, wherein they condemned these Propositions, *That it was lawful to agree with the Bearnois, to own him upon condition he became a Catholic, and to pay him Taxes and Subsidies*. The Legat at the same time wrote his Circular Letter the first of March, to all the Bishops, forbidding them to appear in any Assembly for that purpose, and withal took a new Oath of the *Prevost des Merchants*, *Eschevins*, *Quarteniers*, *Diziniens*, and Captains of each Quarter, or Ward, to persevere in the Holy Union to the last moment of their lives. This was done in the great *Augustins* after solemn Procession.

The Ambassador of *Spain* was not so discouraged upon their first denial to own the King his Master for their Protector, but he would needs attempt it a second time, which had no better success than the former. He likewise offer'd the Duke a very great supply: but he who would readily have accepted it in the beginning, apprehending it might be to stifle his Authority by a greater, told him he should be satisfied with five or six thousand Men, and the remainder he would rather have in Money.

During the difficulties created by their Agents on this Subject, he goes to the Duke of *Parma*, and procured of him fifteen hundred Lances, and five hundred Arquebusers on Horseback, Armed with Breast and Head-piece, they were called *Carabins*, all commanded by *Philip* Count of *Egmont*, a young Man growing in Reputation, but who as yet was more rash than valiant.

With this Re-inforcement having no less than four thousand Horse, and ten thousand Foot, he marches to the relief of *Dreux*, and passed over the River *Seine* at *Mantes*. The King having notice of it raised the Siege and came to post himself at *Nonancour*; The same night he arrived there, his Council resolved to give Battle, though his Army were less in number by a third part than the Enemy. It was not the Dukes design to engage him, but only to put some Men into *Dreux*, as he might with ease, all the *Avenues* being left open: but the King decamping from *Nonancour* to draw somewhat nearer the River *Eure* towards *Tury*, that so if the Enemies attempted to pass over, he might fight them separately, the Leaguers imagined he was flying. Then *Egmont* presses the Duke to follow and fall upon him, and while the Duke knew not what to resolve, brags he would attack him with his own Party alone and beat him. These Huffings and the vain discourses of the *Parisians*, who reproached his sloath, constrained him to pass the River *Eure*, and engaged him in Combat.

Those that call'd so lowd for Battle fell into a sudden consternation when they saw the Kings Forces, who far from running away came directly towards them, but there was now no way left them to avoid it. The next Morning being on Wednesday the Fourteenth of March, the two Armies ranged themselves in Batalia right against *Tury*,

Tury, in that great Plain which lies in the midst of a Peninsula between the Rivers *Aure* and *Iron*, and the *Eure* which receives them both. (In less than half an hour the Army of the League was utterly defeated, the great Squadrons of their Lancers broken with the others Swords and Pistol Shot, their Lanquencets cut in pieces, and most part of their *Frenchmen* kill'd upon the place. The *Swiss* only stood their ground: but when they saw they were about to break their Batalions with great Guns, they lowred their Pikes and surrendred their Colours; which were immediately restored to them again by the generosity of the King, who desiring to oblige the whole Nation, wrote a very civil Letter to the *Cantons*.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, after he had performed all the Duties of a great Commander and brave Cavalier, drew part of his Men over the Bridge, then caused it to be broken down, and with that remnant escaped to *Mantes*. The Inhabitants were willing to receive his Person, but not quarter his Troops, but made them go thorough ten by ten. *Nemours*, *Aumale*, and some other Chiefs, with what they could rally, retired to *Chartres* over the Plain.

The Duke attributed the loss of this Battle to his *Flemish* Men at Arms, who were heavy and unskilful, as well the Men as their Horses; to the temerity of Count *Egmont* who commanded them; to the mistake of the Vicount de *Tavannes*, who being short-sighted, ranged the Squadrons so near each other that there was not space enough in the intervals for the *Reisters* to wheel about and draw up again in the rear of the rest; and above all to the cowardize of those very *Reisters*, who having at first given ground, fell into the Dukes Squadron, and continuing still to wheel off during the whole fight, fell upon the others likewise and so put them into disorder.

For fear of being pursued he had broken down the Bridge of *Tury*: and there hapned the greatest slaughter of the run-aways, the *Reisters* defended themselves a while in the Burrough, but were all knock'd on the Heads. The King having past the River at the Ford of *Anet*, was come to Lodge at *Rosny*, which is a League beyond *Mantes*: His approaches startled the Inhabitants of that Town; the Duke perceived by their looks there would be little security for him there, and for that reason retired speedily to *St. Denis*.

The Plain of *Tury* was not the only place wherein destiny, to speak like the *Vulgar*, declared for the King: the same day it gave him in *Auvergne* another advantage of great importance, and such as wholly confirmed his Affairs in that Province. The Count de *Randan* had surprized the Town of *Issire*, and built a Citadel, the Gentlemen Royalists, and the Citizens of *Clermont*, who in hatred to those of *Rion*, had a great deal of Zeal for the Kings Party, surprized the City by their intelligence with a Consul, and besieged the Citadel. *Florat* Seneschal of *Auvergne*, commanded on this occasion; *Randan* comes to relieve the Citadel, and invested both him and his Party in the Town.

The Lords of that Country, amongst others *Rostignac* the Kings Lieutenant, the Vicount de *Lavedan*, the Baron de *Chaseron*, the Marquis de *Curton* who commanded the little Army, and *d'Effiat*, came to disengage their Friends. This could not be without a Battle: it was very obstinate, but, in fine, the Leaguers were overthrown. It cost them five hundred Men, whereof there were an hundred Gentlemen; and amongst the rest the generous Count de *Randan*, who being taken Prisoner died of his Wounds in *Issire*. Those of the Citadel, having heard of this defeat capitulated, and the Victors returned in great triumph to *Clermont*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* was no sooner parted from *Mantes*, but that City and that of *Vernon* turned their backs upon him. It was said, that if he could but have left a good Garison there, he had stopt the King upon the Banks of the *Seine*, and made his Victory vanish; In effect he had neither Implements nor Ammunition to make a Siege, nor could he keep the Nobility with him any longer, who upon the rumour of a Battle came in all haste to him without any Equipage.

The Wife *la Nove* was of opinion he should go directly to *Paris*, where the Victory of *Tury* had wonderfully raised the courage of his Friends, and depressed that of the Seize: the Marechal de *Biron*, most prevalent in the Council of War, and *d'O* Surintendant of the Finances hindred it; The first, as it was said, because he feared lest the King, whom he treated as his Scholer, should free himself, if we may so say, from the power of his Ferula, and have the less regard of him, if his business came to be dispatched so soon; The second because he desired rather to reduce *Paris* by violent means. For he judged that in case it were so, the King would have just cause not only to take away the Cities Revenue, but likewise extort great Ransoms from them, and lay such Imposts as he pleased. Now whatever motive he had, he rested fifteen

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January.

February, and
March.

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March.

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fifteen days at *Mantes*, in which space the League did a little recover out of their astonishment, calmed the Peoples fears, and repaired their leaks.

Their Chiefs, that they might gain more time, made some Proposals for an Accommodation. *Villeroy* first entred into Conference with *Plessis Mornay* in the Castle of *Suindre* near *Mantes*, the Legat procured another at *Noisy le Sec*, between the Cardinal *de Gondy* and the Maréchal *Biron*, and was also present himself. All very ineffectually for them, because the King, without any delay, prepared himself to besiege *Paris*.

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March and
April.

He had already taken *Lagny*, *Provins*, *Monstereau*, *Bray* on the *Seine*, and *Melun*. Some false intelligence put him upon attempting the City of *Sens*: but he was repulsed by *Chauvallon* with the loss of three hundred Men. From thence he came and seized on the Castle and Bridge of *Saint Maur des Fossés* the Five and twentieth day of *April*, having fifteen thousand Foot, and little less than four thousand Horse.

Then *Paris* found they were block'd up. That innumerable and confused multitude of People, without Heads, at least not absolute, without foresight, without Discipline, who apprehended no danger, because they understood it not, and who relied upon their great numbers and strength, had made no provisions for the Belly, nor for War, neither had the Chiefs taken any care to provide against either publick or private necessities. When it came into their thoughts it was too late: the Countries about them had no Corn nor Forrage, all the Bridges beneath the City were in the Kings power, and the *Marne* could furnish them with little, because the Harvest that year had been very ill in *Champagne*. They had scarce any other Stores but three thousand Muids of Corn, and ten thousand Muids of Wine which *Givry* suffer'd to pass the Bridge of *Chamoy*, for a present bestow'd upon him of ten thousand Crowns, and out of a secret Complaisance he had for *Mademoiselle de Guise*, with whom he was mightily smitten.

May.

The Duke of *Mayennes* Orders and their Necessity confer'd the Government of the City on the Duke of *Nemours* his Brother by the Mother, a young Prince of an active boldness and great vigour. He had then no Men of note about him but the Chevalier *d'Aumale*, brave, but wild and untractable, and of Soldiers only twelve hundred *Lansquenets*, as many *French*, and a thousand *Swiss*: but he drew *Vitry* thither with an hundred and fifty Masters, and *Berdnrdine de Mendoza* Ambassador from *Spain*, sent for a hundred Horse. In the City were the Princesses of *Nemours*, *Montpensier*, *d'Aumale*, *de Guise* with her Daughter, and some other Ladies of Quality, the Spanish Ambassador, the Archbishop of *Lyons* Keeper of the Seals for the League, the Legat with all his Train, and divers *French* Prelats, besides the Cardinal *de Gondy*, who though more Royalist than a Leaguer, would not however forsake his Flock in their necessity, but very charitably relieved them.

It would be very difficult to say which was greater, either the vigilance and cares of the Governor, or the zeal of the *Parisians*; In a short time they had made great quantities of Powder, repaired the breaches in their Walls, cast up Breast-works and Mounts, cover'd the Suburbs with great Intrenchments, fixed Chains in every Street, filled great numbers of Barrils with Earth to make Barricado's, planted Posts and Bars at all the Avenues, cast seventy five pieces of Cannon, wherewith he furnished the Rampiers, and secur'd the River both above and below with Massive Chains, which were held up by strong Estacado's, and defended by Forts built on either hand.

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May.

The *Parisians* on their part gave the very Furniture of their Kitchens to found their Cannon, each House provided a Labourer to work upon their Fortifications, paid all the poor that put their helping hand, exercised their Soldiery three times a week; and which is more considerable admitted a Garison amongst them, and saw their Country Houses ransack'd and destroy'd without murmuring.

Most of the Handicrafts-men and all Forreigners were gone out of the City, the great Hostels were empty; the substantial Citizens had sent their Families away: yet there remained two hundred thousand Souls, and but Provisions for one Month only, (at the rate of a pound of Bread a day for each person) besides fifteen hundred Muids of Oats and an hundred Muids of Pulse.

The King in the first place master'd the Bridges of *Charenton* and *Saint Cloud*, (six young *Parisians* defended themselves three whole days in the Bridge-Tower of *Charenton*) took *Vincennes*, besieged *St. Denis*, and placed Garisons of Light-Horsemen in all the strong Houses for seven or eight Leagues round about; whence they beat the Roads night and day, that nothing passing by, the City might in short time be reduced to Famine. This method after seven or eight days trial, seeming too tedious,

he

he endeavour'd to draw the Besieged to a Battle, and for that purpose order'd an attaque upon the *Fauxbourg Saint Laurence*: but there experimenting their brave defence, and by some other great Skirmishes observing they had yet too much vigour to be forced within their Barricado's, and their Commanders too much prudence to hazard themselves in the Field, he returned to his former design of famishing them.

The Duke of *Mayenne* was gone to beg some assistance in *Flanders*, where he had enough to do to endure the pride and affected slow pace of the Spanish Council. In the condition he left *Paris* he did not believe it could hold out one Month, and not being able to relieve it but by the aid of the *Spaniards*, he feared he should lose it in saving it, and that they would deliver it only to get it for themselves. At the same time also happens the death of the old Cardinal *de Bourbon*, who ended his days the Ninth of *May* at the Castle of *Fontenay in Poitou*, under the guard of the Lord *de La Boulaye*. The King had put him into this Lords custody after the taking him out of the hands of the Lord *de Chavigny*, who was both old and blind, at the very time when the Lords of the League were bargaining with that good Man to set him at liberty.

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This fresh accident put him to great trouble, he was in need of a King to fix the Eyes and Veneration of the People, he foresaw the *Spaniard* would press him to chuse one, and he knew the difficulties that would arise on that side, as also from the Chiefs of his own Party who hindred him from attaining it: all his study was therefore to find out plausible delays to put off this Election, and he did succeed therein as he desired, but such proceeding ruin'd his Party.

The Heads of the League had wisely before-hand disposed the People so, as that this death should cause no alteration. The Faculty of Divinity consulted by the *Prevost des Merchants*, and by some noted *Bourgeois*, had made Answer, That Henry of Bourbon could not, because of the scandal, and danger of his relapsing, be admitted to the Crown, if King Charles X. or any other lawful Successor should happen to die, or yield him up his right, or if even the said Prince should obtain Absolution, and that those who died for so holy a Cause, should gain the Palm of Martyrdom, and be Crowned in Heaven as brave Defenders of the Faith.

At five weeks end the Duke of *Mayenne* could get of the Duke of *Parma* but four thousand Foot, and two hundred Lances, with which having joyned some two thousand *French* whom he pickt up, or who were sent him by *Balagny*, he advanced as far as *Laon*. Immediately the King goes from his Camp with five and twenty hundred Horse, thinking to meet him in the Field and charge him: the Duke had a hint of it, and making use (thistime) of great celerity, got under shelter of the Walls of *Laon*. Whilst the King was harrailing him, *St. Pol* being detached privately with eight hundred Horse and some Foot, and having gotten together a pretty good Convoy of Provisions, conducted it along the Banks of the *Marne*, and put it into *Paris* before the King could get back to his Camp to prevent him.

June.

During the Siege, the War went on variously in the Provinces, I shall mention only the most remarkable passages. *Francis de Roussel May-David* surprized the Castle of *Vernuil*, and likewise made himself Master of the City after a very bloody fight, in which *John de Dreux Morainville* was slain, who was said to be the last Male of the House of *Dreux*, Issue of *Lewis the Gros*, by *Robert*, fifth Son of that King. *Lansac* had a design upon *Mans* which was discover'd, and his Troops defeated at *Memers* (where they waited to see the event) by *Hertre* Governor of *Alencon*. He was more unfortunate yet in another Enterprize upon the Town of *Mayenne*: having taken it and holding the Castle besieged, the same *Hertre* and *Montataire* put him to the rout, and cut off or took above twelve hundred Men of two thousand he commanded.

1590.
April, May, &c.

The Leagued Gentlemen of *Bretagne* surprized the City of *Sable* and attacked the Castle: *Rambouillet* (whose Wife had been taken Prisoner in that place) intreated the Nobles of the Country to assist him. His two Brothers with as many as they could get together fell upon the Besiegers; the first charge was but with little success; but at the second (when they had gotten some Cannon and a Reinforcement of a thousand Men, sent them by *Rocbeport* Governor of *Angers*) they broke thorough their Barricado's, pierced even into the Bass-court of the Castle, and followed them so close, as they betook themselves to their Heels, but not breaking down the Bridge, the greatest part were kill'd or taken Prisoners.

In *Languedoc*, *Montmorency* armed slowly, thinking by such coldness to make them send him the Constables Sword, which other considerations with-held. *Albigny* and

and *Lesdiguieres* made War in *Dauphine* by taking and re-taking several Forts from each other. The latter being the stronger marched sometimes towards *Lyons* to assist *Maurion* who held one of the Castles of *Vienne* for the King, and had *St. Chaumont* for Antagonist. He likewise went frequently towards *Provence* to help *la Valette*. *Montmorency* also passed the *Rhone* divers times: but that was to endeavour to lay hands on some places to enlarge his Dominion.

Provence was miserably rent and distracted by three or four Factions, not reckoning the Royalists. The Duke of *Savoy* had his; the Countess of *Sault*, and the Count de *Carces* each theirs. That of the Duke seem'd to be the most predominant, and to draw the two others to his Interests; but the the Countess (it was *Christienne d'Aguerre* Widow of *Lewis d'Agout* Count de *Sault*) a Woman of great courage, and of a high spirit, would not introduce him into the Province, but to make her self the stronger; and the Count de *Carces* likewise, not being able to stand upon his own Legs, gave that Duke footing only that he might be enabled to make head against *la Valette*. For he imagined that being prime Lord of the Country, and Lieutenant of the Forces by Authority of Parliament all the Authority there ought to devolve on him. The Parliament was also mightily divided between these three Factions, and moreover some of the Officers belonging to them, had left them to follow the Kings Party and that of *la Valette* his Governor. These had withdrawn themselves to *Manosque* where they affirm'd they were the true Parliament.

During the first heat of these Commotions, the Dukes Money and Practises gave him the advantage, the Magistrates of the chief Cities, amongst others *Marseilles* and *Aix*, being all for him. A great Assembly of the Clergy and Nobility which was held at *Aix* in the Month of *January*, resolv'd to put the Province under his Protection, and deputed a Bishop and the eldest Consul of the City to him; and after that the Parliament Ordained likewise that he should be called in to defend it; To which they added that the Estates of the *Bigarrats* (so they named the Royalists) should be confiscate.

As to the rest, it were folly to engage in a Relation of all the several Intrigues, and Exploits of so many Parties, who changing every moment both their Designs and the management of them, did not well know themselves what they would have or do; I shall therefore not mention them, no more then those of several other Provinces. Only of *Bretagne* let me say that the Prince de *Dombes* rudely repuls'd the Duke de *Mercur*, took *Hennebon*, *Montcontour* and *Lambale*: but could not engage him to a Battle. I shall likewise take notice of the great change at *St. Malo's*, because it was a place of great importance.

Honorat de Bucil des Fontaines Governor of the Town, lodged in the Castle which lies upon the Harbour, and had there stowed all the Riches he had scraped together in the time of his being in favour with King *Charles IX.* The *Malouins* being persuaded that he had plotted to introduce a strong Garison into their City, and set the wealthiest Merchants at Ransom, conspired to rid their hands of him. Having therefore corrupted a *Valet de Chambre* of his, they scaled the Castle on the Fourteenth of *March* in the night, and it so hapned that he was kill'd with a Carbine Shot at a Window, whether by chance, or designedly, I know not. After which they plundered his Goods, then got the Duke of *Mercur* to justify them, and fell in with the League, yet they warily refused to admit of any Soldiers, but kept the Castle themselves.

The Affections of considering Men, as well as fortune and success, began to dispose their minds by little and little to favour the King. Pope *Sixtus* better informed of the condition of both Parties, and comparing the qualities and the manner of that Princes acting with the Duke of *Mayennes*, did well foresee that he would have the better, and indeed, he received into *Rome*, then to his Audience, the Duke de *Piney* deputed from the Catholick Nobility, notwithstanding the threats and protestations of the *Spanish* Ambassador, and had sent Order to his Legat in *France*, that he should make no use of Excommunication, but try all ways of prudence and gentleness to bring back the King.

The People began likewise to be made sensible of the real goodness of this Prince, as he had already taught them to dread his courage. And the Duke of *Nevers*, who had hitherto remained as it were Neuter in his own Town, after his having consider'd of all the methods likely to convert him, judg'd none could be either more certain or more Consious, then wisely to thrust himself between the *Huguenots* and him, to divide him from them, and so draw him mildly towards the Catholick Church. With

this design he came about the beginning of *July*, and brought in great numbers of the Gentry by his Interest and Example.

It was about the same time the King recalled the Chancellor de *Chiverny*, and restored the Seals to him: *Montbolon* had discharg'd himself of them after the death of *Henry III.* fearing he might be engaged to Seal some thing in favour of the *Huguenots*, though he still remained of the Kings Party; in which he this year died, honoured by good Men with the Surname of the *French Aristides*. After his demission the Seals had been managed by the Cardinal de *Vendosme*, then put into the custody of *Ruse* Secretary of State, but without any power of using them save by Order of the *Marschal Biron* who had a hand in every thing.

About the time of his return, the City of *St. Denis* surrendered, and a design the Leaguers had contrived upon *Sentis* miscarried. *St. Denis* having consumed all their Stores, wherewith it was as little provided for as *Paris*, made their Composition; which was advantageous enough, because the King desired to lodge there. As to *Sentis*, *Bouteville* who was Lieutenant to his Cousin *Tore* there, walking one night upon the Rampart overheard some People beneath in the *Fossé* who spake very low, and perceived they planted a Ladder against the Wall: he rolls down a huge Stone from the Parapet which beat the Ladder in pieces and broke the Thigh-bone of one of them; this Fellow not able to get away revealed the whole Conspiracy. They found twelve Soldiers concealed in the House of a *Chanoine*, who were all Hanged, and with them twenty seven, as well Priests as Monks, in their Ecclesiastical Habits.

There flocked People from all parts to the Siege of *Paris*: some that till now had been irresolute, were brought in for fear of sinking with a Party they believed could never rise again, others in hopes of Plunder, believing *Paris* would be left a Prey, and that they should get Mountains of Gold: many by the expresse Order of the King. The Prince of *Conty* brought the Forces of *Poitou*, *Touraine*, *Auvergne* and *Maine*; *Humieres* sent a Party of those of *Picardy*; and the Vicount de *Turenne* being recover'd of a great fit of Sickness, was brought in a Litter at the head of a thousand Horse and four thousand Foot.

The King was not without great disquiets, the interests and desires of the Catholicks and *Huguenots* were very different for the gaining of *Paris*. The former as we have observed, wished he might get in by an Accommodation; the others would have it by force. All agreed in this one point that they were much dissatisfied with him, because the Catholicks urging him to become a Convert, and the *Huguenots* to revoke the Edict made against them by *Henry III.* he could not as yet satisfy either the one nor the other, so that from complaining they fell to caballing and conspiring.

In this perplexity he had about the end of *May* given a Pass-port to some Deputies of *Paris*, to find out the Duke of *Mayenne* and exhort him to Peace: but by what motive I know not, presently recalled it again. A Month after finding the Siege drew out in length, and the disturbances caused by the two Parties in his Army, increased more and more, he consented to a conference betwixt the Legat and the Marquis de *Pisany* newly returned from his Embassy at *Rome*. It was held in the Hostel de *Gondy** in the *Panxbourg St. Germain*: but the Propositions on either part were so far distant, that the Cardinal de *Gondy* who was present, could find no medium to bring them any thing near a conclusion.

After the first fifteen days of the Siege, the People beginning to find some scarcity, they made a review of all Provisions in every House, and they commanded all those that had more then for two Months to carry the overplus to the Markets and to the Bakers; by this means they had Bread at six blanks the pound three weeks together. During which the Populace, allured by those distributions the *Spanish* Ambassador under-hand made of Pensions to the most Factionous, and publicly to the Rascality, of some handfuls of half Sols, stamped with the Arms of *Castile*, spent their time in singing and dispersing Songs of false news which *Madam Montpensier* forged from day to day to amuse the Citizens.

At six weeks end, which was the midst of *June*, Wheat came to be at double the price, and a fortnight after failed them all of a sudden. Then their hunger spoiled their Mirth and turned their lewd Songs into sighs and groans. The poor subsisted some days with Bread made of Bran, then fed upon Herbs, whereof they found good store in many Gardens. Those to whom they had committed the oversight of these things, had not taken timely care to send away such People as were unserviceable, whose number amounted to above five and twenty thousand. These were poor Peasants, or Handycraftsmen; to whose lot the bitter Potion first did chance to fall.

1590.

January, &c.

March.

1590.
July.1590.
June and July* It is now
the Hostel de
Conde.

May and June

1590.
June.

One day great Crowds of them were gathered together at the Gate *St. Victor*, hoping to get out by a Pass-port they had sent to the King for: but his Council dissuaded him from allowing that favour. When those Wretches saw he had refused it, they made so horrible an out-cry, as much startled the whole City. They resolved therefore in the first place to take some order to supply their present necessities; and for this purpose went to search all the Clergymens Houses and Convents, who were found to be provided, even the very Capucins, for above a twelve-month: they were therefore enjoined to bestow Food twice a day on all that were in want of Bread. They reckoned seven thousand Families that purchased it for their Money, and five thousand that had no other Money but their grateful Thanks.

The said time expired, their Miseries began to grow greater then before: they be-thought them of husking and grinding of Oats to make Potage; and because Wine failed in the Cabarets, they invented and distributed I know not what kind of Beverage made with Oatmeal and Roots.

* A Measure
about Twelve
Bushels.

July.

In the Month of *July* Bread rose to a Crown the pound weight, the * Septier of Wheat above sixscore Crowns, one Sheep a hundred Livres, and other things in proportion. Amongst the Poor, Dogs, Cats, and Mice were greater dainties, then formerly Partridge or Hares; old Unguents, Candles, Grease, and the most fetid Oyls, were used for seasoning their Broths or Grals.)

For want of Aliments, they were fed with Processions, particular and solemn Vows imposed upon them, Prayers of forty hours long, Sermons twice a day, several Fraternities and Spiritual Assemblies, withall various and false coined Intelligence, and approaching hopes, which though prepared for them a thousand several ways to fit their Palates and stay their Stomachs, proved notwithstanding so thin a Diet as afforded but slender nourishment: There are strange things related of this Famine; Perhaps they may have added somewhat to the truth of the Stories: but certain it is above ten thousand People perished for want of Food. And yet of these poor Wretches, some were so persuaded of the justice of their Cause, and the glory of Martyrdom, that they crawled to the Gates of the Churches there to surrender up their Souls to Almighty God; others were so cowardly, they rather chose to starve in their own Houses then die bravely with their Swords in hand. Some few only leaped over the Walls, and stealing thorough the Enemies Guards, retired to certain Officers who were their Friends.)

These being for the most part some Servants of the Kings, did implore his Clemency with such repeated importunities, that he gave leave for three thousand of those wretched Ghosts to come out of the Town, divers whereof were choak'd, so soon as the compassionate Soldiers gave them Bread to eat. The said Commanders perceiving by this, that the King would not use the extreamest severity, took the confidence to let some numbers of them daily pass by, when they were upon the Guard; nay many did even send in small refreshments to their Acquaintance, to their old Landlords, and most particularly to the Ladies; and by their example the common Soldiers conveyed Meat, Bread, and runlets of Wine over the Works; in exchange whereof they received good Cloth and rich Stuffs at an easie rate. It is believed that this Indulgence made *Paris* subsist some weeks the longer for it.

1590.
July.

In the mean while the Politicks and Royalists were every day making Parties to deliver up the City to the King, or to make the People rise and mutiny: but they were so narrowly watch'd that all their Projects miscarried. They wanted but little of succeeding one day about the end of *July*, when being assembled at the *Palais*, they took up Arms and began to cry out *Peace or Provisions*. It is certain that if *Nemours* and *Vivry* had not ran presently thither, all were inclining that way. The Seize, made such grievous complaint to the Parliament, that they condemned a couple to the Gallows; it was a Father and his Son, who were both Hanged on the same Gibbet, the miserable fruit of Civil Wars.

August.

The dangers of this day of *Peace or Provisions*, struck so great a fear into the Chiefs of the League, that they consulted about a Conference for a Peace. Whilst they were deliberating upon it, the King to spur them forwards, attack'd their Suburbs and gained them all in one night. The Cardinal *de Gondy* and the Archbishop of *Lyons*, having secur'd themselves of a Pass-port, the sixth day of *August*, went and waited on him at *St. Antoine des Champs*, where they found him surrounded by great numbers of the Nobles. They set on foot again (with many notable additional Reasons) the Proposition they had already made to him by other hands, That he would grant them a Truce, so as they might go to the Duke of Mayenne and dispose him to treat joyntly with them. The King on his part propos'd to them that if they would

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make their Capitulation to surrender within ten days and sign it immediately, he would condescend to their demand. That time seem'd too short for them, so they returned without concluding any thing.

Some Captains had been often of opinion to attempt *Paris* by main strength, but the King was ever averse to it: for besides that he was not certain to carry it, he feared, if his Men should force their way, the *Huguenots* in revenge of the *St. Bartholomew*, might put all to Fire and Sword, that such a deluge mult destroy some of his best Friends there, and the greatest and richest Treasure of his Kingdom be rilled in one day, whereof none should reap any benefit but the rapacious Soldiery. For these reasons, and because he promised himself day after day to reduce it by some Confederacy from within, or at least by Famine, (for his Parasites made him believe it yet in much worse condition then in truth it was) he either durst not, or would not run so great a hazard.

He held himself so secure of gaining his ends, that without making any Efforts, or troubling his Head about the assistance they expected, he diverted himself in seeking new Mistresses, even within the Monasteries, with as great security and leasure as if he had been quietly lodged in his *Louvre*. By his example, most of his Officers having little or no employment, spent their time in the like Conquests, and such as could not otherwise have any, bought *Parisian* Ladies of Pleasure; who disabled some in the service, and corrupted the faith of many others.

The same day of the Conference at *St. Antoine*, the Duke of *Mayenne* arriv'd at *Meaux* (with five or six thousand Men) most of them Cavalry, drawn out of *Lorraine*, *Champagne*, *Cambresis* and *Picardy*. From thence he sent word of his arrival to the *Parisians*, and gave them hopes of the sudden coming of the Duke of *Parma*; who for two Months did not move, whether foreseeing that in his absence the Prince of *Orange* would over-run part of his Conquests of the *Low-Countries*, or feared King *Philip* would appoint him a new Successor, or that he doubted the success of this Expedition. However it hapned they were fain to send a very expresse and reiterated Order out of *Spain* to make him march. He took for this purpose Twelve thousand Foot, three thousand five hundred Horse, and fifteen hundred Wagons loaden with Ammunition, departed from *Valenciennes* the sixth day of *August*, and advanced to *Meaux* by prefixt Stages, encamping after the *Roman* mode, in such places as he had caused to be exactly survey'd, and which he compared with his Maps at every turn.

The King who thought he never durst have stir'd out of the *Low-Countries*, nor engage himself so far in *France*, was much astonished when he had certain notice of his arrival there, the Two and twentieth of *August*, and that having repos'd his Army four or five days, he was come to lodge at *Claye*. After he had held several Councils, and heard their divers opinions upon so important a business, he rais'd his Siege the Nine and twentieth of the Month, with intention to challenge him to Battle, and oppose his Attempts.

There was above *Chelles* a place very commodious and very advantageous to Encamp, the two Armies had the same design of seizing on it: The Kings Light Horse beat off those of *Parma*; and there it was that the said Duke (having from an eminence beheld and observed the number and disposition of the Royal Army) changed the desire he once had of fighting them, and instead of the Musquet and Pike, made his Soldiers take up the Mattock and Spade, to intrench with all speed in the neighbouring Marsh.

Now to demonstrate that he did not act at random, but that he walked by the just Rules of Military Art, he had publicly reported, and even told the Herauld the same thing, who was sent from the King to desie him to Battle, that he would oblige him to raise his Siege of *Paris*, and would open one of the Rivers, by forcing a Town even in his sight. After therefore, the two Armies had remained six days close by each other, upon the seventh, there hapning a great Fog, and the Duke having first seized on the chief Posts near *Lagny*, he attack'd that place by Cannon Shot, the River betwixt. The breach made, in a short time he throws a Bridge of Boats over, gives an assault, and gained it so soon, that the Troops which the *Mareschal d'Aumont* was leading about by the Bridge at *Gournay*, within two little Leagues below it, could not get thither time enough.

It then seem'd as if the chance were turned: the *Parisians* who had fasted so long, had Provisions in abundance brought them from *Beauvais* by Carts; and on the contrary the Kings Army, (for the taking of *Lagny* deprived him of the River of *Marne*, and the valiant Duke of *Nemours* scowring the Country cut off all Convoys by Land) began to feel some want, and were three or four days without any Ammu-

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nition Bread. Then the Soldiers fell a murmuring and were ready to mutiny, the Chiefs accuse one another for the ill managment of the Siege of *Paris*, the Nobility desire to be dismiss'd since there was no likelihood of a Battle; the hatred between the Catholics and *Huguenots* grew hotter and higher; as did the jealousies between the Servants of the present King, and those belonging to the former Court, who ever kept a Cabal by themselves, and did their utmost to discredit each other upon all occasions.

Thereupon the King called a Council to know what he must do amidst these Disorders. He met with nothing but confused advice, apprehension and disunion; so that it was no time to take a resolution, but a necessity to decamp. He turned therefore towards *Senlis*, passed the *Oise* at *Creil* with more precipitation than should have been upon a good retreat, and after an endeavour to compose them again by the taking of *Clermont* in *Beauvoisis*, he puts a part of them into the Towns about *Paris*, sent the rest with the Nobility into the Provinces, and could not keep with himself above seven or eight hundred Horse.

When he had passed the *Oise*, the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mayenne* came out of their Intrenchments. It is said the former had the curiosity to visit *Paris* incognito, whither *Vitry* conducted him, and observing the *Fauxbourgs* quite ruined, the Shops empty and unfurnished, most of the Streets deserted, the People with dejected looks and meager Faces, a melancholy silence in all parts, in stead of the mirth and jollity he expected to find; it begot more pity in him to behold their sorrow and miseries, then joy for his having deliver'd them.

After this the two Dukes spread their Forces over the Country of *Brie*, and regained all the little places. They would willingly have open'd the *Seine* as they had unstop'd the *Marne*; the Duke of *Parma* to that effect besieged *Corbeil*. He thought it would be a work but of five or six days: but wanting Powder, and the Governors of the places for the League supplying him but unwillingly, and in small Parcels, it took him up a whole Month. In the mean time his Soldiers gorging themselves with unripe Grapes, got the Dysentery, whereof above three thousand died. In fine he took the place by Storm the Sixteenth of *October*: but that done he begins his march towards the *Low-Countries*, not to be staid by the most earnest intreaties of the Duke of *Mayenne*. He was much dissatisfied with his sloath and jealousy, however he left him Eight thousand Men, and promised to return the following year with greater Forces, advising him to hazard nothing in his absence, but to entertain the King all along with Treaties of Peace.

Before his departure he had the displeasure of seeing his Conquest of *Corbeil* lost in one night, which had cost him so many Men, and so much time. *Guiry* Governor of *Brie* with his Troops which were in *Melun* took it by Escalado. The King having drawn his together, followed him in his rear to the *Arbre de Guise*. At his return, being come to refresh himself at *St. Quentin*, he there learn'd that *Charles de Humieres* his Lieutenant in *Picardy*, had gained the City of *Corbie* by the Petard and Escalado, kill'd the Governor, and put the Garison to the edge of the Sword. The Publick suffer'd there an irreparable loss, by the destruction of the most part of the rare Manuscripts which were in the Library of *St. Peters* Abby.

In the Provinces, the Duke of *Lorraine* conquer'd *Villefranche* upon the Frontiers of *Champagne*, but rais'd his Siege most shamefully from before *Sainte Menchoud*. As to *Bretagne*, the Naval Force of *Spain* being entred into the Channel of *Blavet*, put five thousand Men ashore commanded by *Juan d' Aquila*, who after he had razed a Fort built there by the Prince of *Dombes*, and then in conjunction with the Duke of *Mercur* forced the City of *Henneboud*, erected two great Forts at the chops of the Channel, with design to maintain so important a Post.

Lesdiguières became absolute in *Dauphine*, by the reduction of the City of *Grenoble*. The *Isere* divides it in two parts, which are joyned with a Bridge, he gained that by Escalado which lies at the Foot of the Hill, leis then the other by two thirds: but *Albigny* stop't him for three weeks at the end of the Bridge, and might have hindred him from passing further, if the People tired with the War had not forced him to Capitulate. It was express'd in the Articles, That he should have three Months time to choose his Party, and that if he took the Kings, he should hold his Government. He waved the advantage, and chose rather to keep to what his Religion and Promise engaged him to.

The King of *Spain* was satisfied, that if he could but wrest *Provence* out of the hands of the *French*, he should be Master of the *Mediterraneum*, and break their Alliance with the *Turk*, their Communication with *Italy*, and their Trade into the

Levant:

Levant: he therefore gave a Fleet of forty seven Gallies to the Duke of *Savoy*, and allowed him to make Levies in *Milanais* and the Kingdom of *Naples*. Whilst this Fleet was preparing the Duke rais'd a Land Army, which he intended to be of Ten thousand Foot and two thousand Horse. With these he entred into *Provence*, being invited thereto by a famous Deputation of that Country who waited upon him at *Nice*. When he arrived at *Merargues*, he took Horse with seven more, and rode post to *Aix* the next day. The City made him a more solemn Reception then ever they had done to any Prince; and some days after appearing in Parliament, he by a solemn Decree had the Title given him of Governor and Lieutenant General of the Province under the Crown of France.

Both the Kings Party and that of the League were equally tormented with Discords and Factions. In that of the League the Duke of *Savoy*, the Duke of *Mercur*, and the Duke of *Joyeuse*, drew to themselves, the one *Provence*, the other *Bretagne*, and the third *Languedoc*. The Duke of *Mayenne* had conceived a cruel jealousy for the Reputation of the Duke of *Nemours*, the affection the City of *Paris* bare to him, and for that their common Mother supported and seemed willing to make this younger Brother become his equal. Wherefore he flatly denied him the Government of *Normandy*; and after this there never was any more real trust or confidence between them: on the contrary these two half Brothers watch'd each other as they had been sworn Enemies, and endeavour'd all they could to break one anothers measures.

On the other hand the Seize having it in their Heads to unite together all the great Cities of the Kingdom under a Republican form of Government, and for that purpose relying upon the power of the *Spaniard*, who notwithstanding had quite another aim then theirs, fell into a hatred of the Duke of *Mayenne*, as well because he oppos'd their design, as because he had dissolved the Council of Forty, and did not admit them in the management of Affairs.

Amongst the Royalists were more Factions yet, not all so violent, because every one had some respect for the King. Of the Catholics as well as *Huguenots* which were about him, there were two sorts, some who press'd for his change in Religion: others who hindred it. And of these likewise there were such who solicited it, and yet would not have it: others that oppos'd it, and yet would have it so. The Zealous *Huguenots*, whereof *Plessis* had greatest Authority, not having yet been able to obtain an Edict of him in favour of their Religion, and finding he inclin'd by little and little towards the Catholic, resolv'd they would strengthen themselves with Foreign Aid. And in this Prospect engaged him to demand some both in *England* and *Germany*, so to beset, and keep him closer united with the Protestant Princes.

He met likewise from abroad with another great cause of discontent. Pope *Sixtus V.* had conceived a very high esteem for him, an extream contempt for the League, and a private hatred for the *Spanish* Government, which was much more dreadful to him then all the Hereticks. He had heaped up five Millions of Gold in the Castle *St. Angelo*, the *Spaniards* importuned him to open his Chests for relief of the Catholic Party, but he refus'd absolutely, and that with words as sharp as their demands were arrogant. Thereupon he happen'd to die the Seven and twentieth of the Month of *August*; His Successor *Urban VII.* who proved to be of the same mind, lived but thirty days, and 'twas suspected the *Spaniards* shortned the lives both of the one and other. *Gregory XIV.* who was elected in the place of *Urban*, being a *Milanese* by Birth, and perhaps apprehending, as he was very timorous, that they might soon dispatch him after his Predecessors, espoused the passions of his King, and publicly engaged himself by promising assistance of Men and Money to the League.

The beginning of the year 1591. was made memorable by two Enterprizes, one of the *Chevalier d'Aumales* upon the City of *St. Denis*, the other the Kings upon *Paris*; they both miscarried. The *Chevalier* was by night gotten into *St. Denis*, by means of some People, who having passed the *Fosse* upon the Ice, screwed open the Gate, and let down the Draw-bridge. When he was come into the midst of the Town, *Dominique de Vic*, who was newly made Governor, goes forth into the Streets with ten or twelve Horse, making a huge noise, as if great Company were with him. He puts the Assailants to a full stop, then feeling their Pulses, a little, afterwards charged them so smartly, that he beat back two hundred Men who were foremost, upon the Body that came behind; Then all betook them to flight; The *Chevalier* with fifteen or sixteen of his, lay dead in the Street, not without some suspicion of being kill'd by his own Party. This was in the night between the second and third of *January* the Eve of *St. Genevieve*, not very favourable to the *Parisians*.

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As to the Enterprife upon *Paris*, the Twentieth of the fame Month, fixty of the moft refolute Captains, difguifed like Peafants, and leading Horfes loaden with Meal (for the City began to grow in want) had order to feize upon the Gate St. *Honore*. The Politiques who had notice to be in a Body at the Court of Guard, would have joynd them, five hundred Cuiraſſiers, and two hundred Arquebutiers concealed in the *Fauxbourg*, would have followed, and theſe again would have been back'd by twelve hundred Men, then the *Swiſs* ſhould have marched with ſeveral Waggonſ loaden with Fontons, Ladders and Hurdles to ſcale it in ſeveral parts. At the ſame time the King ſtood at the entrance of the *Fauxbourg* to give Orders; but finding the Gate St. *Honore* filled up with Earth, he judged his Deſign had taken wind and retired.

The City of *Paris* being hourly threatned with the like dangers, the Duke of *Mayenne* was forced to bring in a Garifon of *Spaniards*; However to avoid reproach, he would not order it of himſelf, but refer'd the buſineſs to the Parliament; who concluded after great Debate and Contentions, it ſhould be ſo. By vertue of their Decree he put four thouſand into *Paris*, and five hundred in *Meaux*; a ſufficient number to make good his Command, but not ſo many as to make them Maſters there.

The inconvenience of the Seafon which was very ſharp, could not hinder the King from beſieging the City of *Chartres*. The Garifon was but two hundred Soldiers, but there were three thouſand Citizens, who believing they did maintain the Cauſe of God and of the Virgin, made the Siege much longer and much more difficult then was expected. He was twice or thrice of the mind to raiſe it: *Chiverny* who was concerned for the recovery of that place, becauſe he had the Government of the *Chartrain*, and all his Eſtate lay thereabouts, was the only Man that obliged him not to give over. This obſtinacy of his proved happy in the end, for the Town ſurrendered the Eighteenth day of *April*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* could not make a diverſion by attacking *Chafteau-Thierry*, the taking whereof was very eaſie: the Governor, who was the Son of *Pinard* Secretary of State, defended himſelf ſo ill, that he was accuſed of Treafon. His Father and himſelf were hugely put to it, and got out of the Briars rather by the interceſſion of Friends then any juſtification of themſelves.

The length of the Siege of *Chartres*, as doubtful at five weeks end, as the firſt day, emboldned the *Tiers Party*, to hold up their Heads. The young Cardinal de *Bourbon*, a vain and ambitious Prince, was Head and Author of it. He thought the good Catholicks (tired with the tedious delays the King made for his being inſtructed) would confer the Crown on him as being the neareſt Prince of the Blood, and in this imagination had made a Cabal, and ſent to *Rome* to treat with the Pope concerning that matter.

At the ſame time his Brother the Count de *Soiſſons*, was contriving another, which would have mightily perplexed the King, and made him forfeit his Credit amongſt *Huguenots*. The Counteſs of *Guiche* offended becauſe the King did not now reſpect her as he had, to be reveng'd of him, re-kindled the love that Count once had for Madam *Catharine* his Siſter, and ſo well managed the intrigue, that their Wedding was ready to be conſummate: but the King having diſcover'd the deſigns of either; that of the Cardinal de *Bourbon* by means of the Cardinal de *Lenoncour*, who revealed all his ſecrets; that of the Princeſs by the treachery of a diſgraced Chambermaid, took ſuch effectual order as removed all his apprehenſions.

The Negotiations for Peace began anew after the taking of *Chartres*. Whilſt *Villeroy* was letting them on foot, there was an Aſſembly of the Heads of the League, who all met either in perſon, or by their Deputies, in the City of *Reims*, to ſettle their concerns and the methods for making Peace or War. A Peace would have blaſted all their ambitious pretenſions; and they could no longer carry on the War without a King, nor maintain and ſupport a King without the aſſiſtance of *Spain*. To this effect they deputed the Preſident *Janin* to that Prince; who gave him favourable Audience twice, and afterwards ſent him to confer with one of his Miniſters: By whoſe diſcourſe the Preſident diſcover'd the intentions of *Philip*, which were, to Aſſemble the Eſtates General that they might beſtow the Crown of France upon him that ſhould Marry his Daughter *Isabella*, as the neareſt Princeſs of the Blood Royal; upon which condition he promiſed to ſend ſuch numerous Forces into France, as ſhould drive out the King of *Navarre*, and withal offer'd ten thouſand Crowns per Month to maintain the Duke of *Mayenne*.

He founded his hopes upon the charms of his Gold, the affections of the Seize, and the Cabals of the Friars Mendicants, and other Religious Orders very powerful, and

and at that time devoted to *Spain*, by whoſe means he hoped to gain the greater Cities. The Pope aimed at the ſame thing, and treated the Seize as Men of great importance. He fancied the time was now come to ſuppreſs all Hereſies; and that his Popeſhip might not loſe the glory of it, he reſolved to joyn his Spiritual with the Temporal Power to deſtroy them. He put forth two Monitories, the one directed to the Prelats and Eccleſiaſticks: the other to the Nobility, Magiſtrates and People. By the firſt, he Excommunicated them, if within fifteen days they did not withdraw from the Obedience, Territories and their Attendance on Henry de *Bourbon*, and within fifteen more deprived them of their Benefices. By the ſecond, he exhorted them to do the ſame, if not he would turn his Paternal goodneſs and love into the ſeverity of a Judge. In both of them he declared Henry of *Bourbon* Excommunicate, Relapſed, and as ſuch fallen from all right to his Kingdoms and Seigneuries. Marcellin *Landriano* the Popes Referendary, was the Bearer of them, and contrary to the ſentiments of the Duke of *Mayenne*, publiſhed them in all the Cities of the League about the end of the Month of *April*.

To the ſame end the Pope raiſed Eight thouſand Foot and a thouſand Horſe, of whom he made his Nephew *Hercules Sfondrata* General, and to make him the more worthy that Command, he inveſted him with the Dutchy of *Montemarſian* * with moſt ſolemn Ceremony in the Church of *Santa Maria Major*.

About this time the Marquiſ de *Maignelay* who had promiſed the King to return to his Obedience with *la Fere* upon *Oyſe*, whereof he was Governor, was aſſaſſinated in the miſt of the City, by the Vice-Seneſchal of *Montelimar* named *Colas*, and the Lieutenant of the Duke of *Mayennes* Guards, who left the Government of it to *Colas*. The King going to *Compeigne* to favour this Reduction, very angry it was prevented, came back to *Mantes*. From thence he put in execution an Enterpriſe he had upon the City of *Louviers*. It was taken at noon-day by the Mareſchal *Biron*; *Raulet* having greatly contributed to this Exploit, had the Government of it. *Fontaine-Martel* Governor of the place, and *Claude de Saintes* Biſhop of *Evreux*, were taken Priſoners. *Martel* redeem'd himſelf by paying a Ranſom, the Biſhop for being too hot, was detained in Priſon and there died.

The Popes Bull had ſcarce any other effect, but to excite the *Huguenots* to demand an Ediſt, give an opportunity to thoſe of the * third Party to advance and ſtrengthen their Cabal, and provoke the Parliaments of the one and the other Party to make bloody Decrees. The Chamber of *Chalons*, a Member of that which was ſitting at *Tours*, by a Decree of the Sixth of *June*, "cancell'd and revoked them as null, "abſiſive, ſcandalous, ſeditious, full of impoſtures, contrary to the Holy Decrees, "Canons, Councils, and the Rights of the *Gallican* Church, ordained they ſhould "be torn and burnt by the hands of the Hangman; that *Landriano* ſhould be apprehended, ten thouſand Livers Reward to whomſoever ſhould deliver him to Juſtice, "forbidding all the Kings Subjects to lodge or harbour him; as likewiſe to carry "either Silver or Gold to *Rome*, or to ſollicit the Proviſions or Expeditions of Benefices; And an Act to be given to the Solicitor General for the appeal he was to bring to the next Council legally Aſſembled.

The Kings Council were divided into two parts; the one ſat at *Tours*, where the Cardinal de *Vendome* preſided; the other at *Chartres* with the Chancellor de *Chiverny*; the King aſſembles them together at *Mantes*, to deliberate on ſo important an Affair. After he had heard their opinions, he puts forth a Declaration in the Month of *July*, wherein he gives notice to his Parliaments, that all other things laid aſide they ſhould proceed againſt *Landriano* as they ſhould in juſtice ſee cauſe, and exhorted the Prelats to meet and adviſe together according to Holy Decrees, that the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline might not be loſt, nor the People deſtitute of their Paſtors.

On the other hand he thought convenient, notwithstanding the vehement oppoſitions of the Cardinal de *Bourbon*, to grant a Declaration in favour of the *Huguenots*, "which revoked all Ediſts that had been put forth againſt them, with the Judgments "that had enſued thereupon, and reſtored, revived and confirmed all the Ediſts of "Pacification: (but then added theſe words) by proviſion only, and until ſuch time "as he ſhould be able to re-unite all his Subjects by a happy Peace. This clauſe ſerved as a Vehicle to make it paſs in the Parliament of *Tours*.

As to the buſineſs of the Bulls, this Company thundred lowder yet, then the Chamber at *Chalons*, and out-vying them, "declared *Gregory* an Enemy of the "Churches Peace and Union, Enemy to the King and State, adhering to the Con- "ſpiracy of *Spain*, favourer of Rebels, and guilty of the Parricide of King *Henry III*. On the contrary that of *Paris* pronounced, "That this Decree was null and of no "force,

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"force, made by People without power, Schismatics and Hereticks, Enemies to God, and destroyers of his Church, ordered it should be torn in full Audience, and the Fragments burnt on the Marble Table by the Executioner, of the Haute Justice.

August.

The Clergy also assembled at *Mantes*, pursuant to the Kings Declaration. They were to examine the Popes Bulls, and to settle some Orders for the Provisions of Benefices. As to the first point the Assembly made a Decree, "which declared the said Bulls to be null, unjust, suggested by the Enemies of the Kingdom, protesting notwithstanding that they would not depart from their obedience to the Holy See. To the second, they propounded many Expedients. The Archbishop of *Bourges*; this was *Renauld de Bealne*, made a motion of creating a Patriarch in *France*, and he believed his Quality of Primat (in the absence of the Archbishop of *Lyons* who was for the League) would acquire him that Dignity; others propounded to summon a National Council. The King was very glad they mentioned those two Expedients which would frighten the Pope, but he indeed would allow of neither the one nor the other; so that nothing was resolved upon.

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July.

Soon after this Assembly was transfer'd to *Chartres*, because the Duke of *Mayenne* had made an attempt to surprisè the City of *Mantes* and the Prelats that were there. During the four Months they sat, the King besieged *Noyon*: He invested it the Four and twentieth of *July*. Three Reliefs that endeavour'd to get in being beaten, and the Vicount de *Tavares*, who commanded one, taken Prisoner: the Duke of *Mayenne* resolved to put in some himself with all his Forces. He had Two thousand Horse, and eight thousand Foot, who shewed the greater eagerness to fight, because the Kings Army were fewer by a third part: but the *Spaniards* refused to follow his motions, and obliged him to pass the *Somme* for security. The Besieged finding themselves abandoned, parlied, and made their Composition to quit the place the Eighteenth of *August* if they were not relieved. The day being come they surrendered.

March, &c.

There was no Province so embroiled as *Provence*. The *Marseillois* had refused the Duke of *Savoy*, and then received him by the practices of the Countess de *Sault* the Second day of *March*. His success did not answer the reputation of his Forces. It was but an ill presage of his Expedition, the defeating a Body of his Army commanded by the Count de *Martinengues* at *Esparton de Palieres*. He had block'd up *Berte* with several Forts; *La Valette* too weak to relieve it, called *Lefdiguières* to his aid, these two joyned together, razed them: but *Lefdiguières* being recalled into *Dauphine* for fear of the Popes Forces who were passing that way, the same *Martinengues* and the Count de *Carces* blocked it again.

* Or Ordinary Judge.

The Duke of *Savoy* was then gone into *Spain*, whence he brought fifteen Gallies laden with Ammunition, and a thousand Natural *Spaniards*. He landed them at *Cicuat*, and put his Gallies into the Port of *Marseilles*: but found things mightily changed there since his departure. One *Lewis de Casaux* who had raised his Credit in that City by means of the Money the Duke had given him to distribute, and by the practices of the Countess, found so much relish in ruling the Roast, that he became absolute Master of *Marseille*, so that he alone made their Consuls. The following year he put *Lewis d'Aix* into the Office of *Viguier**, and joyned him in his Government. He made the People believe the Duke would reduce them to slavery, and awe them with two Citadels, whereas they ought to preserve their Town for a most Christian King who was to be chosen by honest *Frenchmen*, and that he had order from the Duke of *Mayenne* to look after it.

1591.
August.

The Duke spared nothing to gain him: he order'd his Gallies to retire to *Genoa* to take away all Umbrage from the *Marseillois*, threw and squander'd away a great deal of Money amongst that fickle People to no purpose; and finding all was in vain, he went to *Aix* to press forward the Blockade of *Berre*. The Count de *Carces*, by Intelligence with the Inhabitants, got three hundred Men privately into the place, *Mesplez* who was Governor of it, beat them back and drove them out with incredible valour, and surrendered not till the Twentieth of *August*: but it was after the enduring two assaults, and giving so many proofs of his virtue, the Duke, who had been Spectator, offer'd him the General Lieutenantancy of his Army, if he would have entred into his Service.

September.

There ended the Conquests of the Duke of *Savoy*: after this he met with nothing almost but Disgraces. *Amadea* his Bastard Brother, who had six or seven thousand Men, (some being of the Popes Forces) very ill Soldiers, had besieged the Fort of *Morestel*, which would have contributed much towards the regaining of *Grenoble*;

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He there suffer'd a notable loss. *Lefdiguières* having drawn his Men together, was not satisfied he had made him raise his Siege, but went and attacked him at *Pontchara* where he was intrencht, broke in upon him, routed him, kill'd three thousand of his Men upon the place, the Eighteenth of *September*, and the day following took two thousand *Italians* at discretion who were fled into the Castle of *Avalon*. His Soldiers massacred three hundred, the remainder he sent packing to their own homes with white Staves in their hands.

In the mean time a kind of feud was crept in between the Duke and the Countess de *Sault*: he believed she obstructed his designs, and she imagined he despised her, because he had refused to give her the Government of *Berre* for her Son. *La Valette* on the one side, and *Casaux* on the other, both for their own ends, increased that Discord, and made him be ill thought of by the People, who greatly suspected him, especially when he had master'd the City of *Arles* by means of *Bjord* Lieutenant in the *Seneschauflée*. *October.*

Now when he perceived he could be at no certainty with the Countess, he caused both her and her Son to be apprehended: but she was so fortunate as to make her escape in the habit of a *Swiss*, and her Son like a Peasant, and took Sanctuary at *Marseille*. He would needs have her again per force, and to that end surprized the Abby St. *Victor*: but *Casaux* who desired no better opportunity to render him odious to the People, constrained his People to dislodge and retire out of Cannon-reach.

To compleat his misfortune he received another shock. He besieged *Vinon* which hindred the bringing of Corn to the City of *Aix*, the Town lay as it were open, there being in many places nothing but a bare Wall of dry Stones laid upon one another, but *Mesplez* was in it, and that was a good Bulwark. This brave Captain sustained his attacks for three days together, and gave *La Valette* time to come to his relief. The Duke as much the more numerous went forth to fight him: but lost a great many of his Men, and all his Bagage; which hapned the Fifteenth of *December*. *1591. December.*

Afterwards, many of the places that had sided with the Duke, renounc'd him. However he persisted in his design, and the engaging himself in greater Expences, though he found by the loss of six or seven thousand of his Men slain in several Rencontres, and a million of Gold thrown away in Presents, that it was very difficult, though he were brave and the Prince the most discreet and most liberal in the World, to get any advantage against so many great Warriors, with such unexperienc'd raw Soldiers as his were, or fix the inconstant humour of the *Provençaux*.

The Kings prosperity was disturbed by the unexpected accident of the Duke of *Guises* evasion, who made his escape from the Castle of *Tours* where he was Prisoner. This young Prince had for this purpose made choice of the day called the *Assumption* of our Lady about noon, when the City Gates were shut as is usual all the Dinner time; Having corrupted one part of his Guards and deluded the other, he was let down from the top of a Tower by a Rope brought to him in the belly of a Lute, to which a Stick was tied cross that he might sit securely thereon in his descent to the Strand. He found Horses laid ready for him on the farther side of the River, and spur'd away to St. *Avertin* a League off from *Tours*, where *Maison-forte* Son of *la Chatre* attended with fifty Horse, and convoy'd him to *Selles*, and some days afterwards to *Boulogne*. *August.*

It was believed the Ladies about Queen *Louisa*, who were then at *Chenonceaux*, had greatly contributed towards this escape, and *Rouvroy* in love with one of them was suspected to have granted her this one favour upon promise of another. The Parliament would have put him to infinite trouble, had not *Sauvray* Governor of *Tours*, befriended him mightily in his justification before the King.

As the King was much alarmed, dreading the great name of *Guise*, and the growing fortune of a young Prince, who was said to resemble his Father in all things; so the League was over-joy'd; they made Bonfires every where, and the Pope gave publick Thanks to God for his deliverance. But the jealousy the Duke of *Mayenne* conceived caused the fears of the one, and the promising hopes of the other quickly to vanish; He apprehended his Nephew would easily acquire the same good will and fondness of the People they had shewn to his Father, therefore did not reckon him a new Reinforcement but a new Trouble and Competitor: nevertheless he sent *la Feuillade* to congratulate his escape, and carry him some Money, desiring they might meet to communicate together of their common Affairs. *1591. September.*

The Prince of *Conty* and the Vicount de *la Guierche*, both Lieutenant Generals in *Pontou*, the Prince for the King, and the other for the League, fought to extremity.

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La Guierche met with divers shocks, whereof the greatest was at the taking of *Montmorillon*, where he lost his Cannon and all his Infantry, (he had left them there having shamefully raised the Siege of *Belie*) a Month after he himself unfortunately perished: for running to the rescue of his Castle of *la Guierche*, (nigh *Loches* in *Touraine*) which was surprized by a Gentleman named *Salerne*; the Lords *d'Abin*, and *de la Roche-Pofay*, who had notice of his march, got five hundred Gentlemen together, and with those charged him so briskly, that all his people fled; and as he thought to save himself in the Ferry-boat on the *Creuse*, so many men jump't in after him, that they sunk in the River and were all drowned.

Bretagne was not only vexed by the French, but by Strangers too. The Duke of *Mercaur* had brought in the *Spaniards*, and given them the Port of *Blavet* for a retreat, where in a short time they so well fortified themselves, that it was very apparent they intended to settle there. The King had likewise order'd Three thousand English to go into that Country, sent over to him by Queen *Elizabeth*, besides those that were landed at *Diepe* for the Siege of *Rouen*.

The Prince *de Dombes*, with this re-inforcement, went and besieged *Lambale*; when it was at the point of Surrendring; the Besieged re-assumed Courage, and the Besiegers lost theirs all of a sudden, upon the death of the prudent *la Noüe*. He being got on the top of a Ladder to see what they were doing within the place, was wounded in the Head of which he died; Bemoaned equally, almost, by Friend and Enemy, a very great Soldier, and which was more, a very honest Gentleman. His Son inherited his good qualities. He had been Prisoner four years in the *Low-Countries*, and being upon his deliverance now come to rejoyce with his Father, found the last Duty he could ever pay him, was to attend him to his Grave.

Both Parties were now expecting their Foreign Supplies: the Duke of *Mayenne* went to *Verdun* to receive some Forces from the Pope; they were in bad condition, their Foot ruined with the Dysentery, and their Horse strangely harassed and partly dismounted. Those from *Germany* who came to the King, almost at the same time, were not so; there were Eleven thousand Foot and five hundred *Reisters*, these Levies being made at the Expences of the Queen of *England*, and the free Towns of *Germany*, under the favour of *George Marquis of Brandenburg*, *Casimir Prince Palatine*, with some other Princes, and by the Negotiation of the Vicount *de Turenne*. The King going to meet them with Two thousand Horse, order'd them to be Muster'd in the Plain of *Vandy* on *Michaelmas-day*, and from thence went directly with the news of this conjunction to the Dukes of *Lorraine*, *Mayenne*, and *Montmarcian*, who durst not stir out of the Gates of *Verdun*. The latter being withal in great disorder upon the news he received from *Italy*, of the sickness of Pope *Gregory* his Uncle, who died the Fifteenth of *October*.

Whilst the King was in those parts, he would needs secure himself of *Sedan*. The Dukes of *Lorraine*, *Montpensier*, and *Nevers* sought to gain the Heiress for their Sons, the first by force, the other two by friendship: but besides that the difference in Religion was an obstruction to all the three, he thought it would make them too powerful on that Frontier. And therefore chose rather to bestow her on the Vicount *de Turenne*, whose Estate was far distant from thence, and to whom he should thereby acquit himself of those great obligations he owed him. He therefore honoured him with the Staff of *Mareschal* of *France*, that he might not appear too unequal to match her, then went himself into *Sedan* to conclude the Marriage. The *Mareschal* the night before that of his Nuptials, surprized *Stenay* by Escalado; from whence he afterwards made a brisk War against the Duke of *Lorraine*.

The Marriage Consummate, the King took his way to *Noyon*, and from thence at the instance of the Queen of *England*, who apprehended lest the *Spaniards* should settle themselves upon the Coasts of *Normandy*, he sent the *Mareschal de Biron* to lay Siege to *Rouen*. The Duke of *Aiguillon*, Son of the Duke of *Mayenne*, Governor of that Province for the League, was but lately gone thence, and had left the absolute Government to the *Marquis de Villars*. This Lord had about him *Philip Desportes* Abbot of *Tyron*, a no less crafty Courtier then delicious Poet, who had disposed him to admit of Propositions for an Accommodation, in hopes the King would let him enjoy the Fruits of his Benefices in that Country. Now those that had obtained the grant of them from the King, caused his demands to be rejected with disdain; In revenge whereof, he prevailed with *Villars* to break the Treaty, and possessed him with quite contrary Sentiments. Thus a private Interest often, or twelve thousand Franks between particular Men, defeated the King of an infinite advantage, the ill success whereof brought him into a most troublesome Labyrinth.

On *St. Martins* day *Biron's* Forces approached near *Rouen*. He had besides his French three thousand Englishmen, commanded by the Earl of *Essex* Favourite to Queen *Elizabeth*, whom he had been to meet by Sea as far as *Boulogne*. They would at first needs shew some little bravado, and fired their small Guns: but they were soon beaten off by a stout Salley: and the *Mareschal* being as yet too weak, went and took *Gournay* and *Candebec*. That done he comes again before *Rouen*, and endeavoured to turn the little Rivers of *Robec* and *Aubette* another way, on which the Town Mills were placed; he succeeded as to the former, but not the latter. In the mean time the Citizens of *Rouen* intending to shew themselves more brave then those of *Paris*, made many great Sallies: to let the Besiegers know, it would be no easie task to approach their Walls, and that they would rather chuse to fight * then to fast.

The Duke of *Mayenne* found himself at this time in the greatest distress that ever he was in during his whole Life; Having no Forces to oppose so powerful an Army as the Kings, he saw the loss of *Rouen* before his Eyes, afterwards that of all *Normandy*, then of *Paris*, and by consequence of all *France*. Those that were to help him, gave him most trouble; the Duke of *Nemours* diverted one part of his Forces to erect a Sovereignty about *Lyonnois*; the Duke of *Guise* labour'd to make himself Head of the Party as his Father had been, and the young Nobles did already run after him, as the Seize owned him for their Chief.

Above all this he dreaded the *Spaniards*, who told him plainly they would let him perish, if he employ'd not his Interest and Credit to make the Crown fall to the Infanta. They bragg'd withal they had a way to attain their ends in despite of him; which was to divide and share the Kingdom amongst the *Grandeess*, and the most renowned Captains, and draw the chiefest Cities to them by giving them their liberty: so that *France* had been reduced to the same condition as *Germany*; a tempting bait both for the Lords and for the People.

But nothing lay so heavy upon him as the Seize, he hated them to the utmost, and was in the same measure hated by them; Nor did they let slip any opportunity to decry his Conduct, sent frequent Complaints, Remonstrances, and Deputations to him, regarded not his Orders, no more then he did their Memorials, wrote of their own Heads to the King of *Spain*, to offer him the Crown, had engaged their Cabal to take a new Oath of Union, which did exclude all the Princes of the Blood from the Throne, and forced all those that would not take it, amongst others the Cardinal *de Gondy*, to depart the City. Nothing was left to make them Masters, but to rid their hands of a part of the Parliament, who observed them night and day, and cross'd their designs. The Duke of *Mayenne* was no less afraid then they were, foreseeing clearly enough, that sooner or later, that first Parliament of the Kingdom would return to the King, and draw the People after them: he was therefore well enough pleased the Seize diminished their Authority, and hoped that by dashing so fiercely against each other, they would both be destroy'd to his advantage.

The thing hapned as he wished, but with a Consequence quite different from his intention. The Parliament had absolv'd one named *Brigard*, whom the Seize had accused of holding intelligence with the Royalists: the most zealous of that Faction resolved upon revenge. To this end they created a secret Council of ten amongst themselves, by whose advice all things of importance was to be dispatched. This Council concluded they must make away the President *Briffon*, *Larcher* Counsellor in Parliament, and *Tardif* Counsellor at the *Chastelet*, who broke their measures, and who besides were particular Enemies to some of them. They first attempted to do it by some Assassins, but those Hirelings, as it frequently happens, having discover'd this Plot to the Parties themselves, to gain a double Reward; they resolv'd to act more openly. They drew up, therefore, a Sentence of Death against those three, and wrote it above the Names and Signatures of several eminent Citizens, which they had got upon another pretence. With and by virtue of this Warrant they seized on them in divers places, carried them to the little *Chastelet*, and Hanged them all three in that Prison; The President *Briffon* was the first. A Catastrophy unworthy so excellent and so learned a Man, yet ordinary to such as float betwixt two Parties.

All the remaining portion of that day they scatter'd divers odious Reports about the Town to blast their Memories: the following night they caused their Bodies to be carried to the *Greve* where they hanged till the next night. But observing the People gazed on the sad Spectacle rather with the Eyes of pity then indignation, they began to consider the horror of the Fact and apprehend the Revenge. Some of them were of opinion to seize the Dutcheffs of *Nemours*, that she might be security

November.

1591.

November.

* It was said of the Parisians they knew better how to fast then fight.

1591.
September.

November.

1591.
November.

carity for them against the Duke her Son; Others to compleat the Tragedy would rid themselves of him if he came towards *Paris*, and after that elect a Chief that depended wholly upon them. The *Spaniards* did believe they would have gone thorough with this last Act, and if so would have supported them: but cared not to be the first should approve an attempt, the justification whereof depended on the event.

Now as there are but few great Crimes carried on to the highest pitch, no more then Heroick Vertues, these People that had begun this first without necessity, did not know how to act a second which was necessary to cover the former. The Parliament, the Princesses, the Royalists themselves, who pretended to be zealous Leaguers, earnestly solicited the Duke, who was at *Laon*, to hasten and deliver them from that Tyranny, crying out the Knife was at their very Throats. Divers Considerations kept him a while in suspense: he feared lest despair should force the Seize to cast themselves upon the *Spaniards*, lest the Duke of *Guise* should support them, or lest their Cabal should be strong enough to shut up the Gates against him: nevertheless perceiving their courage failed, that they did not put themselves into a posture to maintain their Roguery with vigor, but forsaking themselves, were openly protected by none, he took three hundred Horse, and fifteen hundred Foot, and marched directly to *Paris*.

1591.
November.

One Band went out to meet him, having at their Head *Boucher* Curate of *St. Benoist* who was to deliver the Message: but the Duke passed on and would not hear them. Another being more resolute determined to kill him; and there was one that even profer'd to strike the first blow, but the rest would not promise to second him. After some days inquiry in *Paris* being well informed how matters stood, he sent to *Bussy* to deliver up the *Bastille*: This false Bravo had neither resolution enough to defend it, nor wit to declare for the King, of whom he might have had good Composition; he basely capitulated, yet would needs march forth with Drums beating and Colours flying: but had provided no place for his retreat, and therefore lodged with all his Booty in the Street *St. Anthoine*.

The Duke having let some days slip without undertaking any thing, the Seize thought themselves secure, being withall informed that the Parliament durst not make Process against them: when on a sudden the Duke with his own hand draws up a Sentence of death against nine of the most guilty, and sends People on the night between the third and fourth of *December* to apprehend them in their own Houses. They could catch but only four * of them who being carried to the *Louvre*, were immediately hanged on a Gallows by the Executioner; the other five made their escape, and after they had lain concealed some time, retired to the *Low-Countries*. *Bussy*, one of the number, got off fairly: Six *Spanish* Soldiers whom he kept at home to guard him, did by the resistance they made, give him time to evade, but could not carry any of his rich Plunder with him. He withdrew to *Bruxels* with his Wife, where he died very old; He was yet to be seen in the year 1634. having always a String of huge Beads about his Neck, talking little, but magnificently of the great Designs he had misl'd.

December.

* *Anroux*,
Emonot, *Ame-*
line, *Lou-*
chard.

Afterwards, the Duke, whether he dreaded the despair of the remainder of the Seize, or rather would seem to despise them, sent a Pardon or Abolition to the Parliament for the rest that had any hand in the said Crime: and because the mischief had been hatch'd in their private Assemblies, he forbade the like upon pain of death and razing such Houses where they should meet. Thus this potent Faction, who had so much loved the Duke of *Guise* as they had almost raised him to the Throne, was dishonour'd and ruin'd by his Brother. One cannot deny but it was much for the advantage of the King, with whom it was impossible they should ever comply or agree: but indifferent People believed that by ruining them the Duke had, as it were, cut off his left Arm with his right.

He wrote to all the Governors of Provinces, to justify his Proceedings, and to render that Faction odious, and that he might unite them more closely to him, he did oblige them to swear they would never forsake him; That they would not favour the Election of a King without his consent; That they would approve of all the Treaties he should make with any one; and that they would hold no private intelligence with the *Spaniards*. At the same time the Parliament being wholly destitute of Presidents, he created four, most affectionate to his own Person: but thereby labour'd his own destruction, since it is contrary to the intrinsical Principles of things, to fortifie ones self against a King by means of the Nobility or Officers of the Robe, who necessarily turn to him at last.

1591.
December.

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The City of *Rouen* was well provided, well fortified, and very well resolv'd to make a vigorous defence; The *Mareschal de Biron* had but just invested it upon the Kings arrival the first day of *December*. The Duke of *Parma* had sent to offer assistance to the Besieged in behalf of King *Philip*, even before the Duke of *Mayenne* had demanded it; yet was he not so forward to do it as he pretended, he was loath to leave the *Low-Countries*, remembring how during his absence the former year, Prince *Maurice* had taken five or six Towns from him: but he received such precise Orders from *Spain*, that he parted from *Bruxels* towards the end of *November*, with an Army of Ten thousand Foot, three thousand Horse, forty pieces of Cannon, and two thousand Waggons of Bagage, where he had all sorts of Tools and Ammunition: for he would trust to nothing but his own prudence and foresight. The Duke of *Guise* went to meet him as far as *Landrecy*, and the Duke of *Mayenne* to *Guise*, where all three had a long Conference together.

December.

Before he proceeded any further, the Duke of *Parma* made them give him the City of *la Fere* upon *Oyse* to put in his Artillery, and there left four hundred Men in Garrison. This was not all, *Diego d'Ibarra* Ambassador of *Spain* declared the intentions of his Master, who demanded the Crown for the Infanta, whom he profer'd to Marry to some French Prince. There were several Conferences upon that Subject at *la Fere*, between the Ministers of *Spain* and those of the Duke of *Mayenne*. *Janin* who was chief of the Dukes, endeavour'd to elude the said demand, by objecting very considerable difficulties, particularly the holding of the Estates, then the immense Sums to carry on the War: but the *Spaniards* without hesitation, agreed to all his demands, and withall offer'd him great advantages for the Duke; In so much as that Prince having nothing to reply, could only dissemble and make his best of the present time; which was at last his ruine and the Kings happiness.

December and
January.

The Forces of these Dukes amounted together to more then Six thousand Horse, and Fifteen thousand Foot. The King knowing they were upon their march, brought the first news of himself to them with Three thousand Horse, and at his first coming beat up the Duke of *Guise's* Quarters who had the Van-guard near *Abbeville*. He made Head against them three weeks together, maintaining sometimes on Post, sometimes another; but he had like to have been caught, and was wounded with a Pistol Shot, at *Animale*, where he would needs defend a Defile, or narrow Passage. His presence of mind, his courage, and the night coming on, brought him off from the greatest danger he had ever met with in his whole Life; and if he were blamed for engaging himself as a Volunteer, he was commended for extricating himself like a Soldier.

1590.
January.

While the Dukes were much in pain how to deliver *Rouen*, it hapned that during the Kings absence, who had taken the best of the Cavalry with him, *Villars* and the Inhabitants of the City relieved themselves. The Six and twentieth day of *February* at Eight a Clock in the Morning, they make a Salley with above Twenty thousand Men on the side of the Fort *St. Catharine*, beat back or kill all they meet with, burn the Huts and Tents, ruine their Works, fill up the Trenches, put Fire to the Powder, carry away five great Pieces of Cannon, and Nail up the rest. They remained Masters of that Quarter till the arrival of *Biron*: who hurried thither from *Dernetal* with the Nobility, followed by the *Swiss* and *Lansquenets*. He charged them without taking any view: but their Horse stood firm yet a while, gave the Foot time to retreat, and afterwards made their own in good order. *Biron* was shot in the Thigh with a Musket Bullet, five hundred of the Besiegers slain in the place, and an hundred carried Prisoners into the Town, the most part Men of note.

1592.
January.

When these tidings were brought to the Dukes, they had just been resolving in their Council to march all night, and fall the next Morning upon the Quarters of *Dernetal*. The design being much advanced by the event of this furious Salley, the Duke of *Parma* would needs have them compleat so infallible a Victory: but the Duke of *Mayenne*, whose jealousies and suspicions made him incompatible with his Friends no less then with his Enemies, and irresolute in good fortune as well as in bad, urged several Reasons against it, with so much obstinacy, that *Parma* was forced to yield to them. They therefore only put Eight hundred Men into the place, then retired, and made their Army repass the *Somme*.

For fifteen days together the City continued in great rejoycing, and *Villars* in so profound security, that he ran at the Ring without the Walls in sight of the Enemy. But when the meaner sort of People began to be in want of Money to buy them Bread, when the *Bourgeois* who had made their Vows to our Lady of *Loreta* for their deliverance, found themselves shut up closer then ever, when those which had shewed them-

March.

themselves the most zealous, began now to joyn in Conspiracies with some of the Kings Party: *Villars* gave notice to the Duke of *Mayenne* that he should be constrained to Capitulate, if by the Twentieth of *March* he were not relieved.

The Dukes repassed the *Somme* therefore at the Foord of *Blanquetaque*, and having marched above thirty Leagues in four days, came within three Leagues of *Rouen* at the day prefix'd. The King would needs put himself in a posture to fight them; and with that design drew all his Forces to him that were on the other side of the Water: when finding they were in a very ill condition, he was obliged to raise the Siege, sent up his Boats to *Pont de l'Arche*, and Convey'd away his Bagage, standing to his Arms for some hours together upon one side of *Dernetal*, to defie the Enemy by so brave a countenance and posture.

This time also, the jealousies that were amongst the Chiefs of the Enemies Army, especially the Dukes of *Montemarcan* and the Duke of *Mayenne* against the Duke of *Parma*, hindred them from venturing upon so fair and promising a Game. It was *Parma's* Advice to fall on, and had he been alone, he would have done it without any great hazard, said he; but the Duke of *Mayenne* refused to second him, and the next day engaged him to besiege *Candebec*, to get the Stores of that Corn that was in it, and to open the River; Then after they had with facility taken that, he was as obstinate for the posting themselves at *Tvetot*, to cover that Conquest. The place was very unlucky to them, they had not been there long when the King cut off their Provisions, and posting himself between *Pislebonne* and their Camp, harcelled them perpetually by great Skirmishes.

The disadvantages they received in two or three several trials, making them perceive they might possibly be forced in that place, they decamped silently by night, and came to *Candebec*. There they found themselves yet more streightned then before. They wanted not only Provisions, but even Water; Distempers ruined their Men: the Duke of *Parma*, the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the famous *George Basse*, who commanded the Horse, were all three in the Straw; the first for a Mullet Shot he received on his Arm in besieging *Candebec*; the second by some Relicks of his old Adventure at the *Hofel de Carnavalet*, which broke out again by the Fatigues of War; and the third with a double Quartan. Add to this that *Biron* was every hour upon the backs of them; He surpris'd one of their Quarters of Light-Horse-Men, and all the Money they had in store for payment of their Forces. It was said, (and even his own Son reproached him with it) that if he would then have put on roundly, he might easily have defeated the whole Army, but that he waved the opportunity, as fearing so great a blow would have put an end to the War and to his Employment.

The extremity of this danger put the Duke of *Parma* upon the invention of a Master-piece to bring himself out of it. He built two Forts right against each other on the brink of the River, with Redoubts which commanded on the Water, and great Retrenchments which advanced towards the Kings Army: withall he caused a great many Pontons to be made ready at *Rouen*, and covered five and twenty or thirty Boats with strong Timbers and Planks to waft his Cavalry, which were brought thither in the night time when the weather was most dark: By this means about the same midnight he ordered the French Forces to pass over, first the Foot, then the Horse, after that the Cannon and Bagage, and towards break of day the Spanish Infantry, *Walloon* and *Italian*, whilst his Son with a thousand Foot and four hundred Horse, made good that side they were leaving, and cover'd their retreat. The greatest trouble he had was to ship the four pieces of Cannon he had planted in the Fort.

As fast as the Troops got over they put themselves upon the march. The King was much astonished when broad day-light shewed him their Trenches empty; he forthwith sent two thousand Horse by *Pont de l'Arche*, believing they might overtake them at their passage of the River *Enre*. They caught only five hundred Foot, whose floath or weariness made them lag behind the rest at *Neufbourg*, these surrendered at discretion: but *Parma* made so great speed, that he got in four days from *Candebec* to *Charenton*, where he pass'd the *Seine* upon a Bridge of Boats, and did not think himself secure till he was in *Brie*.

As for the Duke of *Mayenne*, he retired to *Rouen*, and sojourned there near six weeks, putting himself for the second time into the Doctors hands. The King having totally raised the Siege, and kept only Three thousand Horse, and Five thousand Foot, pursued the Duke of *Parma* to the very Frontiers, fearing lest he should seize upon some place.

The Duke of *Mayenne* was very near dying under the Discipline of his Chyrurgions: the *Spaniards* believing he could not recover, and thinking that from thence forward the League must depend upon them, could not forbear expressing their joy, and refused to let him have either Men or Money, but put Fifteen hundred Men more into *Paris*: which highly displeased him, and made their conceal'd intentions appear more plain to him, then any thing else had done. Now when they perceived his recovery, they repented of having too openly discover'd themselves, and endeavour'd to foot him by new caresses, and fairer proffers then before. And he on his part knew how to dissemble as well as themselves: but intended for the future to order his Affairs by other measures then theirs. In this mind he essay'd to make a new Party with the Cardinal de *Bourbon*, upon whose Head he promised to set the Crown. I cannot tell how far this intrigue was carried on: but there is great likelihood the Dukes irresolution hindred the prosecution of it.

During this universal disorder, the Royal Authority was very languishing: for the great Cities had their designs for liberty, the Lords and Governors for Sovereignties, and private Gentlemen and Captains thought of nothing but Plunder and Robberies; for which reason they were all of a mind to prolong the War, whence they alone reaped the profit. These Purloiners had the fifts of all Prizes, Ransoms, and Seizures, disposed of the *Tailles* and Publick Money at their own pleasure, laid new Imposts upon Passages and Rivers, devoured all the labours and substance of poor People; Then when they were to march, served not above three weeks, or a month, and so returned again to their own homes. But never without grumbling: The King might give them new Salaries, great Pensions, Benefices, Confiscations, grant them all Boons they demanded, and engage the clearest of his Demeasns to them; yet they were never satisfied.

It was justly to be feared by him, that if the Estates should at last elect a King, all the Princes of *Italy*, and the rest of the Catholicks, might own him, (they being concern'd only to have a King in *France*, not whether it were he in particular before any other) and lest the Pope, who had some obligation to the *Spaniards* for his promotion, should continue to assist the League; (This was *Clement VIII.* for *Gregory XIV.* died, and *Innocent IX.* his Successor Reigned but a short time.) Besides he wanted Money, and was vexed to be no more but the Companion of his Subjects. These Considerations inclined him to find out some way for an Accommodation with the Duke of *Mayenne*; They entred upon it without much difficulty, and without taking in the King of *Spain*, or communicating it to the Lords of either Party, as knowing too well those People did not at all desire an end of the Troubles.

Villeroy and *Dupleffis* were made choice of for this Negotiation. They came to this Agreement, That the King should take six Months time to be instructed by such ways and means as should be no prejudice either to his Dignity, or his Conscience; That the Nobility of his Party should send a Deputation to the Pope, to desire his Authority for it; That in the mean time they should endeavour to make a Peace, and that he should be owned by those Princes that were united. They afterwards further agreed, That the Huguenots should enjoy those Edicts had been granted to them before the year 1585. That the Exercise of the Catholick Religion should be restored every where; That the Gentdarmerie and Infantry, should be regulated; That the *Tailles* and Imposts should be moderated, and that the Priviledges of Officers and of Cities should be preserved. But when it came to treat of the interests of the Duke of *Mayenne*, the Propositions seemed so excessive to *Dupleffis-Mornay*, that he dissuaded the King from giving ear to them.

Villeroy forbore not to enter again into Conference with the Marechal d'*Aumont*, and the Marechal de *Bouillon*, and to attend the King, who was very well satisfied with his franc and loyal proceeding. The fruit of these Conferences, which lasted two Months proved more then a little for the benefit of the Catholick Religion: for the King promised that he would forthwith send the Cardinal de *Gondy* and *Pisany*, to *Rome*; which did not overmuch please the Huguenots.

This Treaty being grown publick, because too many People would concern themselves in it, strangely alarmed the *Spaniards* and all the other Chiefs of the League. The King and the Duke of *Mayenne* had both like to be abandoned, the latter by all his Partisans, the other by his Huguenots. There were some amongst these who thinking to bind the King yet faster, lest he should forsake them, fortified themselves with the Queen of *England* and the *Hollander*, and would needs have given them footing in *France*. A proof hereof was evident by the Enterprife of *du Fay* his Chancellor in *Navarre*: who having gotten a Commission for the fortifying of *Quil-*

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lebauf, had scarce raised his Works Breast-high, when he would needs Cantonize himself there, and denied entrance to *Bellegarde*, to whom the King had given the Government thereof. Two or three Envoys from the King did in vain employ both their Persuasions and Menaces to make him lay aside so desperate a design: his ambition had taken too high a stand to be brought down so easily; he expected a supply of Eight hundred *English*: but two days before the arrival of them, he fell sick either of melancholy or otherwise, and perished in the midst of his attempt. He was so mightily possessed with the humour, that death it self could not wean him from it, for he gave order they should bury him in one of the Bastions there, as if intending still to keep possession.

So soon as he expir'd, *Bellegarde* entred into it; *Villars* thought he might carry the place upon this change, and before it were defensible. The Duke of *Mayenne* and he besieged it with four thousand Men: but it was either so well defended, or so ill attack'd, that at the end of fifteen days they were constrained to decamp, for fear of being beaten by the Count de *Saint Pol* and *Fervagues*, who were coming to relieve it with Twelve hundred Horse and fifteen hundred Foot.

Villars going to this Siege, had surprized the little Town du *Pont-Audemere*. Whilst he was busie in fortifying it, *Bose-Rose*, one of his bravest Captains, offended at his arrogance, and some scurvy language he had given him, seized on the Fort of *Fescamp*, and Cantonized there. This Fort was upon a Rock, near thirty fathom high towards the Sea, which washes the foot of it twice a day, but never rises to the top but twice in the year; and it was at one of those Spring-Tides that *Bose-Rose* surprized it by *Escalado*. *Villars* flew thither immediately to recover it, and not able to draw him thence, he block'd it up by two Forts; wherewith at last he reduced him to extremity: but *Bose-Rose* thought it much safer to cast himself into the Arms of the King, then to compound with one he had so much offended.

After the raising of the Siege of *Rouen*, the greater part of the Kings Army was gone into *Champagne*, he besieged *Espernay*, and out of the apprehension of a relief to come, would needs cover himself with a Circumvallation, which retarded the Siege near three weeks. The Marechal de *Biron* was slain in the approaches, by a Cannon Shot which took off his Head. He had been Chief Commander in seven Battles or great Combats, in each of which he had received some Wound. A Man very considerable in the Cabinet Council as well as the Campagne, who would be ignorant of nothing, had a hand in every thing, and fenced with the Quil as dexterously as with the Sword.

As soon as the Battery had made a breach, the Besieged Capitulated. *Provins* did the same upon the third day; *Meaux* being much stronger, the King did not attack it: but to cut off those Provisions the *Parisians* drew from thence by the *Marne*, he built a Fort in the Island * of *Gournay*, which lies upon that River within four Leagues of *Paris*, and gave the Government thereof to *Odet de la Noue*, whose incorruptible fidelity answer'd his favour with most exactly guarding the said Passage.

Upon the Frontiers of *Bretagne*, the Princes of *Conty* and of *Dombes* being joyned, received a very Signal loss: they had besieged the City of *Craon* situate upon the River of *Oudon*: the Duke of *Mercaur* came to its relief, assisted by *Bis-Dauphin* who brought the Nobility of *Mayne*, and by the Marquis de *Belle-Isle* Son of the Marechal de *Rais*. Now the Princes for want of good Intelligence, had let the Duke pass the River, and get into a very advantageous place for Battle, whilst they chose a very bad one for themselves; then not able to resolve to fight, they made their retreat in the open day, and committed many other oversights which occasioned their defeat. This hapned the Five and twentieth of May. They lost twelve hundred Men, all their Cannon, which was left by the way for want of Harness, and afterwards the Cities of *Chateau-Gontier*, *Mayenne* and *Laval*.

The Marechal de *Rais*, after the death of *Henry III.* not seeing clearly into the depth of Affairs, nor knowing which Party to side with, was retired to *Flourens*, and had advised his Son to joyn with the strongest; which made him take part with the Duke of *Mercaur* to secure the great Estate he had in *Bretagne*; though others imagined it was a fancy he had for the Dutchess, that engaged him to it.

The Fourth of June, *Henry* Prince of *Dombes* lost his Father *Francis* Duke of *Montpensier*, Aged Fifty years; he inherited his Name, his vast Estate, and the Government of *Normandy* which the King bestow'd on him, as he did that of *Bretagne* on the Marechal d'*Anmont*. This last regained the City of *Mayenne*, after a fifteen days Siege: but lay two Months before *Rocheport* with the loss of a great many Men and not able to take it, the inconveniencies of the Winter, and the Duke of

Mercaur

Mercaur coming to the relief of the place. *Rocheport* was a Castle upon a Rock of Slat on the bank of the River *Loire*, five Leagues beneath *Angers*, right against the Rock de *Gausie*, a place remarkable in former days, and ruined during the War with the *English*. Two Brothers Surnamed de *Hurtand* who held it for the King, put it and themselves into the Party for the League, that they might be justified for making *Sardiny*, a rich Partisan, their Prisoner, and screwing a Ransom of Ten thousand Crowns from him, though he were a Royalist.

It was about the same time that *Rene de Rieux Sourdeac* being invested in *Brest* by the Nobility and Commonalty of the Country, after a four or five Months blockade, beat them so in several Salies, partly by stratagems, partly by courage, as forced them to dislodge, and even to buy a Truce, which he sold them at the rate of Eight thousand Crowns per Annum. Within a Month after he gained a Victory at Sea over seven Ships of *Normandy*, which were come from *Fescamp* to seize upon the Harbour of *Cameret*, from whence they would have annoyed that of *Brest*; These advantages did hugely contribute to the keeping that Country under obedience of the King.

All *Guyenne* was so, excepting that *Emanuel Desprez* Marquis of *Villars*, Son of the Duke of *Mayenne's* Wife, and *Henry* Lord of *Montpsat* Brother of *Emanuel*, held some small places in *Perigord*, in *Limosin*, and in *Aginois*, *Agen*, *Villeneuve*, and *Marmande*. These Brothers the foregoing year had been beaten near the Abby de *Roquemadour* in *Quercy* by *Anne de Levis Ventadour*, and *Ponts de Lofieres Temines*, this Governor of *Quercy*, the other of *Limosin*; who slew them seven hundred of the four and twenty hundred they had got together, and took their Cannon and Baggage.

The Marechal de *Matignon* commanded in this Province, when there hapned a dangerous division by means of *Paul d'Esparbez Luffan*. This Gentleman had purchased *Blaye* of *Guy de Saint Gelais Lansac*, a great Master of his Estate. The Marechal said it was with his Money, and that *Luffan* was but his Agent therein: but when he would have come in, *Luffan* flatly denied him entrance, and offer'd to repay him his Money. The Marechal not able to bring him to Reason, renders him suspected of holding Correspondence with the League, and retrenched his pay. *Luffan* did not much value that, but begins to raise Contribution upon the River with four great Vessels, which he made Men of War. Whereupon the Marechal having excited the Complaints of the whole Province against him, obtained an Order from the King to drive him thence by force, and laid Siege to *Blaye*. *Luffan* withstood it three Months, after which finding himself hard beset, he calls in the *Spaniards* to his aid, and with their help defended himself so well that he kept possession of the place.

They missed but little of getting some footing in the Province by *Bayon* upon an Enterprize they had contrived against that City, by means of a Merchant of the *Franche-Compte* named *Chasteau-Martin*, who inhabited there, and a Physician named *Rossus*. It was very near succeeding, when *la Hilliere* who was Governor of the place, discover'd it, luckily surprizing an ill instructed Footman who brought Letters from *Fontarabia*. The Merchant and the Doctor were Hanged.

Amidst the confusion of three or four Parties in *Provence*, that for the King began to be predominant, especially when the Duke of *Savoy* was defeated at *Vinon*. After that *la Valette* pursued him roundly to the very Gates of *Aix*, and destroy'd all the Farms round about it. Then to draw him out into the Field, he laid Siege to *Roquebrune*, a filthy place, and no way considerable, unless for streightning the City of *Frejus*, which lies within a League. Now as he was ordering the repair of some Buttress of a Battery, he was kill'd by a random Shot in his Forehead the Eleventh day of February; a great loss, both for his singular Virtues, and the Affairs of the King. That part of the Parliament who were retired to *Sisteron*, took up the Government till the King should otherwise dispose thereof.

His death dispersed the greater part of his Troops, and caused divisions between the *Provençaux* and the *Gasccons*, concerning whom should succeed him. The *Gasccons* desired the Duke of *Espernon*, and were the stronger: so the others pretended to acquiesce, and all sent to the King to demand him. The King had not love enough to bestow so considerable a gift upon him: and feared lest his haughty and ambitious Spirit might lead him to Cantonize himself in that Province which was both Maritime, and Neighbour to the Duke of *Montmorency*, and the Duke of *Savoy*. Nevertheless when he perceived he was sitting himself to go and take possession of it, and

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* It was calculated, Pillebradand.

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that his refusal would serve to no end, but to cast him on the Enemies side, he sent him his Commission with very obliging Letters, but took from him the Office of Admiral, which he gave the young *Biron*, and under-hand order'd *Mesplez* a Gentleman of *Bearn*, and also others of the most authoris'd amongst the *Gascons*, and Royalists of *Provence*, to cross him in his Government, till such time as he could find an opportunity to force him out.

The Affairs of the Duke of *Savoy* were but little the better for the death of *la Valette*. The Sixteenth of *February*, the Inhabitants of *Arles* killed their first Consul *Riviere*, while he was endeavouring to introduce some *Savoyard* Companies into the City, and certain Gentlemen Royalists went and assassinated *Biord*, Lieutenant to the Seneschal, a great Partisan for the Duke, who was retired to a Farm of his own thereabout. Some Months after the third Consul raised the City of *Arles*, and rejoined them to the Parliament of *Aix*: but did not restore them to the interests of the Duke.

March. This Prince having no strong Holds in the Province but *Berre*, and *Grace*, and of three great Cities none left him but that of *Aix*, which was neither a Frontier, nor a Sea-Port, nor upon any River, took his farewell of the Parliament the Thirtieth of *March*, and carried away all his Luggage and his Forces to *Nice*, having notwithstanding made them fair promises of a speedy return. The Parliament of *Aix* in his absence took up the Government of the Province, and got Letters Patents for it from the Duke of *Mayenne*.

1592. May, &c. When he departed the Country, *Lesdignieres* was called in by the Parliament of *Sisteron*. Having therefore made a Truce with the Duke of *Nemours*, he came into *Provence* towards the end of *May*, refused that demanded by the Parliament of *Aix*, took all the little Castles about *Aix*, and towards *Antibes*, ran over all the Country, beat the Duke who had undertaken to come to the relief of *Aix*, and much streightened both the City and Parliament. But when he was just upon the point of reducing them, *Nemours* broke the Truce, took the Fort *des Eschelles*, and gained *Maugiron* who commanded for the King in *Vienne*. He would not however leave the Government to him, fearing lest he that had once changed, might have a fancy to do so a second time. The noise of this progress recalled *Lesdignieres* into *Dauphine*: when he was there he tried all manner of ways to draw him to a Battle; he could never engage him to it: yet by hunting him from place to place, in time, dispersed his whole Army.

July. About the end of *July*, the Duke of *Savoy* took *Antibes* at discretion. *La Valette* had formerly treated a League with the *Venetians*, the Duke of *Florence*, and the Duke of *Mantua*, to carry a War into the Country of *Savoy*; They obliged themselves to furnish him an Hundred thousand Livres per Month, as soon as he should have taken any considerable place. *Lesdignieres* got to be accepted in his stead, and acquitted himself as well as the former could have done. He passed the Mountain *Genevra* the Six and twentieth of *September*, divided his Army into three Bodies, the one to attack *Perouse*, the other *Pignerol*, and the third which he commanded in Person, the *Pass* of *Susa*. He succeeded only in *Perouse*, where he gained all the Passages that were convenient for Carriages, and those of the Valley of *Quierus* proper for the passage of his Foot Soldiers. Moreover he fortified *Briquiers* in sight of the Duke of *Savoy*, took the City, and then the Castle of *Tavours*, and made the Duke retire who was coming on to relieve it; then having provided for the security of his Conquests, he returned to Winter in *Dauphine*.

September. The Duke of *Espernon* passing with Three thousand Men along the Frontier of *Languedoc*, found there the Duke of *Joyeuse* who besieged *Villemur* on the *Tarn*, (at the request of those of *Toulouze*, who by that means designed to prevent the incursions of them in *Montauban*.) The rumour of his march made the Besiegers hastily dislodge: but as soon as he was gone some distance, *Joyeuse* forced, as one may say, by his ill destiny, renewed the Siege. The Marechal de *Montmorency*, fearing his power would become too great, made up a Body of his choicest Men, giving the Command to *Lecques*, *Chambaud*, and *Montoisson*. *Messillac* heretofore named *Rostignac*, Governor of *Auvergne*, joyned them with some Horse. All these together having certain notice that the Duke had sent his Light-Horse to quarter in certain Villages, resolved to attack him the Nineteenth of *October*. At the same time they made the onset, *Temines* who had thrown himself into the place with a good number of the Nobility, made also a great Sally; They forced the Dukes Retrenchments, put his Men into disorder, rout them, knock a great many on the Head, make as many more drown themselves in the *Tarn*, and even the Duke himself, the Bridge falling under him by reason of the multitude of run-aways.

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This news begot an incredible consternation in *Toulouze*, and after every one had bemoaned both the general and his particular loss, they were to consider of chusing another Chief. The defunct Duke had yet two Brothers, but both of them devoted to the service of God, the one a Cardinal, the other a *Capucin*, called *Father Angel*. The first who was very well vers'd in the conduct of Affairs, would willingly have undertaken that part of the Government, but he excused himself as to the command of the Army; It was confer'd upon his Brother who had otherwhile exercised that trade: yet did he not accept of it without a great deal of difficulty.

The Duke of *Espernon* arrived in *Provence* towards the end of *August*; his entrance was very glorious, the People receiving him every where with acclamations of joy. He employ'd the Months of *September* and *October* in settling himself in the Province, and in clearing it of several Castles, and Dens of Thieves. The Month of *November* was spent in Parlies and Negotiations of Peace, though very ineffectually; after which he went to attack *Antibes*, and took the City upon Composition, and the Castle by Escalado. But while thinking himself to be already absolute Master, he treated the *Provincial* Subjects with haughtiness, and the Conquer'd without mercy, while he built Citadels in *Brigueles*, and in *Saint Tropez*, whose Inhabitants were great Royalists; the jealous and impatient Spirits of those Countries were extremely alarmed; the Kings Agents by their secret practises put more fuel to their fire; and the Dukes revenge begot in their hearts the most cruel and furious hatred that has been heard of in these latter Ages.

The *Spaniards* incessantly demanded the Convocation of the Estates General, the Pope had delegated in *France*, by Commission in form of a Bull, *Philip de Sega* Cardinal Bishop of *Piacenza*, to be assisting at the Election of a Catholick King, and such a one as they should judge to be most capable of opposing the Undertakings of the *Navarrois*. King *Philip* had resolved to send an Army into *France* of Thirty thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse, to support him who should be elected, as designing him to be a Husband for his Daughter.

Amidst these Transactions, the Third of *December* died in *Arras* the Duke of *Parma*, as he was drawing his Forces together, and the King had advanced as far as *Corbie* to hinder his entrance into the Kingdom. This great Soldier had languished a whole year of Poison, (said the more suspicious) given him by the Ministers of *Spain* either by order of King *Philip*, or out of some private hatred.

1592. December.

We do not well know whether it affected the Duke of *Mayenne* with joy, or grief: but it is certain that after the being acquainted with this news, he took as much care to assemble the Estates, as he had formerly used to retard it; and presently made four Marshals of *France*, who were *la Chastre*, *Rosnie*, *Bois-Dauphin*, and *Saint Pol*, and gave the Command of Admiral to the Marquis de *Villars*. Was it to add more Dignity to that Assembly, or to impose the necessity on them to elect him King? For these great Officers would not have suffer'd they should confer the Crown on any other but their Creator.

The Duke of *Guise* and the Duke of *Nemours* formed each their Cabal in *Paris*, and expected to have the like in the Estates. The Politicks having found their own strength, confidently held their Assemblies, where they made Propositions for an Accommodation with the King of *Navarre*; and it had passed in an Assembly of their Town-Hall, to send to him for a free Commerce, if the Duke of *Mayenne* had not hastened thither to prevent it. This was by advice of the Seize: but he shewed never the more kindness to them for it, on the contrary he rejected all the Petitions they presented to him, for which reason they spit their Venom in divers biting and horribly defaming Libels; which did in truth extremely decry him, but rendred the Authors yet more odious.

In the Kings Party, his Parliament, his Council, and even his House it self, were likewise much embroil'd. The Indifferent and the Leaguers who were returned to the Parliament, brought Sentiments very opposite to the Spirits of the former. In the Council, every one strove to be highest and possess that place the Marechal de *Biron* had held; and the King was equally afraid of disobliging all the Pretenders, for the first that had forsaken him would have dissolved the whole knot.

November and December.

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1592. August and September.

His Domestick inquietudes did no less discompose him. The Count *de Soissons* not able to suffer any longer those delays of his Marriage with the Princess *Catherine*, went to *Pau* to compleat it: but the Parliament of *Bearn* shut their Gates upon him, and placed Guards about the Princess. She took her self to be highly affronted by these proceedings, and complained bitterly to her Brother of the intolerance of those Men of the Gown, (so she express'd it.) The King desiring to compose her disordered mind, wrote back to her in very affectionate terms, and order'd her to come to him at *Saumur*, where he was to be in the Month of *February*.

1593.
January.

We are now arrived at the year 1593. one of the most memorable of this Reign, in which, Affairs by being so very much confused, began to assume some order. The Fifth day of *January* was published a Declaration of the Duke of *Mayenne* verified in the Parliament of *Paris*, which after an ingenious and eloquent Apology for all he had done, invited the Princes, Peers, Prelats, Officers of the Crown, Lords and Deputies, to joyn with the Party for the Holy Union, and to meet in the Assembly of the Estates on the Seventeenth of *February*, there without passion or interest joyntly to make choice of some good Remedy to preserve both Church and State. About ten days after appeared an Exhortation of the Legats to the same end, which spake much plainer then the Dukes, saying, *They must elect a King both by profession and in reality most Christian and most Catholick, and who had the power to maintain both Church and State.* This pointed to the King of *Spain* clearly enough.

This Paper of the Dukes having been perused by those Lords who were about the King, some (amongst others the Duke of *Nevers*) thought convenient, since he invited them to come to *Paris*, to return him some Answer which might engage him to a Conference. This Expedient was seconded by all with so much eagerness that it would not have been in the power of the King, if he had so desired, to hinder it. The Proposition was therefore drawn up the Seven and twentieth of the Month, and deliver'd to a Herald to carry it to the Duke. The Deputies went to their Devotions the One and twentieth at *Nestre-Dame*, then heard a Sermon preached by *Gilbert Genebrand* Archbishop of *Aix*, who shewed, *That the Salique Law was either positive or changeable at the pleasure of the Legislator, which is the Body of the French People.*

The Assembly was open'd the Six and twentieth in the Hall of the *Louvre*: the Duke began it by a Harangue which the Archbishop of *Lyons* had compos'd for him; the Cardinal *de Pelleve* spake for the Clergy, *Senescau* for the Nobility, and *Honore du Laurent* the Kings Advocate in the Parliament of *Provence*, for the Third Estate. The Clergy had a pretty good number of Prelats of note with them, amongst the Nobility there were few Gentlemen considerable, and the Third Estate was a compounded Rabble of all sorts of people, hired by the Duke of *Mayenne*, or by the *Spaniards*. Of these three Bodies, there being none but that of the Nobility for the Duke, he assay'd to add two new ones, contrary to the ancient Order of the Kingdom, i. e. one of Lords, and the other of Members of Parliament, and Gown Men: but the three Orders fiercely rejected this Novelty.

The second day of their sitting, a Trumpeter brought the Proposition from the Catholick Lords attending the King: which import'd, *That if those of the Party for the Union would depute honest and worthy Persons, to such place as should be agreed upon, between Paris and St. Denis, to consult of the best means to put an end to all troubles, they were on their parts ready to send likewise.* The Trumpeter desired to speak with the Duke, who was then in Bed a little incommoded, and failed not to make known the Contents to all such as were inquisitive to hear the news. The Duke therefore not being able to make it a secret; by the Advice of his Council, and notwithstanding the violent Reasonings of the Legat, he sent it to the Estates. Who having examined it, refused to enter into Conference directly or indirectly with the King of *Navarre*, or with any Heretick, but were content to do it with the Catholicks of his Party, and that for the good of Religion, and the publick Peace.

This Answer being made, the Duke parted from *Paris* with a Guard of Four hundred Horse, and went to *Soissons* to discourse with the Duke of *Feria*, *John Baptista Tassis*, and Doctor *Inigo de Mendoza*, Ambassador from *Spain*. They propounded directly the Election of their Infanta, and spake of it as a thing both easie, just, and honourable; The Duke demanded a powerful and effective supply, and they

they fed him with Chimeras; in so much as they fell to reproaches and gross language: but the Dukes extream necessity constrained him to suffer it, and to conceal his Resentments no less then his Designs.

At his departure from *Soissons*, he went and joyn'd their Army which was commanded by *Charles* Count *Mansfeld*. With those he brought, they did not make up above Ten thousand Men: these Forces being too few to free *Paris*, stuck to *Noyon* and took it at three weeks end. That done, *Mansfeld* march'd his Men back to *Flanders*: where Prince *Maurice* cut him out so much work, that in all the whole year he had not so much spare time as to think once upon those of *France* again.

In the Month of *February* the King went to *Tours*. Three grand designs led him thither, the one to make up the Marriage of his Sister with the Duke of *Montpensier*, another to Treat with the Duke of *Mercaur*, and the third to contrive it so with the Members of his Parliament that they should take off the modifications they had made in the Edict by him granted to the *Huguenots*. He found so little disposition in Peoples minds, that not one of those three things did succeed: Moreover, as misfortunes seldom come singly, it hapned that at the very same time when the Enemies were ready to take *Noyon*, the ill effect reach'd even to *Selles* in *Berry*, which *Biron* besieg'd by his express Order, and at the request of the Parliament of *Tours*; For the King having need of all his Forces to cover *Picardy*, sent to him to raise his Siege, and to bring his Men away with all speed.

These disgraces damp't his best Friends and Servants, made the hearts of the Leaguers swell beyond all belief, and emboldn'd the Third Catholick Party, and the *Huguenots*, to fall into Conspiracies: these only to Cantonize themselves, the others to seize upon his Person. They did now no longer scruple to make Assemblies and Cabals, and the chief Lords of his Council told him without ceremony or disguise, they would quit him if he did not quit his Religion. The Cardinal *de Bourbon* was the Bell-weather that led the Flock, and put him to most trouble: by good fortune for the King, it hapned that I know not what sharp humour made an Ulcer in his Lungs, and bred a Ptsique in him, which rendred him less capable of pushing on his ambitious designs.

March.

There were two ways might draw the King out of his Troubles: the one to remain firm in his Religion, and arm himself with patience and courage; the other, without doubt the better, to embrace that of the Catholicks, who were for numbers a hundred to every *Huguenot*. The first was extreamly long and tedious, full of difficulties, and dangers almost insuperable: the Catholicks threatned to go from him if he would not go to Mass; he scarce had sufficient to set an Army on foot; the Gentry grew weary of exhausting their Wealth, and shedding their Blood for an Heretical Prince; and if in this juncture, they had elected another King, certainly they would all have acknowledg'd him.

All these considerations and apprehensions, made deep impressions on his Spirit: it was believed the Providence of Heaven made use of these to dispose him to chuse the better way. He began therefore to give hopes of his Conversion; and so soon as he had open'd his mind on this point, there were some *Huguenots* themselves who assured him, whether they really believed so, or did it out of Complaisance, that one might obtain Salvation in any Religion that believed *Jesus Christ Crucified*, the Creed of the Apostles, and observ'd the Precepts contained in the Decalogue.

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March.

While the Duke of *Mayenne* was yet at *Rheims*, whither he was gone to hold Conference with the Princes of his Party, the Duke of *Feria* Ambassador extraordinary from *Spain* with his other two Collegues, arriv'd at *Paris*, accompanied with a great Guard of Horse and the principal Lords of the Party, whom the Duke of *Mayenne* had sent to meet him. The Estates complemented him by certain Deputies: some days after he came into the Assembly, where he Harangued in *Latine*, and presented them some Letters from King *Philip*, which were superscribed thus, *To Our Reverend, Illustrious, Magnificent, and Well-beloved, the Deputies of the Estates General of France.* The Cardinal *de Pelleve* was ordered to Answer them.

There were three Chairs stood under the Canopy, one in the midst cover'd over with a Carpet of Violet Velter powdred with Flowers *de Lys* of Gold, and rais'd higher then the rest, but empty, to shew it waited for the King; in that on the right hand sat the Cardinal *de Pelleve*, who besides his being President of the Clergy with the Archbishop of *Lyons*, did likewise preside in the General Assemblies in the absence

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absence of the Duke of Mayenne; the Duke of Feria sat upon that on the left hand.

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April.

In the mean time the Catholick Royalists press'd the Conference so heartily, that no private obstructions of the Duke of Feria, nor of the Sixteen, could hinder but that some Deputies on either side agreed upon it. Being therefore gone to take a view of some places about Paris, they chose that of Surene as being less ruined then the rest. They met there upon the Nine and twentieth of April, and took their Lodgings by Lot: but the Royalists in the place for Conference seized upon the right hand. They agreed together that the Pass-ports should be expedited in form of Letters Patents, and took each other reciprocally under their protection. The Deputies of the League returned every night to Paris, the Royalists remained upon the place.

Those waiting the return of the Duke of Mayenne who seemed loath to enter upon this matter, let slip some Sessions without any proceedings, then adjourned the Conference for eight days; notwithstanding a Truce or Suspension was agreed for ten days. At first a difficulty arose which had like to break off all; those of the League would not suffer that Rambouillet should be present, because the Dutcheff of Guise accused him of having a hand in the death of her Husband; Rambouillet on the contrary, insisted upon his staying since he was come, fearing lest his exclusion should imply a tacit owning of what they charged him with, and the Blood of that Prince be required of him and his Posterity. He therefore positively denied the Fact and offer'd to purge himself by Oath: upon which the Deputies of his Party stood up so resolutely for him that he was not excluded.

It is very remarkable, that the King having heard how some did even charge him with that death, took the pains to write a Discourse which was perused by the chiefest of that Assembly: wherein he shewed *he never was the Author of so tragical and so cursed a Council*. He instanced amongst other things, that the late King telling him how a great Man who pushed him on to do that action, had in a Letter written to him on that Subject put in these four Latine words, *MORS CONRADINI, VITA CAROLI*. He the King of Navarre replied in the presence of many Persons of Honour still living, *Yes, but, Sir, this Party has not told you all the History, for the death of Conradin*, was the ruine of Charles*.

* The death of the Duke of Guise was that of Henry III.

For the particulars of what passed in the Conference at Surene, they are to be seen in the Records that are published. The Archbishop of Lyons, and he of Bourges, made very Eloquent Discourses on either side, to shew, the one that they could not acknowledge an Heretical prince, the other that they ought to obey him; and this last summoned the Leagu'd Catholicks to joyn with them for instructing and converting the King: but these stood stiff not to receive, nor have any communication with him till he were truly converted, and the Pope had received him into the bosom of the Church.

This Resolution express'd with great freedom and assurance brought over that Prince who wavered before, in so much as he gave his positive word he would become a Convert, to those Princes and Lords that were about him, and demanded a Conference for his instruction: to which he invited all the most learned of his own Party, and of those for the League to meet the Fifteenth of July; Not that he pretended the performance of his promise should depend upon that, but only as a ceremony and form becoming such an Act.

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June.

It was time he should speak plain: for the Estates some days before having made a solemn Procession, were preparing for the election of a King; and if the Spaniards, had then made the Proposition which they did a Month after in behalf of the Duke of Guise, it is most certain that all had gone that way, even in despite of the Duke of Mayenne, for he had not yet made his Faction strong enough, as having been too long employ'd at Rheims.

He was newly come from thence, very melancholy, and dissatisfied with the Princes of his own House, who were more vex'd with him: so that they had parted as irresolv'd and as much dis-united as ever, each of them with vast and confused thoughts, and very little abilities to put them in execution. Nevertheless there was enough to console him for his misfortunes, had he known how to improve the opportunity; for the King apprehending the Estates might nominate one before himself were Converted, offer'd to give him then, the same advantages the Spaniards promis'd him only for the future.

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He had no other aim when he consented to the Conferences but only to amuse the Royalists: but the event was quite contrary, it gave the King great advantage. The Seize on the one hand, and the Huguenots on the other, did in vain endeavour to interrupt them, they were too much engaged: from Surene they were transfer'd to la Raquette, then to la Villette. They ended and broke up in this latter place, because the Leaguers would conclude on nothing more, but that they referred the judgment of the Reduction of the King to the Authority of his Holiness, who only, said they, had the power of opening the Gates of the Church to him; and the other rejected this Proposition, because that would be to submit the Crown of France to the disposal of the Pope.

During the time these Conferences held, the suspension of Arms was continued, and brought the People to an absolute longing after Peace. The King having observed this effect, would allow it no farther but for three days, but in exchange offer'd a Truce of six Months. The Legat and Spaniards expressing great aversion to it, the Duke of Mayenne durst not accept of it. The Spaniards on their side having already suffer'd the Spirits of their Party to grow cool in the Estates, disgusted them wholly by their odious Propositions: for Mendozze labour'd to prove the right of the Infanta, and to demonstrate that the Crown appertained to her. His discourse was very unacceptable: Feria afterwards imagining that they had rejected it because the French abhorred the Government of a Woman, caus'd Tassis to propound, that the Catholick King would Marry the Infanta to the Arch-Duke Ernest, who should Reign joyntly with her, as if it would not have been more eligible to admit of one Stranger to sit in the Throne of France then to crowd two in at the same time.

The Nobility having refer'd it to the Duke of Mayenne to make him such answer as he should think fit, the Duke gave him to understand that the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom could not allow of a Stranger: That nevertheless the Estates, to testify their acknowledgments to the Catholick King, desired he would take it well they should elect some French Prince, and that he would be pleased to honour them with his Alliance by the Marriage of the Infanta to him. Now after the Spaniards had spent some days in deliberating on this Proposition, Feria replied by the Mouth of Tassis, that the King his Master would furnish them with all the assistance they should desire, provided the Infanta were declared Queen upon this condition she should Marry one of the French Princes whom that King should chuse, the House of Lorraine therein comprehended.

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This Overture dazzled most of the Deputies, and if at that time the Ministers of Spain, without so many Ceremonies, had but named one, the Assembly would have agreed to it: but whilst they were standing upon their gravity, and expected to be courted to what did not in any wise belong to them, this opportunity slipped thorough their Fingers. Three Princes aspired to this nomination, the Duke of Nemours, and the Duke of Guise, each for himself, the Duke of Mayenne for his eldest Son; and sometimes when he found any difficulty, he thought of proposing the Cardinal de Bourbon; then after divers agitations of mind, he found there could be no better Resolution taken then that which in effect was worst of all, and that was to take none at all.

Whilst he floated amidst these Uncertainties, the Parliament of Paris being Assembled upon the Rumour then on wing of the Election of the Infanta, made it appear they are infallible when concerned for the Fundamental Laws of the Monarchy, of which they have ever had a tender and useful care. For they made a grand Decree, Ordaining, that Remonstrances should be made to the Duke of Mayenne, that he would look to the maintaining of those Laws, and hinder the Crown from being transferr'd to Strangers, and declared null and illegal all Treaties that had already been, or might hereafter be made for that purpose, as being contrary to the Salique Law. Conformably to this Decree, John le Maître who held the place of First President, went and deliver'd the Message boldly, and shewed him how the Government of Women in France, even that of Regents, had never produced any thing but Seditions and Civil Wars: whereof he instanced in ten or twelve examples most remarkable, amongst which he did not omit Blanche de Castille, and that of Catharine de Medicis, the principal and almost the only cause of these last Troubles.

During

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June and July

During these Transactions, the King causes *Dreux* to be besieged, he took the Town upon the first Assault, and the Castle afterwards upon Composition, but not without much trouble and time. The *Spaniards* finding by the Decree of Parliament, and the loss of this City, that the Affairs of the League were beginning to decline, did the more press them for the Election of a King; and at last, in a Council they held with the Duke of *Mayenne*, named the Duke of *Guise*. Never was any Mans astonishment like to that of the Duke of *Mayenne*; the trouble of his Soul appeared thorough all the coverings of dissimulation. His Wives indignation was greater yet then his, she would have overturned all rather then obey that *meer Boy*, as she called the Duke of *Guise*. In this pressing occasion, when he knew not what to reply, *Bassompierre* found out an Expedient for him, which putting the business off for a while, did in the end dash it utterly in pieces; and that was to demand eight days time to give notice of it to the Duke of *Lorraine* his Master.

During this delay, the Duke of *Mayenne* set all his Engines at work, sometimes with the Duke of *Guise*, to dissuade him from accepting this nomination, as a thing ruinous both to him and all the House of *Lorraine*, sometimes with the *Spaniards*, to let them know it was not yet the Season for it, and in fine, with the Estates to incline them to his Sentiments. His attempts proved altogether ineffectual upon the two first, especially the *Spaniards*; of whom it was reported, they had endeavour'd to persuade the Duke of *Guise* his Nephew to kill him, as being the only Remora to his Advancement. But as to the Estates, he plaid his part so successfully amongst them, that they consented to the drawing up an Answer the Twentieth day of *July*; By which the Duke and the *Lorraine* Princes most humbly thanked the Catholick King for the honour he did their House, protesting they would ever persevere in their acknowledgments and a willingness to serve him, and declared they were ready to promise before the Legat to persuade the Estates of the Kingdom to approve the said Election, when there should be Forces sufficient to maintain it, and when they should have agreed to such Conditions as were reasonable to be secured to the Chiefs of the Party.

Hereupon great Contests arose between the Partisans of the Duke and those of *Spain*, these requiring they should go on with the Election, the others that it should be deferred. The *Spaniards* heard all without once opening their Mouths; in the end finding their Votaries were fewer by a third part then the other, they let go their hold. And which was more, the Duke, without any regard to their Requests, concluded to Treat for a Truce with the King, and named his Deputies for that purpose.

July.

Many Prelats, some Doctors, and even three Curats of *Paris*, (of whom one was he of *St. Eustache*, named *Rene Benoist*) being sent for to *St. Denis* the Two and twentieth of *July*, the King came thither the next day and entered into Conference with them, to satisfy himself, as it were, of certain scruples yet remaining touching some points of Religion. He was soon convinced: but the Cardinal de *Bourbon* was not so, that any other Bishop besides the Pope, had right to give him Absolution; the contrary notwithstanding was allowed, maugre his under-hand dealings, and vehement Remonstrances. The formulary of his Confession of Faith was drawn up, and the day appointed to make it the following Sunday. Some Prelats out of an ignorant Zeal had thrust in certain trifling things which were not very necessary: the King whose judgment was solid, could not relish such trash; wherefore they pared away all that was not essential to Faith; and yet they sent it as it was first drawn up to the Pope, the better to persuade his Holiness of his entire Conversion.

The Ceremony was performed in *St. Denis* Church, by the Archbishop of *Bourges*, as may be seen in the Memoirs of those times, seven or eight Bishops being present and all the Grandees of his Court, even *Gabriela d'Estree*; who had not a little contributed to the Conversion of the King, having already conceived great hopes he would Marry her.

The same night all the Fields, from *Montmartre* (whither he went after *Vespers* to visit the Church of the Holy Martyrs) to *Pontoise*, were enlightened by great numbers of Bon-fires: which was soon after imitated by the Cities of the Royal Party, and accompanied with Feastings, Dancings and all other Tokens and Expressions of publick Rejoycing. From that very day, the People of *Paris* shewed plainly it was purely their aversion to *Huguenotism* had engaged them to reject this Prince, for they ran forth in multitudes to this Ceremony, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and on a sudden changing that hatred they had for him into a real affection, began to call him their King, and not the *Bearnois*, as they had hitherto done, scoffing at all the declamations of their Preachers, who strove to make them persevere in their former Sentiments.

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The Duke of *Mayenne* rejoycing also, or pretending to rejoyce at his Conversion, Treated with him about a Truce for three Months; and both of them agreed to send to the Pope to get his Absolution, without which the Duke would by no means hearken to a Peace; His intentions and interests, as he protested, being no other but to preserve the Catholick Religion, and Union with the Holy See.

Immediately the King named the Duke of *Nevers* and four or five other Persons of rare Merit, as well Churchmen, as some of the Robe, for this Negotiation, and the Duke of *Mayenne* on his part chose the Cardinal de *Joyeuse*, and the Baron de *Senesay*, but he dispatched them not till three Months after; and in the meantime suffer'd himself, I know not how to be re-engaged with the *Spaniards* by a new Oath he took, never to depart from the Holy Union, not to Treat with the King of *Navarre*, whatever Act of a Catholick he should perform, and to proceed to the Election of a most Christian King; upon Condition they would furnish him with Twelve thousand Foot, six thousand Horse by them maintained, and some other Conditions.

August.

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August.

But at the same time, fearing lest they should contrive some new Projects with the Estates, he sent part of the Deputies back into the Provinces, under colour of informing the People of the present posture of Affairs. As for the residue of this Assembly, they remained in *Paris* till the Reduction of the City, being maintained by the King of *Spain*, who allowed them Eight thousand Crowns a Month.

He could not so easily get off from the League instances, who demanded the Council of *Trent* might be received entire by the *Gallican* Church. Although the Parliament and the Chapters opposed it, he was fain to give him this satisfaction by a Declaration, which was deliver'd to the Estates: but he eluded the Execution, having first drawn this Assurance from him, That if there were anything relating to the Immunities and the Franchises of the Kingdom that ought to be maintain'd, his Holiness being required to allow the same, should make no denial or difficulty.

The Truce in the mean time put a stop to their proceedings in the Provinces; It made the Duke of *Alencon* raise his Siege of *Montenour*, drew the Royalists from that of *Poitiers*, which *Bissac* most valiantly defended, and freed the Castle of *Cavours* from the Duke of *Savoy*: This Prince had been handled very ill by *Lesdiguieres*, and had likewise the misfortune some Months before to lose *Roderick de Toledo* General of the *Milanese* and *Neapolitan* Forces sent him by the King of *Spain*, who was utterly defeated and slain at the descent of the Mountain which extends towards the *Douere* near the Village of *Salbeltran*.

August.

Esperson had missed of surprizing *Marseille*, but reduced *Arles*, and from thence came the Five and twentieth of *June* to encamp before *Aix*: where he built on the Hill *St. Europe* which commands the Town, a great Fort, or rather a Camp; for the circumference was so vast, that his whole Army lodged in it. It seemed also as if he would make it a Counter-City, having created two Consuls who wore Hoods and managed the Government of it.

He thinking to force *Aix* by this means, did not punctually observe the Truce, but doubled the Garrison in his Fort, and continued to stop all their Provisions. The King who could ill suffer that a Man he did not love, should establish himself by force in that Province, made up a private Party to dispossess him. He chose *Lesdiguieres* to be the Head, and joyned six Gentlemen of *Provence* with him, *Oraison*, *St. Cannat*, *Valavoire*, *Crotes*, and *Buoux*, who were Governors of the places of *Manosque*, *Pertuis*, *St. Maximin*, *Digne* and *Forcalquier*.

The absence of the Duke of *Esperson*, who was gone to *Pezenas* in *Languedoc*, to confer with the Constable de *Montmorency*, and the hatred the *Provençaux* bare against him, did marvellously favour their Enterprize. As soon as *Lesdiguieres* had sent to, or shewed the Letters of Credence the King wrote to each of these five Gentlemen, and had explained his intentions and meaning, they all made a private League with the Count de *Carces*, excepting *Buoux* who refused to open his Commission and remained in the Dukes Service. The day appointed, all by consent, drove out the *Gascons* and the *Espersonists* from their places; and the Count de *Carces* and those of *Aix* broke the Truce.

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Escarrevaques and *Souliers* his Father in Law, did likewise stir up the People of *Toulon*, and besieged the Citadel, which they took by the help of two hundred Slaves, to whom they gave their liberty. *Signarc* who commanded there, fell by the Sword with all his Garrison: but *Escarrevaques* his Enemy, was first wounded by a Musquet Shot of which he died.

October.

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Upon

Upon the rumour of this Rising, *Tarascon*, and almost all the other Towns declared against *Espernon*: nothing was wanting to compleat the Enterprize but to shut up his Passage by the *Rhone* and the *Durance*, so that he should not have been able to return into the Country: but they not minding to give Orders for it in due time, he got again into his Fort, and became strong enough to make them feel the smart of their imprudence.

When the Truce above mentioned was concluded, the greater part of the Prelats, Counsellors of State, and such as were of the Parliament, nay even some of the Deputies of the Estates, had secretly tendred their Respects to the King, either Personally or by the mediation of some Friends. While the King was hovering about *Paris*, one day the Seven and twentieth of *August* he being at *Melun*, they happily discover'd an Assassin Suborned by some Leaguers, who had undertaken to kill him with a Knife. His name was *Peter Barriere* a Native of *Orleans*, Aged Twenty seven years, a Waterman by profession first, then a Soldier. The Prevost de l'*Hôtel* made his Process: there was not sufficient proof against him, and the Torture of the Rack could not force him to own any thing: but the Confessor who stood by him at his death, prevailed with him to discover all. He was condemned to have his Hand cut off holding the Knife in it, his Flesh to be torn with red hot Pincers, then broken alive, and after he was dead, to be burnt, and his Ashes scatter'd in the Air.

The King had frequent notice of the like Conspiracies, most part contrived by Monks or Church-men: and therefore a Peace was the only Sovereign Remedy that could allay the madness of so many Frantick Spirits, he most earnestly desired to compass it, and offer'd the Duke of *Mayenne*, quite ruined as he was, greater advantages yet then he had done when his Affairs were most flourishing: but that Duke would not Treat till the Pope had given the King Absolution; and besides he had not Strength enough to break those Bonds the *Spaniards* had cast upon him; he Treated therefore at the same Instant both with the King and with them.

Mean while, to provide against all Events, he endeavour'd to seize upon *Lyons* and joyn it with *Burgundy*, imagining perhaps that he of the two Kings with whom he should agree, might leave him that Country in Sovereignty. His Brother the Duke of *Nemours*, was become very absolute in that Government, having begirt and over-aw'd that great City by five or six places he held about it: but by the same means, and by reason of certain new Imposts which he laid by Advice of a *Ferrarese*, a Fellow of a feared Conscience, he became most odious to the People; In so much that the Archbishop of *Lyons* sent thither by the Duke of *Mayenne*, having underhand heightened their Discontents, and blown the Coals, carried it on so far that the Citizens took up Arms, and seized on the Person of the Duke of *Nemours* confining him to *Pierre-Encise*; but he got nothing by it: for they afterwards stood Neuters, not submitting to any Orders but their own, till their entire Reduction, although for form-sake they owned him as Lieutenant to the Duke of *Mayenne*.

People of honest Principles judg'd *Nemours* worthy to be so used, for his having followed the cursed Policy of *Machiavel*, which makes Princes become Tyrants, and the People Miserable: but all the Heads of the League perceiving by this President what usage they were to expect from the Duke of *Mayenne*, did now study nothing but the best methods to secure their own Places, and to surprize others to make the better Accommodation with the King.

He was then gone into *Normandy* to receive *Bosc-Rose* (who commanded the Fort of *Fescamp*) to his obedience. While he was at *Diepe*, the Wife of *John de Montluc Balagny* Governor of *Cambray*, came to him by night to demand a prolongation of the Truce, till the Agreement with her Husband should be declared. He Treated upon these Conditions, That he and his should have *Cambray*, and *Cambresis* in full Sovereignty; That the King should take him into his Protection, and should allow him certain Pensions; and for this *Balagny* should acknowledge him only by kissing his Hand.

The joy this brought him, was soon disturbed by those bloody Reproaches the Queen of *England* made him for his change of Religion. When from *Diepe* he went to *Calais*, thinking to find some Agents from that Queen to begin a Treaty, he met nothing but Letters from her full of bitterness, and found she would recal her Forces out of *Bretagne*.

(He had much ado to) pacifie her, but much more to endure the presence and over-free Discourses of the Deputies from the pretended Reformed Churches, whom he had

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†.

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had allowed to hold a General Assembly at *Mantes*, whither he returned at his departure from *Calais*. He looked kindly upon them, received their Memorial, named Commissioners to examine it, and offer'd them satisfaction upon some Articles, such or very near, as they had already had under *Henry III.* But they could not be contented with so little a Reward, for so great Services as they had rendred him, they demanded much more: so that not to exasperate them by an absolute denial, he only dismiss'd them, and permitted them to hold Provincial Assemblies, and afterwards to Convocate a National Synod and Politick Assembly.

1593.
December.

His Conversion undermined the League to the very Foundation; It was now look'd upon, if we may so express it, only as a Castle in the Air, supported but by one single Stone, viz. the Popes denial to give him Absolution. In effect, his Holiness would not suffer the Duke of *Nevers* to enter into *Rome* (which was in *November*) but in Quality of a Prince of *Italy*, not of Ambassador, and upon condition he should remain there but two days, that he should receive no Visits, nor make any to the Cardinals. This Prince however contrived it so that the Term was prolonged, and he had Audience twice of the Pope, the first time in *December*, the other in *January*: but brought thence no satisfaction for the King, though as to his own Person, they gave him as much and more then he desired.

November,
December and
January.

The Duke of *Mayenne* failed not to talk high upon this refusal of his Holiness: However this was not a reason strong enough to with-hold such as were already inclining towards the King, and falling off from the League. *Lewis de L'Hospital Vitry* was discontented, for that the said Duke detained four and twenty thousand Crowns due upon Musters to his Company of *Gensdarmes*; This Man was the first who return'd to his obedience, as he had been the first that left the King after the death of *Henry III.* When he forsook that Party formerly, he was Governor of *Dowleux*, which place he left to them, and made a shew as if he would have done the like by *Meaux* now to the League, telling the Inhabitants, whom he expressly called together, that he freely left them to their own liberty, only his Advice was they should follow his Example. This said, he went forth with his Troop of Horse: but had so well disposed of Affairs before-hand, that they deputed some to him the same day to desire he would come back, put on their White Scarfs, and turned away Five hundred Men (much amazed) whom the Duke of *Mayenne* had sent thither. *Vitry* had Twenty thousand Crowns Reward of the King, the Office of Bayliff, and Governor of the City, with the Reversion of both for his Son, and the *Bourgeois* the confirmation of their Privileges, and an exemption from *Tailles* for nine years.

All other Governors bargain'd for more or less, according to the importance of their Places, or the quality of their Persons. Most of the Cities got likewise several Advantages, accordingly as those that directed them were Politick or Affectionate: but every one almost would have it inserted in their Treaties, That there should be no Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion allowed within such a certain distance of their Territories.

1593.
December.

The design was laid and a great Party made to receive the King into *Paris*, and to this purpose he came to *St. Denis*. The Duke of *Mayenne* having got some hint of it, took the Government from the Count de *Belin* and gave it to *Brissac*, whom he believed the most faithful of all his Partisans. The Parliament finding by this their Measures broken, and apprehending the Duke would make the *Spaniards* Masters of the City, spake warmly to him that they might keep *Belin*: the Duke urged some Reasons to the contrary, but those satisfied not, and they continued their Assemblies. The business grew hot to such a degree that the Duke made his Soldiers and Friends take up Arms, whence would have followed most grievous Slaughter in the Streets, and perhaps the utter loss of *Paris* to the King, had not the wisest of that great Body, temporised and persuaded the rest to give way yet for a while.

1594.
January.

The Third day of the Month of *January* hapned the Reduction of the City of *Aix*. The Duke of *Mayenne* did not think there had been any place more assured to his Party then this same, because the Count de *Carces* had Married a Daughter of his Wives, nevertheless this Lord failed him. Being thereto disposed by the Gentlemen *Provençaux* who had declared themselves Enemies to the Duke d'*Espernon*, and withall fearing the event of a Siege, he resolv'd to chuse a Master that should be sufficiently able to protect them; and thereupon persuaded the General Council of the Province to acknowledge the King, and to beseech him at the same time to give them another Governor then *Espernon*.

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The Parliament therefore Ordained the same day that all Acts of Justice should be done in the Name of the King; and by any another Decree made some days after, declared Rebels, and guilty of High-Treason whoever would not obey him. The Archbishop *Genebrard* refused to submit, and having kept himself concealed ten or twelve days, retired to *Marseilles* with the Duke of *Mayenne* Agent.

After this Example, *Lyons* which ever since the imprisonment of the Duke of *Nemours*, had kept it self as Neutral, declared also for the Kings Party. The *Eschevins* and principal Citizens having made their Treaty with *Alfonso d'Ornano*, and received an assurance of the confirmation of their Priviledges, an entire Amneity, and that there should be no Exercise but of the Catholick Religion in their City and Suburbs. The Five and twentieth of *January*, *d'Ornano* being advanced with his Forces to the Suburbs *de la Guillotiere*, they set up Barricado's, and cry'd out, *Let the French Liberty live! Down with the Tyranny of the Italians.* The next day they all with one Voice shouted and cried, *Vive le Roy*; and all the Inhabitants, Men, Women, and Children, put on white Scarfs. Now having found amongst the Dukes Papers no less then seventeen new Imposts of the *Italian* invention, which he would have laid on them, had they not surprized him, as was before related, they prudently Ordained in a General Assembly of their Town-Hall, (and made every Member Swear to it) they would never admit any of them to publick Offices.

1594.
January.

✠.

February.

The Fifteenth of *February*, *Orleans* follow'd the same dance, *la Chastre* being brought over by a good round Sum of Money, the assurance of a *Mareschals* Staff, the Government of the said City and the Country of *Berry*, from whence in favour to him all the Garisons were to be dismissed, excepting those in the Tower of *Bourges*, and the Castle of *Meun* upon *Yeuze*. There were two Factions in the City which wholly divided it, the Fraternity of the small *Cord*, otherwise called by the name of *Jesus*, invented by a *Cordelier*, a Zealous Leaguer: and the Politicks who inclined to the King. To execute his design he strengthened himself with the last, secur'd the leading Men of the other Faction, or turned those out of Town he could not gain; after these Precautions, he declared the Seventeenth of *February* in the Town-Hall the intention he had to submit to the King, and exhorted the Inhabitants to follow his Example, or suffer him to retire. So soon as he had finished his Harangue, the Bishop and principal Persons gave him most humble Thanks for procuring their Reconciliation with their Natural Sovereign, and protested they would embrace his Resolution. They then read the Articles granted by the King, which were Ratified with all the Signs and Expressions of Joy.

Bourges did the same within few days after, and upon the same Conditions. The presence of the Duke of *Mayenne* retained *Paris*: and till that vast Body were disposed for so great a Mutation, the King employ'd his time in his Coronation, as well to remove that Scruple the Ancient Customs of the *French* imprinted in the minds of many, that this being wanting he could not assume the Title of King of *France*, as to convince the People more and more that he was thoroughly persuaded of the Religion of his Ancestors.

Now because he had not yet the City of *Reims* in his possession, nor the *Sainte Ampoule*, (the Holy Oyl) which is there kept in the Abby of *St. Remy*, he made choice of *Nostre-Dame* Church of *Chartres*, most famous for her Devotion to the Virgin, and from the Abby of *Marmoustier* caused a Viol to be brought, said to be that which *Severus Sulpicius* and *Fortunate* Bishop of *Poitiers*, in their Writings affirm to have been brought by an Angel to the great *St. Martin*, to restore his Limbs battered'd by a fall from top to bottom of a pair of Stairs. The Twenty seventh of *February*, *Nicholas de Thou* Bishop of *Chartres* performed the Ceremony after the same manner as it had wont to be at *Reims*.

1594.
February.

March.

The Duke of *Mayenne* saw his Party drop off hourly one after another without being able either to hinder this Revolution, or make his Treaty with the King: for he had Sworn not to obey him till he were absolved by his Holiness. Notwithstanding, because they saw all the Governors of those Places for the League (whom he had sent for to *Paris* about the end of the last year, and with whom he had held Council without calling in the *Spaniards*) did surrender this present year to the King, and that himself went out of *Paris* the Sixth of *March*, and took his Wife and Children with him, many suspected he had agreed with the King, and that he only seemed to remain in that Party to prevent those that were of the *Spanish* Faction from giving up that City to Strangers in some fit of despair.

He

He could not be ignorant how *Brissac* Treated with the King, and that he pretended cause of discontent, for that he had not given him satisfaction upon the Duke of *Elbeuf's* turning him out of *Poitiers*, after he the last year so bravely defended it against the Royalists. All was in readiness for above two Months past to receive the King at *Paris*: but the Seize (or Sixteen) seconded by the *Spanish* Garison, and four thousand of the Rabble, to whom the Ambassador of *Spain* gave each a Rix-doller per week, and a proportion of Wheat, did so narrowly observe him that he could not put his design in execution: It is said, likewise, that having discover'd it they were resolv'd to prevent him, and to rid themselves of those that were most active in assisting him: These were, amongst others, the President *le Maisre l'Huillier* Prevost des *Merchands*, *du Vair* a Counsellor, and *P'Anglois* an *Eschevin* or Sheriff.

These being Sagacious Men, and having a desire to save their Country, not to bring it under oppression, forgot not, before they proceeded farther, to have a particular and express assurance from the King; "That no manner of Violence should be done to any one Inhabitant of the City, neither in Body or Goods; That he should give a general Indemnity without any exception; That he should take them all into his Protection; And as for the Strangers, That he should let them go Scot-free with Bag and Baggage."

The Orders given for the night between the One and two and twentieth of *March*, to seize upon the Ramparts and Gates, the King who had drawn his Troops together at *St. Denis*, came to *Montmartre*. The only difficulty remaining with *Brissac*, was to shake off those *Spaniards* the Duke of *Feria* had allotted to accompany him in going the Rounds, with Order to kill him upon the first noise they should hear from without: but they were not so crafty in contriving pretences not to leave him, as he was in forging excuses to send them off.

When he had rid himself of them, in less then half an hour the Kings Forces entred, one part by the *Porte-Neuve* and the Port *St. Denis*, another Party descended along the River, and made themselves Masters of the Ramparts on that side, as also of the Arsenal, the Grand Chastellet, the Palais, and the Avenues to the Bridges, without meeting any opposition, excepting one Court of Guard of *Lansquenets*, who were cut in pieces upon the School-Key for not crying *Vive le Roy*. The *Bourgeois* likewise secured their Quarters, and Pad-lock'd up the Doors of the most Zealous Leaguers, lest they should come forth to disturb them, placed Courts of Guards at the *Quarrefours*, (or Corners of meeting Streets) and marched thorough all the Town with *Vive le Roy* in their Mouths, and Bills of general Pardon in their Hands which they distributed to all they met. The Populace followed the Soldiery and mixed familiarly with them; the *Spanish* and *Walloon* Garisons did not stir out of Doors.

1594.
March.

The King being within two hundred paces of the City, *Brissac* brought and deliver'd up the Keys to him, and in Recompence received the *Mareschals* Staff, and a promise of being made an Honorary Counsellor in Parliament, of considerable advantage in those days. About Ten in the Morning, being informed all was very quiet, and that his Forces were in Battalia in all the Markets and spacious Streets, he entred into the City by the New-Gate, accompanied by great numbers of the Nobles and his Companies *d'Ordonnance*, and went directly to *Nostre-Dame* to hear Mass, and sing the *Te Deum*, commanding Five hundred Men to march before him with their Pikes trailing, as signifying this Victory was voluntary.

Some Mutineers having made a shew of resistance, fled and hid themselves at home. Before it was Noon, all the City was in admiration to find they were in as much quiet as ever they had been in the profoundest Peace, and by that were fully confirmed in the esteem they had of the more then ordinary goodness and wise Conduct of their King. He found his Dinner compleatly ready at the *Louvre*, and his whole House in as good order as if he had resided there a long time. He sent to offer Safe-conduct to the Duke of *Feria* and the *Spaniards*, and Order'd a Party of Horse to Convey them to the *Arbre de Guise*.

About three in the Afternoon they marched forth by the Gate *St. Denis*, the King looking out of a Window to see them. Their Colours were fur'd, and their Drums cover'd, carrying along with them some off-cast Prostitutes, and about thirty passionate Leaguers. The most Zealous was *Beucher* Curate of *St. Benoist*, who died Dean.

Dean of *Tournay* above Fifty years after, but much changed in humour, being as great a French Zealot amongst Strangers, as he had been furiously Spanuolized in France.

When the King entred into *Paris*, he sent St. *Luc* to assure the Cardinals *de Piacenza* and *de Pelleve*, and the Dutcheſſes of *Nemours* and *Montpenſier*, that they ſhould receive no injury, in testimony whereof he allowed them ſome of his Guards: but the Cardinal *de Pelleve* had no need of it, for he reſigned his Soul in the Hoſtel of *Sens* while they were ſinging the *Te Deum*. The King did not reſuſe the Cardinal *de Piacenza* a Safe-conduct, though he had acted with ſo much paſſion againſt him; he even ſuffer'd him to take along the Jeſuit *Verade*, and *Aubry* Curate of *St. Andre dez Ars*, though guilty of the deteſtable attempt of *Barriere*.

1594.
March.

The third day after, Captain *du Bourg* ſurrendered the *Baſtille*, and *Beau-lieu* the Caſtle of *Bois de Vincennes*; and at the end of the eighth, the King ordered a general Proceſſion, where he aſſiſted in Perſon with his whole Court, to render Thanks to God for his having reſtored to him the Capital City of his Kingdom.

It was not thought neceſſary to wait the return of the Parliament at *Tours* to verify the Declaration which re-eſta bliſh'd thoſe who were remaining in *Paris*, as alſo another granted in favour of *Briffac* and the City of *Paris*. The Direction or Address, was after an extraordinary manner, "To the Chancellor and other Officers "of the Crown, Dukes, and Pairs, Counſellors of State, and Maſters of Requeſts, "to Read, Publish, and Reſiſter them in the Registry of the Parliament, and other "the Sovereign Courts.

Thoſe who had ſerved the King in this important Reduction, were not left without Rewards. The Parliament being re-eſta bliſhed, the King made a new Preſidentſhip for *le Maiſire*, he alſo created one in the *Chambre des Comptes* for *l'Huillier*, and two of Maſters of Requeſts for *du Vair* and *l'Anglois*. Honeſt and diſ-interreſted People ſaid, that if their intentions were purely to ſerve the King and the Publick, they had ſhewed themſelves more generous in being contented with the glory of their Action, then by deſiring a Recompence which could not but be a charge upon the Purſes both of the King and his People.

To obliterate, as much as it was poſſible the ſorrowful remembrances of what was paſt, *Peter Pithou* Counſellor in Parliament, had order to raze out of the Reſiſters in Court all ſuch Acts as had been forged during the Troubles againſt the Kings Authority; *John Seguier de Autry* Lieutenant Civil, cauſed all Libels to be burnt, with ſevere Prohibition either to Print any more, or keep any by them; And the Parliament having changed their Style, made a Decree the Thirtieth of this Month, "Which vacated and diſannull'd all Decrees, Judgments, and Oaths, made ſince the "Ninth day of December 1588. which ſhould be found any ways prejudicial to the "Kings Authority and the Laws of the Kingdom, as having been extorted by force: "Declared null all that had been done againſt the Honour of King *Henry III.* and "Ordained Information ſhould be made of the deteſtable Parricide committed on "his Perſon; Aboliſhed all Feaſts and Solemnities the League had inſtituted upon "occaſion of the late Troubles; Revoked the Power and Authority given to the "Duke of *Mayenne*; Enjoyned him, and all others to acknowledge the King; And "commanded a yearly general Proceſſion to be made upon the Two and twentieth "of March, in remembrance of the Reduction of *Paris*, whereat that Court to be "preſent in their Scarlet Robes.

April.

To the Authority of Parliament they joyned that of the Univerſity, thoroughly to ſatiſſie the Scruples of divers Eccleſiaſticks, as well Seculars as Religious, who yet doubted whether they might obey the King, before he were abſolved by his Holineſs. To this purpoſe *Renauld de Beaulne* newly promoted to the Archbiſhoprick of *Sens*, called firſt an Aſſembly of the Curates of *Paris*, who unanimouſly acknowledge they were convinced by his Reaſons; Then another Body of the Univerſity in the Royal Colledge of *Navarre* the Two and twentieth of April: where the Reſtor, all his Deputies, and a great number of Scholers and Religious Votaries of all Orders, ſware "to be faithful to the King even to the ſhedding of their Blood, "renounced all Leagues, and retrenched the Refractory from their Bodies, as "ſpurious and rotten Members.

The ſame week returned the Members of Parliament and other Companies who were at *Tours*. The Governor of *Paris*, (this was *Francis d'O* whom the King had reſtored to that Command) a great number of the Nobility, and the moſt noted Citizens, went to meet them as far as *Bourg-la-Reyne*. Thus all were re-united without

without trouble to any Man, unleſs it were about ſome fifty Perſons, to whom the King ſent Tickets to quit the Town. Theſe were moſt notorious People, nevertheleſs many others took ſo hot an alarm upon it, that it was like to have produced very ill effects.

Paris thus reduc'd, the other Cities came in with ſo much haſte as if ſtriving to precede each other. The Six and twentieth of April, *Villars* brought in *Rouen*, *Havre*, *Montivilliers*, and *Pont-Audemur*: but of all the Chiefs of the League he ſet the higheſt price upon what he did, and would abate nothing of "Twelve hundred "thouſand Livers in Money, ſixty thouſand Livers Penſion, the Government of all "thoſe Cities, without owning (for three years time) the Duke of *Montpenſier*, "who had that of the Province, and the Office of Admiral. *Biron* having this, it could not be taken from him without wounding his very Heart, and that the more deeply, for that *Villars* was his Concurrent both in Valour and Reputation.

At the ſame time, or ſoon after, *May-David* returned to his Duty with the City of *Verneuil*. As alſo the Magiſtrates and *Bourgeois* brought in *Monſtreuil* and *Abbeville* in *Picardy*. *Troyes* in *Champagne* after they had forced out the Prince of *Joinville* the Governonor, *Sens* in *Burgundy*, and *Rion* in *Auvergne*. *Montluc* Governor for the League in *Aginois*, brought in *Agen*, *Villeneuve*, and *Marmanda*.

During this Torrent of Proſperities, the King had information that Count *Mansfeld*, after a Conference which the Duke of *Mayenne* held with him, had beſieged *la Capelle*, and going to relieve it, found it at the laſt gaſp; He had his revenge upon the City of *Laon*. The Duke had left his ſecond Son in it with the Preſident *Jeannin* as his chief Council and Adviler. The King beſieged it about the end of May, the Enterprize was hazardous for him, he wanted Ammunition, and the diſcontent of the Mareſchal de *Biron*, who was the Soul of his Enterprizes, were a dangerous *Remora*. *Mansfeld* approached to relieve it, his Army was poſted upon a riſing ground, not far from the Kings, for ſeven or eight days; Then wanting Proviſions, and having ſeen two Convoys of his braveſt Men, went to fetch ſome from *la Fere*, defeated, he retired into *Artois*, where Sickneſs compleated the ruine of his Forces.

The Place defended it ſelf yet a long time and very obſtinately, not capitulating till the Two and twentieth of July, to ſurrender upon the Firſt of Auguſt, if they were not relieved by that day. In the Attacks *Givry* was ſlain, the moſt accompliſh'd Cavalier of the whole Court, both for his Heroick Valour, his ſkill in all Polite Learning, his ready wit and ingenious gallantry. An Amorous deſpair occaſioned by the infidelity of a Princeſs, made him ſo often court and ſeek a kinder fate in death, that in the end he met his wiſhes.

During this Siege, the Baron *de Peſche* Treated with the King for the Town of *Chateau-Thierry*, and the Inhabitants of *Poitiers* for theirs, the Government of it and of the Provinces were left to the Duke d'*Elbauf*. After the Capitulation of *Laon*, the Magiſtrates of *Amiens*, *Beauvais*, and *Peronne*, alarmed for that the Spaniſh Cabal would have engaged them to take a new Oath, returned to their Duty, thoſe of *Amiens* having forced the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Aumale* to quit their City. *Dourlens*, which in the Reign of *Henry III.* had been given as a place of ſecurity to the Duke of *Aumale*, would needs be comprehended in the Edict of the Reduction of *Amiens*.

In the Month of September the King laid Siege to *Noyon*; *Deſcluſeaux* who commanded within, gave it up the Eighteenth of October. Thus he recover'd all *Picardy*, excepting three places, *Soiſſons*, *Ham*, and *la Fere*; which were in the power, the firſt of the Duke of *Mayenne*, the ſecond the Duke of *Aumale*, and the third of the Spaniards. For *Colas*, Vice-ſeneſchal of *Montelimar* who was Maſter of this laſt, had given himſelf up entirely to them; and in Recompence they gave him the *Demaine* with the Title of a County.

There were yet certain Contrivances hatching in *Paris* to re-imbroid the Kingdom. The greateſt part of the Royaliſt Lords were angry that the Leaguers carried away moſt of the Money and the beſt Rewards; they repented likewiſe the having diſpatched and advanced the Kings Affairs ſo ſoon, that he was now almoſt in a Condition not to want their further help. The *Parifians* were more alarmed at the fifty Perſons he had baniſhed the City, then they could be aſſured by all his Declarations; The Cardinal *de Bourbon* could not put the ambitious-pleaſing imagination of a Crown

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May and June

July and Aug.

Septemb:r.

June and July

Crown out of his thoughts ; The Count de Soissons his Brother was wounded to the very Soul, because the King refused to let him have his Sister, after he had most solemnly promised it ; and Biron afflicted and discontented they had deprived him of the Admiralty, was come to divert his melancholy thoughts at Paris : where he met with so kind a Reception, that the King conceived some jealousy, and ran thither from the Siege of Laon, that by his presence he might dissipate those practices which possibly they would have carried on against his Interest.

1594.
June and July

October.

As for the Cardinal of Bourbon, death put an end to his aspiring hopes, and the Kings fears, soon after, about the end of July. He belived he was poisoned by a Lady whom he had tenderly loved. In the Month of October following Francis d'O Sur-Intendant des Finances, ended his life in his Hostel at Paris, his Soul and Body being equally corrupted by all sorts of Villany. The King was easily consoled for his loss, because he made prodigious devastations, and yet held him as it were under Tutelage. After this he for a time ordered his revenue to be managed by four or five in Commission : but finding no satisfaction in a multitude (still disagreeing and self-interested) he restored the Sur-Intendance, and gave it to Sancy and Rosny.

While the Chiefs and the Cities of the League were pressing their surrender to the King that they might be at ease, the Peasants and Commons of the upper Guyenne rose and took up Arms, to defend themselves from the plunderings of the Nobility, and the cruel vexations of Tax-gatherers. They gave them the nick-name of *Tard-Advicez**, and they again retorted the appellation of *Croquants**, because in effect they feed upon and devoured the poor Country People. Their first Rendez-vous was in Limosin : Chambret who was Governor there for the King, beat and dispersed them. Those of Angoulmois who endeavour'd to do the same, were likewise scatter'd by Maffez the Kings Lieutenant in that Country. But it was not so facile to appease those of Perigord. A Country Notary first brought them together in the Forest of Absac, within a League of Limiel : and they afterwards had divers other Assemblies, where they increased to the number of Forty thousand. The Marechal de Matignon enervated their whole Strength by inveigling from amongst them all such as had born Arms, of whom he formed several Companies and sent them into Languedoc ; the King allay'd the rest of the Storm by remitting the remainder of their Tailles.

* Or advised
to late.
* Or Gluttons, &c.

June and July

1594.
October.

Bretagne and Burgundy were yet standing out, not having submitted to the King. We may say one part of Provence also, for he thought it worse in the hands of Espernon then in those of the League. The Inhabitants of Laval introduced the Marechal d'Aumont into their City. Lesonnot Governor of Concarneau treated with him, Talbuet soon after did the same for Redon ; and made himself Master of Morlaix by the assistance of the Bourgeois, and of the Castle after a long Siege. There were five thousand Spaniards in the Province commanded by one Don Juan d'Aquila, and the Duke of Mercœur had three thousand very good Men ; so that if they could have agreed together, they would have been stronger then the Royalists : but the jealousy of those two Nations, and the pecks between the two Chiefs rendred them incompatible.

Aquila refused to joyn with the Duke to relieve the Castle ; the Duke did the same when Aumont had besieged the Fort of Crodon, which the Spaniards had built with great expence upon the point de la Langue, which divides the Gulf of Conquet, and commands it. Before this Quimpercorentin (being only invested) had surrendered to the Marechal, and soon after the Town of St. Malo perfected their Treaty ; wherein her Merchants made it appear they were neither ignorant in their Interests, nor in their Politicks.

As for Provence, the King durst not overtly set aside the Duke of Espernon, as well because of the Intelligence he might contract with Spain and Savoy, as because of his Alliances with the Marechal de Bonillon, the Duke de la Trimouille and Ventadour, who besides were very much discontented ; and even with the Constable de Montmorency (I call him so, for the Sword was given him the precedent year.) He therefore only sent for him to come to Court, to do equal Justice upon his and the Countries Complaints. But the said Duke having four thousand Men lent him by the Constable, and five and twenty hundred which himself had raised, he returns into his Fort, and held the City of Aix by the throat, as he did the Count de Carcer, and the Parliament, exercising his revenge upon all those that fell into his hands.

Lesdi-

Lesdiguieres moved by their re-iterated cries, quitted the Affairs of Savoy to go and succour them. He passed the River of Durance at Ourgon, and intrenched himself at Senas. Espernon came bravely forth to meet him, and try'd him by great Skirmishes : but could not stop his march, for the Constable would not risque his Men, but even withdrew them quite.

May, &c.

This Lord, who after a long Series of Troubles and Crosses was become huge Circumspect, found it much safer to make himself a Mediator, then a Party in a Cause, wherein it was to be feared the King would declare. He therefore procured a Truce for three Months, during which time, the Fort was deposited in the hands of Lassin, a perpetual Negotiator. Lassin had undertaken to put three hundred Men in Garison there to keep it in Sequestration. Lesdiguieres found means to slip in a great many Soldiers that belonged to him amongst those others : so that by his invention the Fort was in his disposition. Being therefore one day, the Eleventh of July, gone out of Aix, as if to fetch a walk, he approaches insensibly to the Fort, and when he was near enough, commands the Captain in the name of the King, to give it up that it might be razed. He no sooner spake but the Garison set open the Gates to him in despite of the Captain ; and at the same time he abandons the said Fort to the Provençaux, who in less then two days ruined that vast work which the Spanish Army had been above a year in raising.

July.

1594
July.

That done he returned into Dauphine, apprehending the great preparations for War the Duke of Savoy was making. Lesdiguieres had taken several little places in his Country : This Prince having regained them all during his absence, did also take Briqueris even in his sight, making good use in this Enterprize of the Milanese Forces who were going to wage War in Burgundy.

August.

The King going, after the taking of Noyon, to visit his Frontiers of Champagne, (this was in the Month of November) agreed to a Peace with the Duke of Lorraine, who had endeavour'd to make it above a twelvemonth before by Bassompierre. "He promised this Duke to do right to him, and his Children, as to the Succession of Catharine de Medicis their Grandmother ; without prejudice to what the Duke pretended, as well in his own behalf as theirs, to the Duchies of Bretagne and Anjou, and the Counties of Provence, Blois and Coucy. He left the propriety of Marsal to him, and to his Successors, the Cities of Dun and Stenay in exchange of Jametz, which the Duke rendred to France. And moreover promised him the Government of Toul and Verdun for one of his Sons, and to the Brother of that Son that should survive him. Bassompierre had the Lands of Vaucouleurs engaged to him for an old Debt of Sixty eight thousand Crowns, and for thirty six thousand more he lent in ready Money to the Treasury.

November.

In the same Month of November was in like manner concluded the Treaty between the Duke of Guise and the King : who by this means retrieved likewise the Cities in Champagne which were yet in the Leaguers hands. Some Months before, this young Prince having none that were considerable in his absolute disposal, had secur'd himself of Rheims after this manner. St. Pol, a Creature of his Fathers, and who saved his Life the day before the Barricado's, master'd this Town by means of a Redoubt he had built at the Gate called Mars, and pretended by this piece and some others which he held, to make the King confirm his Marechals Staff to him. The Duke who would needs get this prey to make his own Composition the better, quarrel'd with him one day in the Streets of Rheims, and ran his Sword into his Belly. By his death he became Master of Rheims, and having withall the Cities of Roery, St. Dizier, and Giville, he procured a very advantageous Treaty. For they gave him four hundred thousand Crowns in Silver, the Government of those Places, besides that of Provence ; The last not so much to gratifie him as to dispossess Espernon, and perhaps that they might ruine one another thereby.

Burgundy, which hitherto had remained almost entirely for the Duke of Mayenne, began to give him the slip. Auxerre, Mâcon, and Avalon, broke his Bonds. Dijon and Beaune were upon the point to do the same when he flew thither with his Light-Horse. Now perceiving he could contain them no longer by fair, he used foul means and severity, caused in Dijon the Heads of James Vernet, who was the Mayor, to be cut off, and Captain Gau's, razed the Suburbs of Beaune, doubled the Garison, and fill'd up all the Gates excepting one ; Moreover, to preserve the rest of the Province, he persuaded the Spaniards to make a sudden War on that side.

1594
November.

O o o o o

Meer

April. he had committed the Guard of *Pipet* chief Castle of *Vienne*, treated his Accommodation the Twelfth of *April*, drew his Men into the Town, and invited the Constable thither, who took the Oaths of the Inhabitants. *Nemours*, who thought this bosom Friend had been proof against all Temptations, was like to have lost his wits when he heard of this infidelity. Such as were inclined to believe the worst (and who judge of others actions by their own interpretation, which is too often true) said the motives that guided *Lisimieu* had more of self-interest than duty, and chose rather to call him Traitor to his Friend, then faithful to his King. And even when *Nemours* fell sick, whether for grief or some other cause, they reported he had given him a Fig to prevent his Repentment.

January. Really this Prince was invaded by a strange malady, and almost like that of *Charles IX.* Blood flowed in great quantities from his Mouth. His more than ordinary courage did for some time resist the violence of this Distemper: but when he was so much attenuated that he could no longer stand upon his Feet, he desired to be carried to his Castle of *Ancy* in *Savoy*; and there having languished for some Months in such a dismal condition, as drew tears from the Eyes of every one that beheld him, he resigned up his Soul about mid-*July*, aged twenty eight years. The Marquis *de Saint Sorlin* his Brother succeeded him in the Duchy of *Nemours* and other Territories, and soon after came to an agreement with the King.

February. The Duke of *Mayenne* had not so much love for him as to be grieved, but the peroration of his Affairs brought grief enough upon him from elsewhere. In the Month of *February* the Inhabitants of *Beaulne*, to whom the King the preceding year had granted a four Months Truce, fell upon that Garison the Duke had re-inforced, and called the Marechal *de Biron* to their aid, who then besieged the Castle *de Montier-Saint Jean* hard by. This Marechal having forced three hundred Soldiers who yet defended themselves in the City, to capitulate, laid Siege to the Castle; which surrendered within a Month, having in vain expected the Duke of *Mayenne* would have joyned his Forces with the Duke of *Nemours* to deliver them.

1595. February. The Cities of *Autun* and *Auxonne* finding his declining condition, did also quit his Party; the first by the advice and management of their *Maire*, the second by a Treaty *Senecay* made with the King who left him the Government of it.

April. By the example of *Beaulne*, the Inhabitants of *Dijon* took Arms in the beginning of *May*, and finding themselves too weak to drive out the Garison, had recourse to *Biron*, who gained all the Quarters of the Town, and at the same time besieged the Castle, and that of *Talon* which was within a quarter of a League, whither the Count *de Tavares* had retired.

May. The Constable of *Castille* (named *Ferdinand de Velasco*) was descended into the *Franche-Comte* in the Month of *April* with an Army of Fifteen thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse. This Marechal apprehended lest he should fall upon his back with all his Forces: the Constable *de Montmorency* had the same fear upon him, and both these press'd the King extremely to advance that way. His Mistress by her Careless made him resolve it; She desired he might conquer the *Franche-Comte* for her Son, to whom he promised to give the Revenue in propriety, but the Honorary Sovereignty to the *Swiss*, thereby to oblige them to his protection.

June. He took but few Men along with him, believing that of those under the two fore-named Generals, and the *Lorrainers* commanded by *d'Aussenville*, he might make up a very considerable Army; and as for his Frontier of *Picardy*, he relied upon the Forces of the Marechal *de Bouillon*, the Count *de Saint Pol*, and the Admiral *de Villars*, recommending above all things to them a good Correspondence, and a readiness when necessary to joyn their whole Strength together; To whom when in one entire Body, he gave the general Command to the Duke of *Nevers*. And for the Affairs of the Kingdom in gross, he establish'd a Council at *Paris*, of whom he made the Prince of *Conty* Chief. The event shewed the method he had taken both for the one and other was not good; For the Count *de Soissons* jealous they had prefer'd the Prince of *Conty* before him, fomented the Leaven of those Factionous remains in *Paris*, and so much did those of the said Council, as also the Chief Commanders in the Armies, countermince each other, that they did his work but negligently.

It

It is fit we know that in the Month of *March*, the Duke of *Longueville* was kill'd by a strange accident; Taking a review of his Army at *Dourlens*, a Piece discharged by accident shot him in the Head, whereof he died in a few days at *Amiens*. The day before he expir'd his Wife was deliver'd of a Son, whom *France* may justly account for one of the most generous and most accomplished Princes of his Age. The King was God-father, and gave him his name and the Government of the Province: and till he were of Age, gave the Commission of it to the Count *de Saint Pol* his Paternal Uncle.

The Constable of *Castille* having forced the *Lorrainers* to abandon all they had taken in the *Franche-Comte*, and *Tremblecour* who had put himself into *Vesjon* to capitulate, prepared to enter into the Duchy of *Burgundy*, and had made a Bridge at *Gray* upon the River *Soane*, besides one belonging to the Town. The King having notice of it, resolv'd with the Marechal *Biron* to go and meet him only with two hundred *Maitres*, and five hundred *Arquebusers* on Horseback, to retard his March a day or two, and during that time make a Retrenchment to part the Castle of *Dijon* from the City, and then leaving therein a thousand *Bourgeois*, go forth and fight the Enemy with his whole Army within a League or two of *Dijon*. This undertaking would have been judged rashness, had the event not justified it.

The last day of *June*, being at *Fontaine Francoise*, the mid-way between *Dijon* and *Gray*, he discover'd the Enemies whole Army descending from *Saint Seyne*, and at the same time found himself charged by the Duke of *Mayennes* French Troops, commanded by that Duke and by *Villars Houdan*. He there stood in need of all his Vertues: *Biron* being rudely repulld, the King maintain'd the shock with a hundred Horse only, made several stout charges, and drove back four or five Squadrons almost to the grofs of the Duke of *Mayennes* Army. But certainly had he advanced further, he must have lost many of his Men, his Honour, and perhaps his Person.

The Duke of *Mayenne* sent three times, and the fourth went himself to intreat the Constable to march on to certain Victory: but he being as cold to action as hot in words, and imagining the Duke pretended to teach him his trade: he stirr'd not, but replied, with pride and senseless gravity, he knew well enough what he had to do. The same day he retired to *Saint Seyne*, and the next day to *Gray*, where he denied entrance to the *French*, nay even to the wounded; The King on the contrary took care they should be dress'd, and sent a safe-conduct to *Villars* to carry him to *Chalons*.

This day was much more famous for the Kings wonderful Exploits, then either for the number of the Combatants, or of the slain, (for there were not fixscore kill'd upon the place) and acquired him greater advantage yet then honour; for as much as the *Castillians* coldness, his suspicions and inhumanity towards the *French*, broke them quite off from the *Spaniard*; whereas the King open'd his Arms so kindly and favourably to them, that he drew a great part to his service.

The Duke of *Mayenne* not knowing how to extricate himself from the Artifices of the *Spaniards*, thought of returning to *Sommerine* in *Savoy*, and from thence send to demand security that he might go to *Spain* and give an account to King *Philip* of his Conduct, and complain of the ill proceedings of his Agents. The King perceiving him at the very brink of the Precipice, gave him assurance he was ready to receive him into favour, and to treat him much nobler then he could ever justly hope, for from those Renegado's; To which he added that till they had agreed upon the Conditions between them, he might remain at *Chalons*, where he should neither be besieged nor invested.

Before he accepted of these Offers, the Duke made another great and last effort to persuade the Constable to relieve the Castle of *Dijon*. The Constable having absolutely refused it, he took leave of him as if he would have undertaken it himself with what Forces he had, and retired to *Chalons*. From thence he gave order for the surrender of the Castles of *Dijon* and *Talon* to the King, in retribution of his kindness.

Whilst the King was yet at *Dijon*, he advis'd the kindred of *Charlotte de la Trimouille*, Widow of *Henry* Prince of *Conde*, to present him a Petition, desiring the Process against that Princess might be removed to the Parliament of *Paris*; That all proceedings made by the Judges of *St. John d'Angely* might be set aside, That new information might be taken; and that in the mean time she might be set at liberty upon their

1595.
March.

June.

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July.

their Bail, upon condition to appear for her within four Months. The King having allowed it, sent *John de Vivonne* Marquis of *Pisani*, to *Saintonge*, to be Governor to the young Prince, and to bring both him and his Mother to Court; He had a double end herein, one to secure himself of the person of the Prince, whom the *Huguenots* might possibly have made their Head, the other to plant him betwixt himself and the Count de *Soissons*; who seeing him without Children, accounted himself presumptive Heir, and trod upon his Heels.

After he had spent some weeks in quieting *Burgundy*, restoring their Parliament which had been interdicted, and calling back the Counsellors who had remov'd themselves to *Semur*, he entred with his Army upon the *Franche-Comte*, with design to fight the *Castilian*, and if he obtain'd a Victory, to conquer that Province. He staid there near upon three weeks, during which he oft-times harcelled the *Spaniards* to draw him out of his Intrenchments, beat his straggling Troops, in two or three Rencontres, ranfacked the whole Country, and brought so panick a fear upon *Besancan*, and all the other Cities, that he had surely made them stoop to his power, had not the intercession of the *Swiss*, and a contagion that got amongst his Men, wrested that Conquest out of his hands.

1595.
August.
September.

The *Swiss* moved in fine by the lowd cries of the *Comtois* who claimed their protection by vertue of some ancient Treaties they had made with the *Cantons*, and withall maturely considering, maugre the practises of those the King had gained in their Assemblies, what a bridle it would be to their liberty to have so potent a Neighbour upon their Frontiers, intreated him to withdraw his Forces, and to leave the Country in that neutrality they had hitherto enjoy'd. To their intercession the *Comtois* added certain Sums of Money to defray the Charges of his Army; which besides was so assaulted by Sickness, as they were glad to retire with the rich Booty they had made.

From *Burgundy* the King made a Journey to *Lyons* with his Court. Divers reasons led him thither; Two amongst others, the desire to Treat with the Duke of *Savoy*, and the necessity there was to give Orders for the Affairs of *Dauphine* and *Provence*, where there were some bickerings between the Governors and the Captains.

As to the first point he offer'd the *Savoyard* a Truce, and afterwards even to give him up the Marquisate of *Saluzzes* for his eldest Son. There were several Conferences concerning this at *Pont de Beauvaisis* between the Agents for the two Sovereigns, and the Duke seemed not to be averse to a Peace: but the condition of Homage the King proposed for the Marquisate distastd him.

For the second point, he sent the Duke of *Guise* to the Government of *Provence*, gave the Lieutenantcy to *Lesdiguières*, and that of *Dauphine*, whereof he had made the Prince of *Conty* Governor, to *Alonso d'Ornano*. Thus opposing *Espernon* with a potent Enemy, setting a careful watch over the Duke of *Guise*, and taking away the too great power *Lesdiguières* had in *Dauphine*, he thought he had sufficiently provided for the security of those Countries.

In the same place was the Treaty concluded for the reduction of *Bois-Dauphin*, also a particular Truce was granted the Duke of *Mercoeur* for *Bretagne*, and a general one to the Duke of *Mayenne* for all the remaining Parties of the League. *Bois-Dauphin* held yet the Cities of *Chateau-Gontier* in *Anjou*, and of *Sable* in *Mayne*, with some others which served as out-works for the Duke of *Mercoeur*; and therefore the King consider'd him so as to allow him very advantageous Conditions, and over and above the *Bastion de Marechal*.

September and
October.

The Voisinage of the King hastned likewise the more courageous of the Parliament men of *Thoulouze* to declare to the Duke of *Joyeuse*, that the King being now a Catholick they were in Conscience and Duty obliged to acknowledge him. And because he forcibly hindred them from taking any publick Resolution on this point, they retired to *Castel Sarrazin*; whence the King joyned them with those who in the beginning of the Troubles had transferr'd themselves to *Besiers*, that so being altogether they might act the more effectually for his Service.

1595.
November.

The Cities of *Carcassonne* and *Narbonne*, prompted with the same Spirit as those Officers, gave the same notice to the Duke, and turned out his Garisons; as on the other

other hand the approaches of the *Mareschal de Matignon* and *Anna de Levis* regained the City of *Rodez*; so that the Duke of *Joyeuse* had no other Places of importance left him but *Thoulouze* and *Alby*.

But whilst the King was thus employ'd at one extreame part of his Kingdom, the *Spaniards* made him bloody work towards *Picardy* by the death of *Humieres*, the loss of *Dourlens*, and that of *Cambray*. The Duke of *Aumale*, and *Rosne* were cause of it. Both taking it in scorn the King should slight them, by denying the Government of *Picardy* to the first, and to the second the Title of *Mareschal of France*, which he had granted to other Leaguers. The City of *Ham* was the Duke of *Aumales*, and he had placed a Governor there named *N. de Mouy Gomeron*, who being dead, his three Sons went to *Bruxels* to demand what was due to him. The *Spaniards* detained them all Prisoners to force them to deliver up the Castle of *Ham*. *Dorvilliers* their half-Brother who had the command of it in their absence, would give no ear to it, but called in *Humieres* and the Nobles of *Picardy*, and gave them passage by the Fosse of the Castle to attaque the *Spaniards* that were in the Town. *Humieres* charging them bravely was slain, his Men enraged at his death redouble their Assaults, and at two days end force them, and cut them all in pieces, not allowing quarter to one of them. The Count de *Fuentes* who at that time besieged the *Chatelet*, came running to relieve this Garison, but could not do it early enough; For spite whereof, he before the Town of *Ham* caused the Head of *Gomerons* eldest Son to be cut off, the Arch-Duke *Albert* did afterwards release the other two. This done he again returns before the *Chatelet*, which he gained upon Composition the Four and twentieth day of *June*.

The regret of the Nobility for the loss of the brave *Humieres*, who alone was worth an Army, and the cries of the *Picards* whose Frontiers were open, gave an opportunity to the hottest Heads in Parliament, who remembered the injuries they had received by the Duke of *Aumale*, to make a thundring Decree against that Prince. "By which they declared him *Criminel de lèse Majestatis* in the highest degree, and "of the Parricide of *Henry III.* and for these Crimes condemned him to be drawn "alive by four wild Horses, his Quarters to be set up on the four chief Gates of the "City, if he could be apprehended, if not in Effigie, his House of *Anet* to be razed, "and his Woods cut down Breast-high, his Goods Confiscate, and his Children de-graded of their Nobility.

1595.
June.
July.

The Sentence given, *Achilles de Harlay* first President, caused the Execution to be suspended for some days, during which they waited for Orders from the King: but Counsellor *Angenout* made so much noise they were fain to go thorough with it. They dragg'd his Phantasm to the *Greve*, and quartered it the Four and twentieth of *July*. The King was very sorry they had robb'd his Clemency of this Pardon, and thereby engaged the said Prince and all those *French* that were yet obstinate and resolute to an irreconcilable hatred against *France*: whom they afterwards most desperately wounded, and perhaps might have utterly ruin'd, had they found a King of *Spain* less aged and infirm then *Philip* hapned to be.

The Citizens of *Cambray* could no longer endure the proud and violent behaviour of *Balagny*, and had no less contempt then hatred for him after the check he received before *Senlis*. *Rhosne* well acquainted with their discontent, and having great intelligence in the City, advised *Fuentes* to besiege it, and that the *French* might not be able to bring relief in a Body, to take in *Dourlens* first. There were but few within the place: notwithstanding Fifteen hundred Horse and Foot did make a shift to get in; and at the same time the Count de *Saint Pol*, the *Mareschal de Bouillon*, and the Admiral de *Villars* joyned together to succour it.

They had above four thousand Men, and the Duke of *Nevers* was not above a days march distant with twelve hundred more: but as there was no unity amongst those Chiefs, and they dissdained to obey that Duke, they hastned to relieve the place before he joyned with them.

Fuentes encouraged by *Rosne* went to meet them; at first the *Mareschal* made a very stout Charge, but having the worst he falls to a retreat, and the Admiral who staid behind to make another Charge, engaged so far amongst the Enemies, that they surrounded and took him Prisoner with fifteen or twenty Gentlemen of note, and all his Foot were cut in pieces. The *Spaniards* killed him and *Sesfeval* in cold Blood, for they are not wont to pardon any who having once been under their Pay shall take up Arms against them. The King gave the Office of Admiral to *Damville* the

the Constables Brother, and the Government of *Havre* to the *Chevalier d'Oyse* Brother of the deceased: but restored the City of *Rouen* to perfect liberty, having ordered the Fort *St. Catharine* to be demolished.

1595.
July.

As the jealousy between *Bouillon* and *Villars* occasioned this loss, that between the Duke of *Nevers* and *Bouillon* caused a more bloody one. While *Nevers* excused himself from undertaking the Command, because they had reduced things into so ill-favoured a condition, that he could reap no honour by meddling with it, and on the contrary *Bouillon* did all he could to thrust it upon him, thinking thereby to shelter his Reputation under another's name, and amidst his fears and suspicions marched giddily about the place without attempting any thing: it hapned eight days after the Battle, that the Besieged who fought very well, yet defended themselves but ill for want of Ingeniers, unfortunately suffer'd the Enemies to force in upon them.

The *Spaniards* gained the Castle by a general assault upon a Bastion, and made great slaughter of the Garison that was within it. From thence they descended into the Town, where finding no resistance, they massacred all, as well the defenceless Women, and the Children, as the Armed Men, the raging Soldiers ruining thorough every Street and crying, *This is the Revenge for Ham*. They gave no quarter but to seven or eight, whereof *Haraucour* Governor of the City was one. The Pavement was strewed with the Bodies of above three hundred Gentlemen who were gotten in, and two thousand Persons more.

It is incredible how great the *Spaniards* joy was, to find by this experiment it was possible for them to beat the *French* by fine force, who till now were ever wont to beat them so: but that which raised their hearts and spirits more yet, was that at the very same time, they had news from the *Low-Countries*, that *Mondragon*, who commanded their Army there in the absence of *Fuentes*, had forced Prince *Maurice* to raise his Siege from before *Groll* in the Country of *Overissel*, and having afterwards encamped near him, boasted that he would hinder him from undertaking any thing all the rest of the Campaign. So after they had settled *Hernand Teillo Protocarerro* Governor in *Dourlens*, hover'd some days upon the Frontiers of *Picardy*, and put a fresh Convoy into *la Fere*, they marched towards *Cambray* full of the confidence of their taking it.

For consolation of these losses, the King was informed his Affairs advanced very successfully at *Rome*. After the Duke of *Nevers* was gone thence dissatisfied, Pope *Clement* having notice that in *France* they had renewed the Proposition for making a Patriarch there, relaxed somewhat of his severity, and finding of late the King did not much sollicite him, he began to apply himself to the King. He wrote to the Cardinal *de Gondy* to renew that Negotiation, sent the Jesuit *Possevinus* to *Lyons* to confer about it with the Constable and with *Bellevue*, and order'd the Cardinals, Protectors of the *Chartreux*, *Capucins* and *Minimes*, to command those Orders to mention and name the King in their Prayers, which they had not hitherto done. The *Huguenots* and even the Politicks, were of opinion they ought to make him postulant in his turn, and run after what he had rejected; nevertheless considering the great Consequences, the King resolv'd to send some Deputies to *Rome*, and give them an express Procurator to Treat about the Conditions of his Absolution, and to receive it in his name.

For this purpose he made choice of *James David Du Peyron*, and joyned *Arnold d'Offat* with him, as then but a simple Priest, yet a Man of rare prudence and great merit, who had before Negotiated a long time in that Court. It was said of the latter he had the talent to insinuate into the most Refractory, and charm them to listen to him, of the other, that he left no room for reply if they would but hear him with attention, so great was the rapidity and force of his Reason, that he did not only persuade, but he compell'd.

The multiplicity of Affairs that interven'd in the Kings Council, having obstructed *Du Perrons* dispatch four Months together, the *Spanish* Faction had a fair opportunity to make the Pope believe they scoffed at him; and when this Agent did come, contrary to their hopes, they practis'd all their subtilities, and laid what they could upon the ill success at *Dourlens*, to hinder both him and *d'Offat*, from being admitted

admitted to Audience. Then when they had been received (which was about mid-July) and the Pope (having taken advice of the Cardinals in private) had declared in Consistory that two thirds of the Votes were for allowing Absolution to the King, they were reduced to the starting of new difficulties about the manner, endeavouring sometime to persuade it ought to be given at the Tribunal of the Inquisition, then to crowd in some Expressions that wounded the King, and at another time to propound some Formalities, which should submit both him and his Kingdom to the Sovereignty of the Pope.

July.

The Court of *Rome* was easily induced to lay hold of this last, the bare prospect did so please them, as they employ'd all their Arts and Engines to persuade the Kings Agents to deposite his Crown in the hands of his Holiness, who after the Absolution pronounced, would have placed it upon one of their Heads again. They got over this difficulty happily enough, but three more rubs were thrown in their way; the one, that the Pope was earnest for annulling the Absolution given by the Archbishop of *Bourges*; the other, that he would have the Ceremony performed in presence of all the Cardinals, and make use of the *Baguette**; the third, that giving Absolution he should use these words: *That he rehabilitated, or restored the King to his Royalty*, as if he had been suspended by the Excommunications of the Popes his Predecessors.

July and Aug.

* Or Wand.

They received every day Orders from the King expressly charging them, not to consent to any thing to the prejudice of his Dignity and Reputation: notwithstanding they agreed to the two first points thereby to gain, said they, the last, which was the most important. *Du Perron* was greatly blamed for it in *France*, perhaps unjustly: the Politicks reproached him that to merit the Popes favour, he had submitted his King to be cudgel'd by Proxy with the Popes white Wand.

1595.
July and Aug.

As to the remainder, the intercessions of the Seignery of *Venice*, of the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the Duke of *Florence*, the solicitations of the Cardinals *de Joyeuse*, and *Tolet*, and the good offices of *Baronius*, then Confessor to the Pope, did much forward the business. *Tolet* was a *Spaniard* by birth, nevertheless he acted herein against the interest of *Spain*, that he might deserve and obtain of the King by his Services, the recalling and restoration of the Jesuits, of whose Society he had formerly been.

When they had agreed upon all the Articles, his Holiness appointed the Sixteenth day of *September* to give this public Absolution: which he did upon a Scaffold at the Porch of *St. Peters* Church, with the Ceremonies to be seen at length in the general History, or in the more particular Relations of those times.

September.

After this, above a Month ran out before the expedition of the Bulls, whether he would by this delay make them more esteem and desire the favour he granted, or that he were willing to give the Duke of *Mayenne* and other Heads of the League a competent time, to finish their Agreements.

But the King, as soon as he had received the news of it, ordered they should give thanks to God for it over all the Kingdom, sent to the Parliament to take off the prohibition he had made against sending to *Rome*, appointed that the Concordats with the Holy See should be exactly observed, and sought all occasions to testify his obedience to the See of *Rome*, and acknowledgments to the Pope.

Fuentes was before *Cambray*, the Marechal *de Balagny* had made no great preparations to receive him, having but seven hundred Men in Garison. The Duke of *Nevers* informed of their want in that place, sent the Duke *de Retelois* his eldest Son thither with four hundred Horse, who happily pierced into the Town: but the People of *Arisis* and *Hainault* desiring to deliver themselves from the oppression of *Balagny*, and the Archbishop of *Cambray* being pusht on with the zeal, not so much of being restored to his Pastoral See, as to the Goods and Revenues of the Church which *Balagny* had denied him the enjoyment of, strengthened the Besiegers Army with above eight thousand Men, contributed great Sums of Money, and sent Guns, Ammunitions, and Provisions to them.

For all this they did not much advance their Attakes, and as the Autumnal Rains troubled them sorely, and *Nevers* at *Peronne* was forming a considerable Body to harraß them, they would no doubt have raised the Siege, if *Roisne* who knew the Discords amongst the *French* Officers, and the ill disposition of the *Bourgeois* towards *Balagny*, had not assured the Chiefs, there would quickly be something disclosed very favourable to them. In effect, the *Cambresians* in despair for that the King would not admit them into the number of his Subjects, they having at the beginning of

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August.

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the Siege sent Deputies to request it of him, and thereby considering they must ever lie groaning under the burthen of some such severe Master as *Balagny*, resolved to shake it off at the first opportunity.

September.

As soon therefore as they had made a breach, though but a small one, the Inhabitants having drawn two hundred *Swiss*, that were in *Garison*, to side with them, did barricado themselves in all the Streets, seized on the great Market place, and ran to parley with the Besiegers. *Balagny* durst not appear; his Wife, true Sister of the brave *Buffy d'Amboise*, marches into the Market place with Pike in hand, and used Exhortations, Intreaties, Promises, and Oaths, to stop this Resolution. *Vic* shewed them that at least they ought to provide for their own security by some regular Treaty, and take time to consult therein; neither the one, nor other prevailed in the least, the Authors of this Revolution pressed things on so fast, that the Inhabitants upon the bare word of the *Spaniards*, went and open'd them their Gates, and even offer'd *Fuemes* to charge the *French* who then stood at the breach, but he could not consent to so much baseness, so that they had time to retire into the Citadel.

The Citadel was very weak, the courage of those that defended it extremely depressed, and that of the Citizens and *Spaniards* mightily raised by their good success; Besides there were Provisions but for ten or twelve days, for the *Spaniards* knowing the covetous humour of the *Dame de Balagny*, Wheat being somewhat dear in *June* and *July*, had contrived to drain the Granaries of all the Store was in them, by giving her what price soever she asked for it, and the Town was invested before the next Harvest could supply them. So that it seems in selling her Corn, she likewise sold her little Coronet, or Sovereignty.

October.

When *Vic* had searched and discover'd the small quantities were in the Magazines, he was of opinion they should demand a Truce, which was allowed them for four and twenty hours. The Duke of *Nevers* in the mean while not able to agree with *Bouillon*, and concerned for the danger his Son was in, sent word to the Besieged they should make the best composition they could. They did so the Seventh day of *October*, to quit the place within two days after, and made it indeed very advantageous.

1595.
October.

The *Dame de Balagny* believing that it was a more gentle fate to fall into the arms of death, then into want and nothingness: when she observed they began to Treat, withdrew and shut her self up in a Chamber, where sorrow and deep despair seizing her heart and spirits, she expir'd some hours before her Sovereignty: but her Husband suffer'd this fall with an extream insensibility, and having now nothing else to do, took a fair Maiden with him from *Cambray* to console and to divert himself from all melancholy thoughts.

A resistance of seven or eight days longer might have saved this place. The King informed of the dangerous condition it was in, came post from *Lyon* to take some order for it, but he had news of its surrender at *Beauvais*: and there together with the trouble for this loss, he was forced to suffer the murmurings of his Soldiers, who openly affirm'd it was occasioned by his neglect and delay, whilst his Mistress, for her private interest, with-held him at *Lyon*. His choler discharg'd it self upon the Duke of *Nevers*: in a Council held to consider of what was to be done after this loss, he said some very piquant things to him; wherewith that Duke was so sensibly galled, that this Disgrace together with the smart of his Wounds, which burst open afresh by the fatigues of the Campagne, cast him upon his Bed in the Castle of *Nesle*, and deprived him of life about the midst of *October*.

November.

To repair this loss of *Cambray*, the King employ'd the Forces he had got together to regain *la Fere*, the only place remaining in the *Spaniards* hands on this side the River *Somme*, and which they could not relieve but with great difficulty. He believed it so little stored with Provisions, that he reckoned to reduce it to famine before the *Spaniards* could recruit it, or draw their Men together: and therefore at first he only thought fit to block it up by two great Forts he built at the end of the Marsh. Whilst these were raising he took a Journey to *Monceaux* to visit his Mistress; and from thence returned to the Siege, bringing with him the Duke of *Mayenne* and some Companies he had there.

1596.
January.

This Duke having held constant to the protestation so often reiterated by him, not to make any Accommodation till the King were converted and reconciled to the Church by Authority of the Pope, seemed very ready to acknowledge him, upon the first

first certain news of his Absolution. In the Kings Council, many were of opinion, since he had stood it out so very late, not to admit him to any Treaty: but the King desired, at what price soever, to put out the remainders of that dreadful Fire of Civil War, which did yet smoke and smother in divers places of his Kingdom, particularly in *Provence* and *Bretagne*, and to repair those sad breaches the *Spaniards* had newly made in *Picardy*; Besides there had otherwhile been some kindness and amity between him and the Duke, and he consider'd that Personally he had never offended him; That he had given up no one place to the *Spaniards*; That if he should run him into despair, he would unite inseparately with them; and what mischief would he not do to *France* with so many Braves as would follow him? since *Rosne* almost singly, had been the cause of such great losses.

1596.
January.

These reflections obliged him not to reject the Duke; and besides his Mistress by her intrigues had been above a year endeavouring by degrees to dispose the King to grant him good Conditions. This Lady, besides her generous inclination which prompted her to do kind offices, sought every where to make Friends, as well because aspiring to become the Kings lawful Spouse, she stood in need of such to bring about the dissolution of *Queen Margarets* Marriage, as because she desired to secure her self of some support in case the King should happen to fail her. Now having no reason to hope for any favour from the Princes of the Blood, the *Huguenots*, nor the Politicks, she endeavour'd to gain this Duke, that he might devote himself entirely to her Service.

By this means he obtained the most honourable Conditions that ever Subject had of his Sovereign, but which notwithstanding were very mean to those that had been offer'd him before his Party was scatter'd, and when Treating for all those Members jointly he might still have remained Head of them.

In his Edict, dated at *Folembray*, of the Month of *January*, the King spake of him in very favourable terms; Acknowledged a Zeal for Religion had been the motive of his Actions; Applauded and esteemed the affection he had manifested in preserving the Kingdom entire; and amongst other Articles, "Granted him an Oblivion of all things past; Acquitted and discharged him of all Moneys received and disposed of; Restored him and his to all their Goods and Estates: Declared there lay no accusation or charge against the Princes and Princesses of his House touching the death of the deceased King. Promised willingly to hear the demands of the Dukes of *Mercur* and *Aumale*, and suspended the execution of the Judgment given against the last; Left him *Chalon* upon the *Soane*, *Seurre*, and *Soissons* for Cities of security, and the Government of *Chalon* separately (for six years) from that of *Burgundy*, to his eldest Son; undertook to acquit him of three hundred and fifty thousand Crowns, for which he and his Friends were engaged, as likewise all other the Debts he had contracted, as well in his own name as by being Head of the Party, with the *Swiss*, *Reiters*, *Lorrainers* and other Strangers, and obliged himself to put them amongst those of the Crown, and to annul all such Obligations as he had entred into for the said purposes.

1596.
January.

Together with this Edict were likewise dispatched those for the Dukes of *Joyeuse*, and the new Duke of *Nemours*. The King granted them some particular Conditions, and to the former also the Staff of Marechal of *France*. Some time after, the Duke of *Mayenne* going to attend the King at *Monceaux*, was by him received in so obliging a manner, as he protested that was the only time the King made an absolute conquest over him, and vow'd his Soul should sooner betray his Body then he would forfeit his Faith or his Obedience to so good and so generous a Prince.

1596.
January.

There now remained no more of the Heads of the Shipwrackt Faction but the Duke of *Mercur*, the *Duumsirs* of *Marseilles* with some small Cities in *Provence*, and the Duke of *Espervon*; who being still obstinate to hold the Government of those Countries, seemed, as one ready to enter into the League, when all the rest were going out of it. I will not speak of the divers Exploits that had been done in *Bretagne* the foregoing year, but only how the Royalists besieging the Castle of *Comper* near *Reues*, the Marechal d'*Aumont* their General was kill'd there. He was a Person whose Valour had proved stanch in all trials, and one of the most zealous and most faithful of the Kings Servants: *John de Beaumont Lavardin* was honoured with his Office of Marechal. The dissipation of the whole Army follow'd the death of their General: but the Duke of *Mercur* made no advantage of it, because of those suspicions which held him perpetually embroiled with the *Spaniards*.

P p p p p 2

The

March and
April.

The Province afterwards received some comfort by the three Months Truces, which were often prolonged: but by the Estates, whom St. Luc gave order to be held at *Rezes*, they were again loaden with a most heavy burthen. Which was an Impost of Six Crowns *per Tun* upon all Wines brought thither from abroad.

During the Truces, the Marquis *de Belle-Isle* being gotten into Mount St. Michel intending to surprize it, was kill'd by a Captain of his own Party, whose name was *Ker-Martin*. He thought that by carrying the Keys of that place to the King, he should in recompence have at the least a Marechals Staff.

1596.
January.

After the Kings intentions were made so manifest to the *Provençauxs*, that they had no room left for doubt, the Provisions for the Duke of *Guise* being registred in Parliament, and fortified by a thundring Decree against *Espernon* and all his Adherents: those that had follow'd him only as their Governor forsook him, and such others as were closest riveted to his interest much shaken. Being diffident of every one, he changed some Governors, amongst others *Ancho de Mesplez* whom he put out of *St. Tropez*, one of his best places.

In effect *Mesplez* was the Man for the King, who had Orders not only to dispossess him of the Province, but also underhand to hinder *Lefdignieres* from taking root there. Which he shewed plainly enough when *Lefdignieres* having besieged *Cisteron*, and being on the point of forcing it, he treated with the Governor *Kamefort* and got into the place with three hundred Men to defend it against him. Now although *Lefdignieres* did very well know this cross Game was dealt him by a higher hand, he omitted not to continue his Services, (which every where succeeded prosperously) and took five or six places more from the *Espernonists*: but when he observed his progress redoubled the jealousies of the Duke of *Guise* and the *Provençauxs*, and that he could now make no further advantage, either as to his own Affairs, nor the Kings, he returned into *Dauphine*, upon some pretence the juncture of those times offer'd him.

January and
February.

When the Duke of *Guise* was become Master of all the Forces of the Province, he did alone what he would not have done with a Companion, and soon quieted the Province, labouring at the same time to drive out the *Savoyards* and the Duke of *Espernon*, and to reduce the City of *Marseilles*. The *Savoyards* held yet two places there, *Grace*, and *Berre*: he recover'd the first by means of two Captains who kill'd the Commander of it, and block'd up the other with two Forts. However a while after, one Captain *Alexander* Governor of the last, making a great Sally, slew all the Men that were in those Redoubts and razed them; so that he preserved the place for the Duke till the Treaty of *Vervins*.

The Reduction of *Marseilles* was the more important work: several designs which they made trial of for this purpose had all miscarried, Famine and Misery had mightily wrought upon and disposed the meaner People to a change, but the *Dumvirs* (*Lewis d'Aix*, and *Charles de Casaux*) stood but the more upon their guard; and having offended so many People by their violence and severity, that they could hope for no security amongst a generation so inclined to Repentment, they rather chose to treat with the King of *Spain* (who promised to give them two Dutchies in the Kingdom of *Naples*) then with their natural King. They had therefore to this end dispatched three of their Confidants to *Madrid*; and in the meantime had obtained of *John Andrea Doria* Prince of *Malfy*, a succour of twelve hundred Men, brought to them in four Gallies by his Son, with hopes of a much greater number in a few days.

1596.
February.

This Re-inforcement could not prevent their ruine: which proceeded from that cause whence they could least expect it, that is to say from a *Bourgeois* named *Peter Libertat*, who was one of the most intimate Friends to *Casaux*, in so much as he had intrusted him with the Guard of the Port Royal. This Man originally a *Corsican*, Valiant, daring, and one that desired to raise himself by some brave Action, having long before prepared his Party, treated with the Duke of *Guise* to receive him into the City, provided they would give him the Office of *Viguier*, a Patent of Nobility for him and his, the Government of *Nostre-Dame de la Garde*, and fifty thousand Crowns in Silver.

When

When he had gotten his Securities, they appointed the Seventeenth of February for execution. That day the Duke of *Guise* approached the City within half a League, and much nearer yet placed in Ambuscado some Troops commanded by *Alamanon*. In the Morning *Lewis d'Aix* going out of the Royal Gate as his custom was, with some *Arquebusers* to search round the Walls, *Libertat* who was there upon the Guard with his People, pulls up the Draw-bridge and shuts him out. *Casaux* was within the Town, and not knowing they had put this trick upon *Lewis d'Aix*, came with some belonging to him towards the same Gate as usually: *Libertat* goes to meet him, charges him and kills him. *Lewis d'Aix* in the interim gets over the Walls, being Craned up by a Rope and a Basket, draws together a good number of his Friends, amongst others the two Sons of *Casaux*, and with these he comes and attacks *Libertat* and regains the Port. But the Advocate *Bernard*, whom the Duke of *Mayenne* after his Treaty had sent to the *Dumvirs* to persuade them to return to their Obedience, goes forth into the Street with his Pike in Hand and a white Handkerchief in his Hat, followed by five or six noted Citizens, crying out, *Vive le Roy!* In a quarter of an hour he got near a Thousand Men together, and at the same time *Alamanon* advances from without with three hundred Soldiers, upon whose appearance *Lewis d'Aix* loses courage, falls back, and gets into the Fort *St. Victor*, the two Sons of *Casaux* threw themselves into the Fort *de la Garde*; the *Spaniards* leap into the Water to recover their Gallies, and stand off to Sea. In fine, the Duke of *Guise* is received into the City, and his presence so astonishes those that had Canonized themselves in their Towers and Forts, that they immediately surrendered at discretion.

Thus this great City was brought to its Obedience in less then two hours time, without effusion of any other Blood but that of *Casaux*, and three more. As to *Lewis d'Aix* and the Sons of *Casaux*, the first escaping by night from his Fort, fearing to be deliver'd up by his Soldiers, and the others having been turned out of theirs by one of their best Friends who desired to deserve his pardon to their cost: they all retired to *Genoa*, where they ended their miserable lives in want and contempt.

1596.
February.

Marseilles reduced, the Duke of *Guise* bent all his Strength against the Duke of *Espernon*. As he was coming to the relief of the Citadel of *St. Tropez*, which *Mesplez* had besieged, *de Guise* charged him so impetuously that he forced him to repass the River of *Argence*; which he did with so much precipitation, that the greater part of his Troops were drowned or knock'd at Head.

As vain were those two Efforts he made afterwards to succour that Citadel by Sea, one time with a Galiot which he procured, and another with four Gallies, who entering by the Gulf of *Grimaud*, landed three hundred Men: *Mesplez* in fine, forced the Besieged to come to a Capitulation.

March.

Amidst these Transactions *Espernon* was like to have been blown into the Air by the malicious invention of a Peasant who had resolutely vow'd his death. This Fellow knowing the Inn he lodged in at *Brignoles*, got an opportunity to put into a Room under his Chamber, three Sacks of Powder, which he said was Wheat that he must sell. There were Pistol Locks placed within them, to whose Trickers he had fastned a small String, and tied the other end to that Cord which bound his Sacks. When he was certain the Duke was sat down to Dinner, he goes forth and brings in a Baker to buy this Wheat, and when he had directed him to the Sacks, steals off and runs away. In the mean time the Baker untying one of the Sacks, makes the Powder take Fire, and was burnt with those that were below; and yet this Fougade did no mischief either to the Duke or any of his People, its greatest violence taking vent by the Window and Doors of that first Floor.

He then perceived his great Heart did in vain persuade him to struggle against Fortune in a Country where they practised such horrid inventions to destroy him, so that he resolved to leave it, but with Honour; and for this end he had recourse to the intercession of the Constable his Wives Uncle. The progress of the *Spaniards* in *Picardy*, obliged the King to condescend more easily then he would have done in any other season, and to send *Roquelaure* into *Provence* to treat about his Accommodation. *Espernon* having confer'd with him, accepted first of a Truce the Fourteenth of March, then of these Conditions, That he should be confirm'd in all his Offices and Governments, That he should moreover have that of *Limosin* to be joyn'd with those of *Saintonge* and *Perigord*, and the survivance of them for his Son; also a Sum of Money, and an assurance that those on whom he had bestowed the Governments of Places in *Provence* should be continued in them. The Treaty Signed he went out of the Province

March and
April.

1596.
May.

Province the Tenth day of *May*: but the remembrance of those injuries he received there never went from his heart.

March and
April.

The Siege of *la Fere* was in the beginning but a Blockade, as well because of the inconvenience of the Season and the want of Canon, as those hopes the King had conceived of reducing it by Famine. When he found it was much better stored then he had guess'd, he began to streighten it more.

April.

The Cardinal Archduke *Albert of Austria*, newly provided of the Government of the *Low-Countries*, desired to equal the glory of Count *Fuenter*, who in one Campaign had taken four places upon those Frontiers: he therefore Armed powerfully, and gave out he was resolved to relieve that place. But when he found it could not be done without the hazard of a Battle, which would have been too great for him, because he wanted Horse, and besides he must have born the shock of four or five Garisons, thorough which he must have passed: he contented himself with throwing in five hundred Horse, each carrying a Sack of Corn on his Crupper and a bundle of Match about his Neck. This done he turns towards the Sea-coast, and having made a shew of besieging *Monstrenil*, falls down of a sudden upon *Calais*, pursuant to the design *Rosne* had contrived for him. This Captain had already invested it, and seized upon the Forts of *Nieulay* and the *Risban*.

The Terror which was within the place, and the Wind which seemed to conspire with the Besiegers without, made it be lost in little time. *Francis de Saint Pol-Ridoffin* a Gentleman of *Gasconne* who was Governor, had but ill provided for his defence, and had but little Credit and Authority with the Bourgeois and the Garison. So that when the Archduke upon his arrival had forced the Suburb *du Courguet*, which lies along the Harbour, fear so possessed the Inhabitants, that they immediately talked of surrendering: but they press'd it much more when they beheld a breach made in their Ramparts; Then nothing could restrain them, but a Capitulation must be made the Twelfth day of the Siege, to give up the Town within eight days, and the Citadel in six more, if they were not relieved.

The first eight days being expired, they surrender the City, with so much amazement, they had not the fore-sight to transport any of their Cannon into the Castle, where there were but three mounted; and the Bourgeois flocked thither in multitudes, instead of tarrying in their own Houses to preserve their Goods which were left a prey.

1596.
April.

In the mean time the Wind hurried away the Count *de Saint Pol*, and the Count *de Belin* his Lieutenant, who had taken Shipping at *St. Valey's* with three thousand Men. The same storms drove off the King no less rudely, who coming from the Siege of *la Fere* with the Regiment of Guards, and five hundred Horse, was put to Sea from *Bullogne*. As likewise they were cross'd the *Hollanders*; who having wrestled with all their art and skill against these Tempests, and remained some days exposed to the Canon of the *Risban*, were at last constrained to retire.

The King had placed his only hopes in the Queen of *England*, having dispatched *Sancy* to her, and some days after the Marechal *de Bouillon*, to desire her speedy assistance: but his change of Religion having almost totally extinguished the affection of that Princess, and much diminished her esteem, she would allow him no more help gratis, but demanded *Calais* for her self, since as well he was going to lose it. This disobliging procedure was an addition of grief and trouble to the King, he chose rather to let his Enemies tear the place by force from him, then yield it tamely to his Friend. *Sancy* acquainted the Queen with this Resolution, and used so many Arguments, that he disposed her to send a Relief, which consisted in Eight thousand Men, and all in readines; In so much as the Earl of *Essex*, who commanded them, put to Sea with a fair Wind: but whilst they were amused in resolving some difficulties as to place and conditions for their landing, the Citadel was gone.

The Archduke had granted the Besieged a Truce during the six days, *Bertrand de Patras Campagnoles* Brother to the Governor of *Boulogne*, being entred into the Citadel by the Canal at low Water with two hundred and fifty Men, caused them to break it. The Archduke irritated at this infraction, immediately attacks the Citadel, and by the advice of *Rosne* who knew the defects of the place, beat the Curtain between the two Bastions which face the Port, to dust; then Afternoon on the same day the Three and twentieth of *April*, gives three Assaults. The Besieged

sustained

sustained two, not without great loss. *Bidoissan* was kill'd in the second. After this it was time to yield: but *Campagnoles* by an excess of bravour, would needs stand a third. His Soldiers did not second his Resolution, they gave ground, and threw away their Arms to save themselves, some here, some there. Such as could get into the Sanctuary of the Churches, or avoid the first fury saved their Lives: all the rest to the number of above seven hundred were put to the Sword.

It had been no great difficulty for the King to have made the *Spaniards* perish for want in *Calais*, had he been assured the *English* would have served him faithfully: but as he had not too much reason to confide in them, he returned to the Siege of *la Fere*, having first re-inforced the Garisons of *Ardres*, *Monstrenil*, and *Boulogne*. *La Fere* might have held out much longer by the ordinary rules, had it not been for the Consideration of *Colus*: the King of *Spain* had given Order to *Otorio* not to stay till the utmost extremity, for fear he should be obliged to deliver that Man up to the King; so that although he had nothing to fear for at least a Months time, he made his Capitulation the Fifteenth of *May*, to which *Colus* Signed, Count *de la Fere*.

April.

1596.
May.

But in the interim the Archduke marching out of *Calais* the Third day of *May* to compleat his Exploits, attacked *Ardres*, a little place, but very strong, and very considerable for that it covers *Calais*. The Count *de Belin* and *Monluc* had shut themselves in to defend it, and there were Fifteen hundred fighting Men, nevertheless the horrible Slaughters of *Dowrlens* and *Calais*, had so much terrified those Soldiers, that they trembled even while they defended themselves. It hapned likewise by misfortune that *Monluc*, in whom they had some confidence was slain by a Cannon-ball, and afterwards the *Basse-Ville* was gained, and most of those in it knock'd on the Head in heaps just at the entrance into the Upper-Town, by reason those that stood there to guard it being more affrighted then the others, had let down the Port-cullice, and exposed them to the fury of the Besiegers. Afterwards *Rosne* begins to thunder upon the Bastion with his great Artillery; which begot so horrible and universal a dread amongst the Soldiers, that they even leaped over the Walls, or ran and hid their Heads in Cellars. *Belin* himself most extreemly affrighted, demanded Composition and surrendered the place the One and twentieth of *May*. Which having done maugre the Governor (named *Isambert du Bois-Annebout*) and without taking advice of the other Captains, he ran great hazard of his Life at Court.

This was the sixth * place the *Spaniards* conquer'd in one year from the French, not so much by their own, as the Valour of *Rosne* and about a hundred desperate Frenchmen more, who knowing themselves utterly excluded from all pardon and favour, endeavour'd to make the King regret them, and the *Spaniard* consider them. Now it fortun'd happily for France that the Archduke at his return to *Flanders*, besieging *Hulst* in the Country of *Waes*, *Rosne* was there kill'd in an Assault; which hapned in the Month of *August*.

* Calais, La Capelle, Dowrlens, Cambrai, Calais and Ardres.

August.

So many losses on the neck of one another, the Frontier laid open in four or five places, the Sea shut up, the robberies of the Soldiers, the surcharge of Tailles and Imposts, caused an incredible consternation in the minds of the people, awakened the Factions of the League, and favour'd the Contrivances of the Grandees. These well foreseeing that the too sudden establishment of the Regal Power would be the ruine of their own, suborned the Duke of *Montpensier* a young and easie Prince, to propound to the King, That it would do well to give the Governments in propriety to those that held them, thereby to engage them to contribute with all their might to the defence of a State, in which they really had a share. One may well imagine that this Expedient did not over-much please the King: nevertheless he treated this Prince in such a manner, as seeming angry rather with those who had engaged him to deliver this Message, then with him, he put him first into a confusion, and then furnish'd him with Reasons enough even to confound them likewise, if ever they made mention again of the like to him.

June.

1596.
June.

The *Huguenots* gave him no less disquiet then did the Grandees of his Kingdom; he could not grant them the Edict they craved without offending the Pope; and they to secure themselves deliberated to chuse them a Protector, and establish an Order amongst them, which really would have formed, as it were another State in the heart of the Kingdom. After his Conversion they look'd upon him as a Prince whose interest

July and Aug.

interest was to destroy them: they interpreted all the Excuses he made for not yet being able to satisfy them, as studied Artifice, and the remembrance of things past, gave them just apprehensions for the time to come. And, indeed, they forsook him in the midst of the Storm; and held more Synods and Assemblies in these three last years, than in the thirty five precedent.

September and
October.

The King was labouring at that time to re-unite all the Protestants his Allies in one League against the House of Austria: these discontents of the Huguenots cast great coldness and suspicion upon their Spirits; so that the German Princes did all excuse themselves, excepting the Count Palatine, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, who notwithstanding gave him only good words. Bouillon and Sancy had much ado to engage the Queen of England, who at length made it Offensive and Defensive; The King and she obliging themselves reciprocally to send four thousand Men into either Country, if they were assaulted, and to make no Peace or Truce with the Spaniard, but by mutual consent. The Hollanders entered into it likewise, with great willingness and alacrity, by a Treaty made the last day of October, and promised to march into the Field upon the Frontiers of Artois or Picardy, with Ten thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse.

June, July,
&c.

The Kings Army was so tired with the Siege of *la Fere*, that he was fain to send them to refresh themselves in the Provinces, reserving only some Troops with which the Marechal de Biron made three several irruptions into Artois. He made horrible devastation in that Country by Fire and Sword, as well in revenge of the cruel spoil the Archduke had made in *Boulonois*, after the taking of *Ardres*, as to teach him hereafter to make a fairer War.

In the Month of July a Comet was discover'd in the Heavens, whose light appeared sometimes pale and faint, otherwhile more clear and lively: it had a long Train that did extend towards the East and South.

1596.

March.

September and
October.

Another Prodigy appeared in France at the beginning of the year; Francis de la Ramée, a young Man so called (being the name of a Gentleman with whom he had been bred in *Poitou*) pretended to be lawful Heir to the Crown. He said he was Son of Charles IX. and Elizabeth of Austria, and fancied that Catharine de Medicis stole him in his Cradle, sent him out of his Country, pretending he was dead, that so her dear Son Henry III. might succeed. Now being come, I know not how, out of *Poitou* into *Vermandois*, he lodg'd himself in a Peasants House who assisted him in acting this Comedy, and bare Witness of many Apparitions which this young Man pretended to have frequently seen. There was great probability this Farce was contrived and countenanced by some Grandees of the Kingdom, and perhaps they would have carried it on a great way, and perplexed the King a long time with it, had not the third of it been cut in time. A Counsellor of Parliament who hapned to be upon the place, having caused this pretended Prince and his Paranymp to be apprehended, they were both carried to *Reims*, where they were condemned, the first to the Gallows, the other to be present at the Execution. The Parliament of *Paris* upon his appeal confirmed the Sentence, and added that the Body of *la Ramée* should be burnt and the Ashes cast into the Air. This was executed in the *Greve* the Eighth day of March; The Parties condemned having been first obliged to own the Imposture openly.

Those things which pained the King most were how to content the Zealous Catholics, and the Court of Rome, who were concerned how he would behave himself after his Absolution: to find wherewith to defray the Expences of his Armies amidst the present distractions and miseries of his People: and to redress and remedy the inconveniencies we have mentioned. For satisfaction touching the first point, he received the Popes Legat with all Affection and Reverence, and took care the Prince of Conde might be instructed in the Catholick Religion. The Mother of this Prince having been justified by the Parliament of *Paris*, followed her Son in his Religion, as she followed him in his Fortune, and made her abjuration at *Rouen*, at the feet of the Legat. This was Alexander de Medicis, Cardinal and Archbishop of *Florence*, a Prelat who coming into France with a Pacific Spirit, appeared as much an Enemy to all hot-headed Zealots, as a true lover of Peace and the good of this Kingdom.

For the other two points, the King could find no way more ready or effectual then to call a great Assembly of all the Kingdom: but it was only of Notables chosen out of the Grandees, Prelats, and Officers of Justice and of the Finances, or Treasury:

for

for that of the General Estates would have been too delatory and tedious, and then as much as the wisest Politicians have otherwhile loved them, so much the Princes of these latter times did dread them. November.

This meeting was held in the great Hall of the Abby St. Ouen at *Rouen*; The King began the first Session on the Fourth of November with a Speech that was Pathetick, Concise, and Sententious: in which they were over-joy'd to hear these Expressions truly worthy and becoming a good King, whatever motive put them into his Mouth; That he had not called them thither to follow him blindfold in what he should desire, but to take their Councils, to believe them, to pursue them, in short to put himself under their Tutelage. The Chancellor set forth the urgent necessity of Affairs, and demanded speedy assistance. The Deputies made ready their Papers* for the Reformation of the State; and upon this occasion the Officers of the Robe and Finances, made it appear by their demeanour, that their power and interest was going to exceed all other Ranks and Orders, as they have done, even to these very times.

†.

* Or Bills.

Many excellent Reiglements were made, and they named Commissioners to see them executed, who were to undertake it till the meeting of another the like Assembly, which was to be held at the end of three years. All Orders made, in such Assemblies, for the publick good, turn quickly into Air and nothingness, while the Impositions, and those Taxes as oppress the Subjects, are sure to become permanent; and therefore such as were of the Kings Council believing these Commissioners were but so many Spies and Controllers of their Actions, did soon elude all their care and diligence herein: but did not in the least forget most punctually to put those Orders in execution that were made for the raising of Money, to wit, the Postponing, or to say better, retrenching all Officers Wages for a year, and the Imposition of a Sol per Liver upon all Merchandize entering into any enclosed Town, excepting Wheat. The first brought in a present Supply, but the second produced much more trouble and difficulty, then Money.

1596.

December.

☞

Neither King Philips Body or his Mind, had vigour enough to follow his swift-footed Fortune, or carry the prosperity of his Arms so far as possibly they might have been in the present conjunctures. As he began to languish and decay, he desired the short remainder of his days might be free from all ponderous Cares and Troubles; and besides he much longed to leave the Low-Countries, at least, to his dear Daughter Isabella Eugenia, since not able after the expence of so many Millions to obtain the Crown of France for her. He gave therefore greedy Ear to the Propositions of Accommodation made to him by his Holiness, and had given long and favourable Audience to the General of the *Cordeliers*, named Bonaventure de Calatagiron, who was come to wait on him on behalf of the Pope. He afterwards sent him to the Archduke Albert, who made him go into France, and from thence he returned again to Flanders. So that the Treaty was much advanced, when an accident, of the greatest astonishment to France, interrupted it, and brought this Kingdom again into extremity of danger.

1597.

January, &c.

Hernand * Zeillo Governor of *Dourlens*, (who in the Body of a Dwarf, had a more then Gigantine courage) being well informed of the ill order observed by the Inhabitants of *Amiens* in the guarding of their Gates, (for they would admit of no Garison) formed an Enterprize upon the Town, and having communicated it to the Arch-Dukes Council, obtained four thousand Men to put it in execution. The Tenth of March a little before Nine in the Morning while all the People were at Church, sixteen Soldiers disguised like Peasants, and commanded by a Captain named d'Ogane, enter the Gate de Montrescut, some carrying Nuts, others Apples, and the rest driving a Cart loaden with Straw. One of the first lets fall a Bag of Nuts purposely untied: to amuse the Guard, and at the same time the Cart advances upon the Bridge of the second Gate, and there stops to hinder the Port-cullis from barring up their way. Upon the Signal given, which was agreed to be the firing off a Pistol, these Soldiers fall upon the Court of Guard, and charge them nimbly. A groſs of Two hundred Foot conceal'd within a Chappel about two hundred paces off, then another of a thousand more, and after these another Body of Horse who waited a quarter of a League from thence, ran with all speed to second them. There were not above seven or eight of the Guard that made resistance, the rest betaking themselves to flight, put all the City into fear and confusion; well might

* Vulgarly called *Aras-tel*.

1597.

March.

the Allarm-Bell ring out, few People put themselves into a posture of defence. The *Spaniards* in the mean time seized upon the Church Gates, the Markets and Ramparts. The Count *de Saint Pol* as much affrighted as the People, in stead of intrenching himself at some Gate, mounted on Horseback and escaped to *Corbie*, crying out he was going to fetch some Troops quartered within half a League of that place. *Hernand* Master of the Town, gave it over to the Spoil, the Inhabitants were stript to their very Shirts, and set at Ransom, excepting some that were of the Confederacy, or such as had been of the most Zealous Leaguers.

The King was in his Bed when he received this so surprizing news: he rose immediately and sent for several Friends that they might comfort him. The most undaunted took *France* to be now in great danger when they saw *Paris* was become a Frontier, at one end the Duke of *Mercaur*, at the other the Duke of *Savoy*, in the midst the Reliques of the old Factions endeavouring to joyn again in a Body, and the new Cabals shewing their Heads. There was but one Remedy, and that was to regain *Amiens* with expedition, but the Enterprize appeared very difficult; and this was certain, that if it failed, the affront would more then double the present disaster. So that the most part of the chief Officers dissuaded it, and there were even some would needs have their Protestations registred in Parliament. The Duke of *Mayenne* was almost the only Man of a contrary opinion, who so encouraged the King, that he gave a small Body of four thousand Men to the Marechal *de Biron* to invest it towards *Artois*, and to hold the Enemies still in play, and then resolved to go himself and secure the Cities on the Frontier, and give Order for all things to be prepared for the Siege.

1597.
March.

The troublesom reliques of a Distemper which his Divertisements had brought upon him the precedent year, sent him back from the Frontiers to *Paris*, and kept him there almost three weeks in his Chamber. We cannot forbear to mention that during this time, the anguish of his Malady joyning with the misfortune of his Affairs, did almost stagger and overcome his constancy, and forced from his heart such Sighs and such Complaints as were rather conformable to the ill state of his Condition, then any way becoming the grandeur of his Courage; He went to his Parliament likewise, and demanded Assistance in terms which were, it seems, beneath his Dignity.

April.

However, his Presence was not useless at *Paris* to hasten the Levies of Men and Money. The Provinces on this side the *Loire* undertook to maintain six Regiments of Foot for him; great numbers of the Nobility flocked thither after him; and because there were some yet very loath to leave their own homes, and many Malecontent, the Parliament to oblige them to come forth, made a Decree which set a Mark of Infamy upon all those that did not get on Horseback upon this urgent occasion.

For the Money, *Maximilian de Betune Rosny* provided it: he was become sole Sur-Intendant des Finances, *Sancy* and *Schomberg* not being able to comply with him, had quitted that and taken up the employment of the Sword again. They raised a considerable Fund by voluntary Loans, and the creation of divers Offices; those in best condition at *Paris* Taxed themselves very liberally, as well out of fear of falling into the miseries of War again, as because the Re-imbursments were assigned upon the melioration of the Gabels, which was a good Security. There were four Counsellors created in each Parliament, as many *Maistres des Comptes* in the Chamber of *Paris*, two Treasurers of *France* in every Court of Audit, two Esleus in all the Elections, a *Trienual aux Tresoriers de L'Espargne*, one at the Parties *Casuelles*, and so of all the Accomptables.

This latter way being extremely chargable to the Kings Finances, by consequent to the People, there were some Counsellors of Parliament, more worthy of ancient *Rome* then of a Country where the love to publick good does ordinarily pass but for a Whimsey, who propounded that all the Officers of the Kingdom should contribute, generously offering to Tax themselves, that so the Country might be deliver'd at their Expences: but the greater number were not the most generous, and Interest had the Ascendant over Honour.

From the end of *March* *Biron* was scowring about the Country towards *Dourlens* with some Horse, to prevent the *Spaniards* from conveying Ammunitions into *Amiens*; And though he were fewer in numbers then those of *Amiens*, he notwithstanding began the

the Circumvalation beyond the *Somme*. It was forty thousand fathom in circumference, flanked with seven strong Pentagones, and with a Bridge upon the River above the Village called *Longpre*. All the Month of *April* was spent in marching of Men thither, that of *May* in making their Lodgments in their Quarters; so that the approaches began not till about the beginning of *June*.

April and May

It was near this time the King arrived there with his whole Court, and even his Mistress. He had lodged her near himself, but was quickly forced to remove that scandal from the sight of his Soldiers, not only by their mutterings which came even to his Ears, but likewise upon the reproaches of the Marechal *de Biron*; who considered not that there is nothing more dangerous then to shock the Pleasures of ones Sovereign, or to take any advantage to make him know his own weakness.

June.

Upon the first rumour of the loss of *Amiens*, the remainders of the *Spanish* Faction would have made some stir in *Paris*, where King *Philip* still maintain'd a little private Council to encourage his Partisans. The most Zealous therefore held some meetings, to consider whether they might do him any Service in this juncture of Affairs: but one of them having discover'd a Consult of theirs in a Cabaret, there were some of them trufs'd up in the *Greve*; and the ignominious death of those quite broke off that dangerous Correspondence, and untied the whole knot of them.

In this juncture, the greatest part of the Lords despairing of the settlement of *France*, or glad of an opportunity to pretend so, an Assembly was held in *Bretagne* of the Nobility, in presence even of *Brissac*, Lieutenant for the King in those Countries, and with the knowledge, as they said, of the Dukes of *Montpensier*, *de la Trimoille*, and *de Bouillon*: where they propounded to make a *Tiers* (or third) Party, under the name of *Bons * Francois*, and under the Protection of the Queen of *England*, as if the King had not had Strength enough to defend them, or had been wanting in Care or Courage. But the news they received that the Siege of *Amiens* went on more successfully then they had guessed, stifled this Proposition, and dissolved the Assembly.

May.

* Or, True good Frenchmen.

Nothing less was expected from the Duke of *Merceur*, but that the Truce which was to hold but till the end of *March*, being expired, he would make a great Effort to Master the whole Province: nevertheless the Kings Agents had so much influence upon him, that he prolonged it to the latter end of *July*. Wherein he seemed not well to understand his interest, and gave others a just occasion to reproach him with what he had often told the Duke of *Mayenne*, That opportunities bad never failed him, but he had often missed his opportunities.

1597.
May.

As for the Duke of *Savoy*, *Lefdiguieres* not only made Head against him, but carried the War even into his own Country. He entred *Morienne* with Six thousand Men, gave chase to *Don Salines* General of the Dukes Horse, took *St. John de Morienne*, *St. Michael*, *Aiguebella*, and divers Castles. The Duke on his part Armed powerfully to drive him from his Territories; and there hapned many Rencontres between them, where the Valour of that Prince, and the Experience of *Lefdiguieres*, turned the balance of success sometimes one way, sometimes the other, till Winter came and parted the two Armies.

The Princes of *Italy* took *France* to be so much lost by the loss of *Amiens*, that the Duke of *Florence* had the confidence to think of seizing some small fragment for his share. During the greatest heat of the League, *Bausset* fearing lest the *Spaniards*, who had an Eye upon *Marseilles*, should seize upon the Island and Castle of *If*, whereof he was Governor, had intreated that Duke to send some Forces to assist him in the keeping them. The Duke slipt not the opportunity, he sends him Five hundred Men, however *Bausset* still kept the Castle of *If*, and quarter'd them without, upon the Island. Now, one day when his Son whom he had left in his place, was gone to *Marseilles*, they seized upon this Castle, partly by craft, partly by force, and drove out all the French.

They pretended in the beginning (to amuse the *Marseillois*) that they would only hold it for the King, and defend it against all his Enemies; but when the Duke of *Guise* had built a Fort in the Island of *Ratouneau*, which lies near that of *If*, thereby to cover *Marseilles* and counter-mine them, they openly declared their intention.

Q q q q 2

1597.
April.

tention. *John de Medicis* Brother of the Duke of *Florence*, coming thither with five Gallies, built another Fort in the Island of *Pompegue*, distant about a Mile from the other two, took the Frigats the *Marceillois* had freighted with Provisions, to victual the Fort of *Ratonneau*, and even told *du Vair* who was sent to him, that those Islands belonged to his Brother the Duke. In effect, had not the face of the Kings Affairs been changed, he would have explained his Pretensions, and have urged that the Dutchess his Wife had a right to this Island, as being of the House of *Lorrain*, who believed they had so to all *Provence*.

The *Huguenots* after the Kings Conversion, made as it were a Band apart, and minded their own Interest singly, as being now disjoyned from his. They had employ'd themselves in no other thing for two years past but holding of Assemblies Politique composed of three Deputies of each Province, i. e. a Gentleman, a Minister and an Elder. They met first at *Saumur*, then at *Loudun*, afterwards at *Vendosme*, then again at *Saumur*, and lastly at *Chastelleraud*. From all these Places they sent Deputies to the King to beseech him he would convert the Truce which *Henry III.* had granted them, into an irrevocable Peace; and he amused them still with fair words, delays, and many difficulties of his own creating.

Now when they plainly perceived that the more he settled his own Affairs the less he granted to them, that besides he was perfectly well with his Holiness, and heaped his favours and caresses on the Leaguers: they imagined the coming of the Legat into *France* was upon some design to prejudice them, and that he was just upon making his Agreement with *Spain* to destroy them utterly. These apprehensions and the suggestions of *la Trimouille* and the Marechal de *Bouillon*, had made them like to have run to their Arms three or four times: nevertheless the more moderate, and the more saint-hearted amongst them, who conjectured that when *Amiens* was taken, they must lie at the Kings Mercy, could not be persuaded to it; on the contrary joyning to their Arguments some other means they used at the same time to gain the Deputies in those Assemblies, they prevailed so far, as to possess the others with Patience, and to make them wait for the Edict he promised them.

Few of them however came to him at the Siege of *Amiens*, the apprehensions some malicious People buzz'd in their Pates, * *Of a Saint Bartholomew in the Field*, and the little esteem they guess'd the Court had for them, kept them at home. As to the rest, all that seemed to be most contrary to the Kings Service did on this occasion most promote it: for *Biron* surpassed himself, although he had no real affection for him, his own Honour call'd him to Action; The Leaguers were desirous now to become the Sword and Restorers of the State, as they had been the Bucklers of Religion; and the Queen of *England*, though much dissatisfied, sent him four thousand Men.

In the Town were Five hundred Garison Soldiers, and above threescore Cannon mounted on the Ramparts: by this means the Besieged were daily at handy blows with the *French*, destroy'd their Works and their Batteries, stop't them upon every turn, and sometimes made them even give ground, so that it was three Months ere they got to the Fosse. Amongst a many Sallies, they made three very great ones, in the last of which were slain Five hundred *French* and thirty of their Officers. The use of Mines, which had been but little practised in *France* during the Civil War, was revived in this Siege: each did instantly attaque the other by these Subterraneous Fires: and oft-times such were going to spring one Mine, who found another bursting out under his Feet, which blew him into the Air, or buried him quick in the Earth.

The perpetual Combats by night and day, much diminished the Besieged, sickness had cast a greater number yet upon their Beds, and their Medicaments which were itale and spoiled, in stead of healing, hastned the death of the Wounded. Besides they were to defend themselves within against the Inhabitants, amongst whom was discover'd a great Conspiracy to have open'd one of the Gates to the Besiegers; in so much that *Hernand Teillo* durst make no Sallies without keeping great Guards of Horsemen in the Streets. Having therefore no more Soldiers then what was necessary to withstand the Assaults, he sent the Arch-Duke word of the Condition he was in, conjuring him to make an Effort to save that place which cover'd his *Low-Countries*, and gave him so fair a passage into *France*.

The

The Arch-Duke was ill seconded in this design by the King of *Spain*, but being enough excited by his own Honour, and not caring if he did hazard some Towns in his own Country to preserve so important a Foreign Conquest, drew together, with all diligence, an Army of Eighteen thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, and taking his march, accompanied with the Duke of *Aumale* and the old Count *Mansfeild* who was carried in a Sedan, sent *Contreras* before with Nine hundred Horse to observe the Enemy. It was very dangerous to expose such a Party of Cavalry in the Field against an Army that had almost seven thousand Horse at their Command, and indeed *Contreras* after his departure from *Dourlens*, being advanced as far as *Querieu* within three Leagues of *Amiens*, was smartly repulsed: He thought in case of necessity to make his escape to *Bapaume*, but was overtaken by the Light-Horse near the Rivolet of *Encre*, then by the King himself, who took three Cornets from him, and put the rest to the rout amongst the Woods, where they were left to the mercy of the mercilefs Peasants.

This Essay was but an ill presage for the Arch-Dukes Enterprize; and a worse yet was the death of *Hernand Teillo*, who no doubt would have bravely seconded him. The Third of *September*, as he was standing upon a Ravelin ready to make a Sally, he was slain by a Musquet Shot which hit him in the Side. The Besieged by unanimous consent, elected in his stead *Hierome Caraffa* Marquis de *Montenegro*, and owned him for their Governor.

Two days after *Francis de l'Espinay Saint Luc* Governor of *Bronze*, and Great Master of the Ordnance, had the like fate. He was a Lord that for his real worth had few his equals at Court, not any for his Generosity and Wit, and the soft charms of Conversation. His Government passed to his Son: but his Office of *Grand Maître* to *Ambony d'Estree* by the favour of *Gabriella* his Daughter, upon condition however that he should take some other Reward for it, and exchange it again at the Kings pleasure.

The Fifteenth of the Month the Arch-Duke parted from *Dourlens* with his Army in a Body: but he advancing not above two Leagues the three first days, because the Duke of *Montpensier* was hovering about him with the Light-Horse: the King imagined he had no design to attempt anything by open force, but only lie hovering about his Camp to convey some Relief into the place by surprize; so that upon the third day he went early in the Morning to a Hunting Match he had appointed. Now the Arch-Duke, whether he had notice of it, or had before so resolved, marched more Leagues in that one night and the next Morning then in the other two days, so that towards Noon he appeared upon the side of a Hill about five hundred paces beyond *Longpre*. His intention was to gain that Post, and afterwards make himself Master of the Bridge upon the *Somme*, to pass Two thousand five hundred Men into the City, whom he had expressly cull'd out, and put under the Conduct of *Charles de Longueval* Count de *Buquoy*.

At sight of this great Army, the Sutlers and Camp-Boys belonging to the Kings ran away in a fright, the out-Guards were abandoned, the Foot fell first into confusion and then to a rout, neither the Constable nor other chief Commanders could re-assure them, the Dukes of *Montpensier* and *Nevers* appeared in vain on the out-lines, to cover this disorder in the Camp, the terror spread it self still more and more thorough all the Army. The *Spanish* Horse already cry'd out *Victory*, and the Soldiers said, *Come we must fall on*: but the Arch-Duke knew not how to improve so fair an opportunity, he lost above three hours time in holding Council. In the mean while the Duke of *Mayenne* who guess'd his design, sent some old Soldiers and six Field-pieces towards *Longpre*, and the King returning from his Sport put his Men into order, and restored their courage again, though not without much difficulty.

At last, the Arch-Duke having deliberated a long time, moved towards *Longpre*. When his Men were about mid-way, the six Guns began to play upon them, and rak'd quite cros so effectually, that they took off whole Ranks together: nevertheless they had not above five hundred paces more to get quit of this Storm, and be out of danger, and then might easily have gained *Longpre* and the Bridge. But this unexpected Slaughter discomposing him the more, because his Spies had assured him there were no Cannon near that place, he commanded them to gain the Hill that they might

1597.
July.

* Or a Camp
Massacre.

June, July,
and August.

1597.
July and Aug.

August.

September.

1597.
September.

might be secure; which exposed them in truth much longer to the fury of the Cannon, and cost them two hundred Men in stead of fifty. His Council thought convenient that from thence he should go, and Post himself at St. Sauveur, which is a quarter of a League more to the left hand on the Rivers side.

1597.
September.

The night was spent in perpetual allarms, mean time the Duke of Mayenne, for fear of falling the next day into the same peril as before, caused the Avenues to Longpre speedily to be fortified. This proved a necessary work, for on the Morrow the Arch-Duke laid a Bridge over against St. Sauveur, and immediately endeavour'd to pass his Forces to assault Longpre; but found the French so well prepared to receive them in every part, that he durst engage no farther; From that very time he began to consider of his retreat, and at night went to lodge at Vignancour. Neither did he remain there above four or five hours; For finding the King follow'd him with all his Army, excepting four thousand Men, whom he left in the Trenches, and that his Post was not tenable, he dislodg'd a little after midnight. If the King had been believed, he could not have got off without a Battle; There is some probability he might have gained it against an Army disordered by their hasty retreat, and then no doubt but the Conquest of the Low-Countries would have been the consequence of that Victory. However his Captains considering the chance of War is ever uncertain, and that the Kingdom of France would have run too great a hazard in his Person, because in the present Condition of things, his Succession must have been very Disputable and Contentious, they refrained his forward heat and brought him back to the Siege.

The Arch-Duke being returned into Artois employ'd his Forces for the taking Monthulix which incommoded Ardres, then dismissed them, and retired to Arras. He there fell sick, of Grief, as it was said, for having no better succeeded in his Enterprize of Amiens; and for the loss, during his absence, of seven or eight places taken by Prince Maurice along the River Rhine, and in the Country of Over-Iffel.

The same day he went off, the Besieged being Summoned, which was upon the Nineteenth of September, did not think convenient to stand so obstinately on a defence which might have held long indeed, but had been to no purpose, and only dangerous to themselves. They Capitulated therefore upon the best Conditions usually granted on the like occasions, and promised to surrender in six days, unless they were relieved within that time; They were allowed to send notice of it to the Arch-Duke, and gave Hostages for performance of the Agreement. The said Term expired, they rendered the Town in the Morning of the Five and twentieth of the Month: The Constable received it in the Name of the King, they going forth about Ten of the Clock the same day, carrying off together with their Baggage three hundred wounded Men, and a thousand Women, whereof four hundred belonged to that City.

1597.
September.

The King being on Horseback at the Head of his Army, with great kindness permitted Montenegro and the other Captains to salute him by embracing his Knees. At Evening he made his entrance into the City, and gave the Government to Dominick de Vite, who finding but Eight hundred Inhabitants there in all, re-peopled it with four thousand within two years after, and obtain'd the re-establishment of all their Priviledges, but could not prevent the raising a Citadel over their Heads, which makes their Posterity sigh to this very day, for the neglect of their great Grand-fathers.

October and
November.

The King himself carried the news of the surrender of Amiens to the Arch-Duke who was in Arras, went to visit him there with his whole Army, and to salute him with some Voiles of Cannon; Then finding no body mov'd, he returned to Dourlens and invested it. But the Rains, the Myre, the scarcity of Provisions, the too great Fatigues, and the Maladies proceeding from all those inconveniencies, constrained them to decamp before the end of the Month of October with great damage and some shame.

"Towards the end of this year the Dutchy of Ferrara, for want of Heirs Males, reverted to the Holy See by the Death of Duke Alphonso II. the last Legitimate Prince of the House of Est, and Son of Hercules II. and of Madam Renee of France.

"France. Ferrara was of the number of those Territories which the Countess Matilda Daughter and Heiress to the eldest of the House of Est, gave to the Holy See for the sake of Pope Gregory VII. about the year 1077. Since that time the Male-offspring of the other Brothers, bearing the Title of Marquis d'Est, had ever enjoy'd it, nor as Proprietors, but only Vicars of the Holy See, till the year 1471. that Pope Paul erected it to a Dutchy and invested Borso therewith; to whom the Emperor had also given Modena and Regio with the like Titles.

October, &c.

"Now the Duke Alphonso II. seeing himself without Male Children, had made divers Applications to the Pope and the Emperor, to obtain the transport of his Dutchies to Cesar d'Est who was his Kinsman. The Court of Rome did not think him fit to succeed, because his Father, who was an Alphonso, was reputed but the Natural Son of Duke Alphonso I. of that name. Thus on that side he could get no ground, but he gave such vast Sums to the Emperor Rodolphus, that he granted him the transport of the Dutchy Modena and Regio, of the Principality of Carpy, and some other Territories holding of the Empire. He made account that with all these, together with the great Wealth, and the good Friends he should leave him, he might be able to maintain himself by force in the Dutchy of Ferrara. In effect, when he died, which hapned the Twenty seventh of October, Cesar believing he should be supported by the Venetians, and even the Spaniards too, got into possession, and at first stood firm against the Excommunications of Pope Clement, and against his Army which was commanded by the Cardinal Aldobrandino Legat and Nephew of his Holiness: but when he understood that the King of France, which he never did imagine, took the affirmative for the Pope, and found the dread of this great Power had cooled his Allies, and affrighted the Ferrareses, he threw down his Sword, and made his Accommodation about the end of December. By the Treaty, he restored the Dutchy of Ferrara, to the Pope: Who left him all the free Lands, or Estate, which the House of Est had possessed there, and granted that he and the Dukes his Descendants, should have in Rome the same Rank, and the same Prerogatives as the Dukes of Ferrara had there enjoy'd.

1597.

The City of Paris honour'd the Kings Victory with a Triumphant Entrance they made for him. He pass'd the whole Winter in his Louvre hearkning to Propositions of Peace, but making, however, preparations for War, employing his Intelligences to disunite the Huguenots, and above all to regulate and meliorate his Finances. As to the Peace, while he was yet before Dourlens, Villeroy on his behalf, and John Richardot on the Arch-Dukes, conferr'd together upon the Frontiers of Picardy and Artois, and had agreed together that both Kings should send their Deputies to Vervins, where the Popes Legat was to be present in quality of Mediator.

November and
December.

Both were equally inclined to it upon different Considerations, Henry IV. after so many fatigues and pains, earnestly desired to enjoy his repose, and apprehended lest by the continuation of a War Fortune should shew him such another slippery trick as the surprisal of Amiens, that some new Faction should start up within his Kingdom amongst the Grandees, or the Huguenots, or even in his own House, because he had no Children. As for King Philip, he found himself even dying, and saw his Son both weak and unexperient; so that they were both resolv'd to proceed with more sincerity then is wont to be practis'd on such occasions.

1597.
January.

The King for this purpose named Pomponne de Bellievre, and Bruslard de Sillery, both Counsellors of State, and the latter also a President in Parliament. The Arch-Duke having powers from the King of Spain (who had contrived it thus, that so if his Deputies must give place, the shame would be the less to him) made choice of John Richardot President of the Catholick Kings Council in the Low-Countries, John Baptist Tassis Knight of the Order of St. James, and Louis Verreiken Audienier, Prime Secretary and Treasurer of the Council of State.

Those of France arrived at Vervins the Seventh of February, those of Spain a few days after. The French, as being at home, went to visit them first, yet would not extend their civility so far as to give them the upper-hand at their meeting. This was a great stumbling Block at their very entrance: the Legat found an Expedient to remove it. He took the higher end, as it belonged to him, plac'd his Nuncio at his right hand, and gave the French their choice either to sit beneath the Nuncio, or right over against him. They chose the latter, and left the other to the Spaniard.

1598.
February.

This

This method satisfied them all, these vaunting they had the right hand, and the other that they were seated nearest to the Legat, besides that he to whom we allow the choice hath the advantage.

They first agreed to a Cessation of Arms for four Leagues round *Vervins*, and safe-Conducts for their Couriers that should travel to *Paris* and *Bruxels*. The King had explained himself that he could not Treat, unless they would put things into the same condition as they were stated by the Treaty of *Cateau in Cambresis*, Anno 1559. and that they would comprehend his Allies: the Deputies for the Arch-Duke agreed to the first: but having no express Commission for the second, they were forced to send into *Spain* about it. A general one was sent them, but with private Orders, enjoining them not to comprehend the Rebels of the United Provinces, whom they pretended to be still their Subjects, or else in exchange to comprehend on their side the Duke of *Mercœur*, who was no more Rebel, said they, then those Provinces, as also the Duke of *Savoy*, who should not be obliged to restore the Marquisate of *Saluzzes*.

These were two great difficulties: there were also two others; the one concerning the manner and time for restoring of places, and the other the business of *Canibray*: for the *French* demanded it should be left to its Neutrality, and that the Citadel should be razed, and the *Spaniards* were obstinate for holding it, because, as they pleaded, they had conquer'd it from an Usurper.

But for the two first, the Kings indulgent Fortune and the faithful Care of his Officers surmounted them. The Duke of *Savoy* in the beginning of *February*, had again taken the Field with a considerable Army, having *Albigny* for Lieutenant, lately entered into his Service. With these Forces he regained *Aiguebelle*, and then besieged *Charbonnières*, a place standing upon a high Rock at the entrance into the passage of *Chambery* near *St. Jean de Maurienne*. *Lefdiguieres* sent *Crequi* with Twelve hundred Men to its relief; the Duke suffering him to approach, hemm'd him so dexterously in amongst the streights of those Mountains, with all his Men, that he defeated one Party of them, and compell'd the rest with their Commander, to lay down their Arms and surrender themselves, after they had lain one night in the Snow.

This defeat had carried such a dread into *Dauphine* and *Lyonnois*, where there were at that time no Forces, as it put the Duke upon a new attempt against those Provinces. *Lefdiguieres* himself pretended to be amazed at the blow, and perhaps might be so: but the old Fox * having recover'd his senses, contrived a design which put a stop to all the Dukes further Conquests. This was the taking the Fort de *Barrax*: He attacked it the night of the Thirteenth of *March* by Moon-shine, and gained it by meer strength in less than two hours time, although the Garison had notice of the Enterprize, and waited him with their Matches ready lighted and cock'd.

The reputation of this Action was very great, though the importance of the place was not so, the *Savoy* Ambassador did not talk now so lowd at *Vervins*. However he stood stiff for the Marquisate: but the *Spaniards* did not so back him as they ought to have done their Masters Son in Law, but obliged him to relinquish. So that as to what concerned him, they came to an Agreement, "That the Pope should be sole Judge of the Differences between him and the King; That his Holiness should decide them within one years time; That if he should happen to die before that time, there should be a three Months Truce between the Parties, during which they should make choice of some other Arbitrators: That in the interim the Duke should surrender the City of *Berre* in *Provence*, which he yet held, and that he should disown Captain *la Fortune*, who had seized upon *Seure* * in *Burgundy* in his name; That the Duke should stand Neuter between the two Crowns.

As to the Duke of *Mercœur*, he seeking every day new pretences and shifts to delay his Agreement, hoping the *Spaniards* would comprehend him amongst their Allies: the King was advised by *Schomberg* to draw towards *Bretagne*, that so his presence might wholly quell the Duke, and likewise determine the business of the *Huguenots*. He follow'd this good Advice, and sent Order to *Brissac* to begin the War, whilst he prepared for that Expedition, and appointed a Council at *Paris* to govern there during his absence, and Forces to guard the Frontiers against any invasion of the Arch-Dukes.

So soon as *Brissac* had drawn the Sword, he executed an Enterprize projected upon *Dinan*. The Inhabitants having barricado'd themselves against the Castle; he besieged it, and took it upon Composition. The King departed from *Paris* in the

February.

1598.
February.* The Duke
of *Savoy* cal-
led him so.

March.

March and
April.* It is now
called *Belle-
Garde*.

Month of *February*: The rumour of his March so terrified those Captains that held the little places upon the Frontiers of *Bretagne*, as *Craon* and *Rocheport* in *Anjou*, *Montjan* in the Country of *Maine*, *Mirabeau* in *Touraine*, *Tifauges* in *Poitou*, and *Ancenis* even in *Bretagne*, that they brought the Keyes to him on his way.

February.

1598.
February.

The Dukes astonishment was great, when he heard those places he expected should serve him as Out-works to retard the Kings Progress, were fallen in a moment; and so had left all those he held in *Bretagne* wholly naked, and besides much startled by their example. There being now no other Refuge for him but the Kings Clemency, he had recourse to it by the intercession of the Kings Mistress, newly made Dutcheß of *Beaufort*, who offer'd to obtain honourable Conditions for him, provided he would bestow his only Daughter in Marriage upon her eldest Son, who by the Courtiers was called *Cesar-Monsieur*. He did not reject this Proposition; but his Wife (*Mary de Luxembourg-Martignes*) a proud and haughty Princess, could not condescend. Her Husband notwithstanding knowing what power the Ladies had with the King, sent her before-hand, and charged her to offer the said Daughter to him, to be disposed of in favour of that Prince as best pleased him.

April.

Both of them hoped this Lure would dispose the Dame to render them the good Offices they stood in need of, and that afterwards they should find means to delay the accomplishment of their Promise, during which, time might bring forth some favourable occasion to change the Scene, or turn the Tide another way. But this Dame, as crafty as themselves, made no great haste to serve them, but on the contrary would let them know her intercession only could save them. When therefore the Dutcheß of *Mercœur* presented her self one Morning at the Gates of *Angers*, she was rudely turned back, and forced to retire to *Pont de Ce*: but when her Pride thus humbled, had taught her to refer her self wholly to the will of the fair Dame, she was the very same day sent for, and the King soon moved with the Tears of that obliging Sex, and very ready to grant what his Mistress requested, allowed the Duke an Edict almost as honourable as he could have expected when his power was greatest.

For having taken care in the Preface of it to excuse him, though after his Reconciliation with the Pope, nay, even after the coming of the Legat into *France*, he had not submitted to him, supposing he acted in that manner for some reasons that respected the preservation of *Bretagne*, which must have run the hazard of being invaded by Strangers, whilst the Forces of *France* were employ'd upon the Frontiers of *Picardy*: He declared, "That he held him, and all those that had follow'd his Party, for good and faithful Subjects, restored them to their Estates and Com-mands; Revoked all Judgments given against them; Confirmed all such as had been made by the Members of Parliament and Presidial Courts of that Party. Moreover he gave the Duke Two hundred thirty six thousand Crowns Reparations for his Warlike Expences, and Seventeen thousand Crowns Pension; Besides this a permission to sell of the Corn that was in store to the value of Fifty thousand Crowns; The keeping of the Castles of *Guingamp*, *Montemort*, and *Lamballe*; Pass-ports for the *Spaniards* who lay in the River of *Nantes* to retire; and power to keep the Places and Forces he then had, till a Month after the Verification of this Edict; Not to mention several other the like Conditions as those granted in the Edict for the Duke of *Mayenne*.

1598.
April.

The Price of so honourable a Treaty was his Daughter, whom the King in few days betrothed to his Son *Cesar*. He had legitimated and enriched him with the Dutchy of *Vendosme*, to be by him held with the same Rights and Advantages as the preceding Dukes had enjoy'd, and with a promise to give him within four years wherewith to redeem all its Lands that had been alienated. Which the Parliament verified, without drawing any consequence for such other Lands as were of the Kings Patrimony, which by the Laws of the Kingdom were re-united to the Crown from the moment he attained it. The Treaty made, the Duke of *Mercœur* came to *Angers* to salute the King, who received him as his Sons Father in Law. The Contract for this future Marriage was sealed in the Castle belonging to the said Town, and the *Fiancailles*, or Betrothings were celebrated in the same place, with as much Pomp as if he had been a Son of *France*. The Cardinal de *Joyeuse* not disdaining to perform the Ceremony.

From *Angers* the King descended to *Nantes*, and from thence went to *Reims*, where the Estates of *Bretagne* were held. He sojourned about two Months in those two Cities, employing that time in putting every thing in good order for the quiet and se-

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curity

curity of the Province, and collecting Twelve hundred thousand Crowns, the greatest part whereof was given him by the Estates of that Country.

Whilst he was at *Nantes* he finished the business of the *Huguenots*. Their Deputies being come to him at *Blois*, he made them follow him thither, and had put them off till after his Treaty with the Duke of *Mercur*. That Treaty being perfected, he would yet have made some further delay, but they press'd it so home that he could scarce find any reasonable Excuse; And besides he apprehended lest their despair should in the end put them upon some undertaking that might retard the Peace with *Spain*, and give the Leaguers a plausible pretence to re-unite and take up Arms again. This Consideration, above any thing else, obliged him to grant them the Edict, which from the name of that Town, is called the *Edict of Nantes*.

1598.
April.

It contains Ninety two Articles, which are almost the same as those in the foregoing Edicts granted to them: but it is more advantageous, in that it opens them a Door to Offices of Judicature and Finance. There were added fifty six other Articles which are called *Secret*, the most important being that which left them several Places of Security, besides all those they already held. This Edict is that Safe-guard under which they have lived to this very hour in security and quiet, and freely enjoy'd the Exercise of their Religion. The King durst not send it to the Parliament to be verified, till the Legat were out of the Kingdom, so that it came not thither till the following year.

They labour'd incessantly at *Vervins* about the Peace, the *French* did not insist so much now on *Cambray*, although they had not yet pass'd by that Article. The Arch-Duke impatient to consummate his Marriage with the Infanta *Clara-Eugenia*, hastned as much as possible he could the grave pace of the *Spaniard*, and oblig'd his Deputies to step over many trivial things. Had it not been for the Allies of *France*, the Treaty had been finished in less than three weeks. The King demanded a two Months Cessation of Arms for them, that they might send their Ambassadors, the *Spaniards* refused it absolutely; and upon this Contest, the violent Spirits belonging to either Court, the chief Commanders of their Armies, and those that desired troubled Waters, did not fail to press for a Rupture with all their might and interest, but it availed nothing, the two Princes were of a contrary disposition.

In the mean time the *English* Ambassadors arrived at Court, which as then was at *Nantes*: they did not shew themselves much averse to the Peace, for the difficulties did not concern them, but the States, from whom they had Orders not to separate. Now those would have none at all: knowing too well the Peace could not be made without some prejudice to their liberty, for which they had fought almost thirty years, and without which they neither valued their Estates nor Lives, chusing rather, therefore, to hazard all then to lose the Recompence of so much Labour, Blood, and Treasure. One thing besides confirmed them yet more in this generous Resolution, which was a Dispatch they intercepted coming from the King of *Spain*, which gave his Deputies Order not to comprise them, unless upon Condition to restore the *Roman Religion* over all their Country, to reduce it to an absolute Obedience, and fill up all Offices with *Catholick Magistrates*.

1598.
April.

Whereupon there were no Efforts, no Offers but they made to the King to persuade him to continue the War: he was gone on too far not to finish the Treaty, and sent to his Deputies to conclude it, provided they could first obtain the Cessation of Arms for his Allies, which had been so earnestly demanded; and promised the *English* that he would not Ratify it till forty days after his Deputies had Signed it.

May.

Now they did Sign it the Second day of *May*, and on the Twelfth they put it into the hands of the Legat, praying him to keep it secret till the two Months of the Cessation were expired. And yet the King made no scruple of publishing it to the Estates of *Bretagne*, telling them he was going into *Picardy* to carry the Ratification himself. In effect he went away with that design, having first given the Government of *Bretagne* to the little Duke of *Vendosme*, upon the surrender of the Duke of *Mercur* his Father in Law: but an indisposition befell him on his way which constrained him to return to *Paris*.

The Queen of *England* unable to prevail with him to allow one Month beyond the forty days, wrote to him of it with Reproaches, and in terms which accus'd him of unthankfulness. The *English* declaim'd most outrageously in the Court of *France* against his proceeding, and made their Complaints come to the Ears of all the Protestant Princes, the *Hollanders* behaved themselves more modestly. It was endeavour'd

endeavour'd to satisfy both the one and the others with weighty Reason of State, and with many examples of the like, and they were often-times exhorted to enter into the same Treaty by that Door which was left open for them.

This seems to have been done only out of good manners, for they knew well enough it was not their interest to come in; and perhaps some would have been much puzzled if they had been persuaded to it. However it were, the Deputies of the latter sent the King word the term of two Months was too short to Assemble the Estates of all their Provinces, and the Queen of *England* made him understand she would not be divided from them.

Having, as he believed, therefore satisfied in every point of that devoir he owed to his Alliance, and his Reputation, he sent his Ratification to his Deputies about the end of *May*, the date in Blank, with order not to fill it up till the Twelfth of *June*, at which time expired the forty days granted to Queen *Elizabeth*. That day the Peace was proclaimed at *Vervins*, and afterwards in all the Cities both of *France* and the *Low-Countries*, with such lowd Expressions of Mirth and Joy as resounded thorough all the Kingdoms of *Europe*, and gave no less terror to the *Turks*, then content to the greater part of Christians.

1598.
June.

The same four Lords whom the Arch-Duke gave as Hostages for the restitution of Places, viz. *Charles de Crouy* Duke of *Archebat*, *Francis de Mendozze* Admiral of *Arragon*, *Charles de Ligne* Earl of *Aremberg* Knight of the *Golden Fleece*, and *Lewis de Velasco* Grand Master of the Ordnance, serving as Ambassadors with *Richardot* and *Verreiken*, brought the Ratification to the King, and Witnessed his Swearing to the Treaty in *Notre-Dame* the One and twentieth of *June*, there being present on behalf of the Duke of *Savoy* *Gaspard de Geneva* Marquis of *Lullins*, and *Leonard Roncus* his Secretary of State. Reciprocally the *Mareschal de Biron*, *Billieure* and *Sillery*, did the same for the Arch-Duke at *Bruxels* the Six and twentieth of the same Month; and *William de Gadagne Boteon* at the Duke of *Savoy's*, who did not swear it till the Second day of *August* at *Chambery*. King *Philip* the Second Signed the Articles indeed, but being prevented by Death could not swear to them with the same Ceremonies as the rest of the Princes had done.

This is the Substance of the most Essential Articles. "The Treaty was concluded conformably and in approbation of that of *Cateau-Cambresis*; of which "and the precedent ones nothing was to be innovated, but such things as should "appear to derogate from this same. If any Subject of either of these two Kings "should go to serve their Enemies by Sea or Land, they should be punished as Infractioners and Disturbers of the Publick Peace. Such as had been forced out of their "Lands, Offices and Benefices, accompting from the year 1588. should be restored, "however they should not enter upon any Lands of the Kings without Letters Patents "under the Great Seal. In case the King of *Spain* should give the *Low-Country*, "and the Counties of *Burgundy* and *Charolois* to the Infanta his Daughter, she and "her Territories should be comprised in this Treaty, without making any new one "for that purpose. The two Kings should mutually surrender what they had taken "the one from the other since the year 1559. viz. the Most Christian King the "County of *Charolois*, and the Catholick King the Cities of *Calais*, *Ardes*, *Montbailin*, *Dourlens*, *la Capelle*, and *le Catelet* in *Picardy*, as also *Blavet* in *Bretagne*, "For security whereof he should give up four Hostages (these were the above-named.) Both the one and the other reserving all his Rights, Pretensions and "Actions, to what he had not renounced, but should not pursue, or prosecute the "same but only by way of amity and Justice. (This had regard to *Navarre* and "the Dutchy of *Burgundy*.) It was likewise said; "That this Treaty should be Verified, Published, and Registered in the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, Chamber "of Accompts, and other Parliaments; and on the same day in the Grand Council, "other Councils, and *Chambre des Comptes* of the *Low-Countries*.

1598.
June.

The Interests of the Duke of *Savoy* were therein treated in such manner as we have related: There was nothing mentioned of the Duke of *Florence*, because he pretended not to be in War, and said he had seized on the Islands of *Marfelles* only for satisfaction of certain Sums of Money owing by the King to him, and whereof they had stopp'd or diverted the Assignments; Add that *d'Offat* was gone to *Florence* to determine the said difference. In effect he did decide it the Ninth day of *May*, upon these Conditions; "That the Duke should render the Islands of *If* and *Pomnegues*, "and might carry thence his Cannon, Equipage, and Ammunition. For which the "King should own himself his Debter for Two hundred thousand Crowns: That

May.

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"good

"good Assignments should be given him for it, and for Security of the said Payment
"twelve Notables of the *French* whom himself should nominate.

End of the
League and
the War.

Thus were extinguished to the very last Spark, not only that Civil War the League had kindled in the Bowels of *France*, but likewise those Firebrands which that Faction had fetched in from other Countries; And this Kingdom being now in perfect quiet, had no more to do but by gentle degrees endeavour to repair the infinite damage they had suffer'd, and to recruit their Strength and Forces, half consumed by so many ghastly Wounds, and so great an effusion of their best Blood.

The first discharge for the People and for the Kings Coffers, was to disband all they well could of those Armies then on foot. This Cashiering having filled the Woods and High-ways with a world of Robbers, the Prevosts had Order to scowre about the Countries to suppress them; And because many of them were brave Fellows whose desperate condition put them upon this last shift, and made them bloody in their own defence, the King to take away this mischief, made a Declaration the Fourth of *August*, "Which did forbid the use of Fire-Arms to all sorts of People, "excepting his Gentildarmes, Light-Horsemen of his Guards, his Companies d'ordonnance, and all Prevosts and their Archers, enjoying every one to run upon and apprehend all that should therein transgress; allowing notwithstanding the use of "Fowling-pieces to Gentlemen for their Sports upon their own Grounds.

1598.
August.

The same Month the King being at *Monceaux*, the Treaty of Marriage was concluded between Madam *Catharine* the Kings Sister, (aged near Forty years) and Henry Duke of *Bar*, Son of *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*. Several difficulties in matters of Religion had held it in debate for above two years together. The Nuptials were defer'd till the beginning of the year following, the two Parties having but little satisfaction in being made a Sacrifice by their Parents to interest of State, against the sentiments of their Consciences.

The Ecclesiastical Discipline being much neglected during the time of War, the King allowed of an Assembly of the Clergy at *Paris*, the Deputies having conier'd together touching their Interests, *Francis de Guesle* Archbishop of *Tours*, was enjoined to make him some Remonstrances. He demanded the Publication of the Council of *Trent*, (excepting only such Heads as might infringe the liberties of the *Gallican* Church, and the privileges of Sovereign Courts;) The re-establishment of Canonical Elections, for Benefices having Cure of Souls; The revocation of Briefs of Nomination to such as were not vacant; as also those for Pensions granted to Laicks on those Fonds; Full liberty for the Clergy to enjoy their Revenue without any other obligation but that of doing their Functions; The Reparation of Churches and other Sacred Places; and the due observation of those Contracts the Clergy had made with the King.

His Answer was concise, grave, and full of excellent things: he told them he took their Exhortations in good part, but he exhorted them likewise to well doing, and to concur with him towards the Reformation of Abuses; That he had not occasioned them, but that he had found them, and that they must proceed gradually, as in all things of such great importance; That hitherto they had met with nothing but fair words, but he would give them good effects, and that they should find under his grey and dusty Coat, he was all Gold within; (By this he reflected on the breach of Faith, and Luxury of his Predecessors) That to each of their demands, he would return his Answers, as speedily as he could deliberate with his Council.

"King *Philip II.* had not the pleasure of enjoying his Peace long, nor to see the so much desired Marriage of his Daughter, he dying at the *Escarial* the Thirteenth of *September*. He was Aged Seventy and two years, whereof he had Reigned two and forty and nine Months since the abdication of his Father. *Philip III.* his only Son, was then but in his Twentieth year, he left him all his vast Estates, excepting the *Low-Countries*, and the *Franche-Comte*, which he gave in Dower to his dear Daughter *Isabella*.

It was upon Condition, "That those Provinces should return to the Crown of *Spain* upon default of Heirs Male or Female; That if they fell to a Daughter, "she should not Marry without the consent of the Catholick King; That upon every "Mutation, the new Successor should take a new Oath to preserve the Catholick "Religion, and if he departed from it he should forfeit all his right to those Pro-

1598.
September.

"vinces; That they should have no Commerce to the *East* and *West Indies*; That "the King reserved to himself to be the Chief, of the Order of the Fleece, and to "place Governors and Garisons in the Citadels of *Antwerp*, *Ghent*, and *Cambray*, "who should Swear to him and to the Princes of the *Low-Countries*.

"A Hectique Fever had wasted this King for above fifteen Months, when the "Gout seized him most cruelly upon the Eve of *St. John*: these Acid Humours bred "Swellings and Imposthumes which broke out first on his Knee, then in divers parts "of his Body, whence issued perpetual swarms of Lice, which could be no way prevented. To this was joyned a perpetual *Satyriasm* * which drained all his Strength "and Blood with a most dreadful Prurience. The horrible stench proceeding from "his Ulcers, and those loathsome Insects which eat him to the Bones, made the very "Hearts of all that did but approach him ready to faint, but yet his own did not: "he endured all these Torments with so marvellous a patience, and kept his Mind "and Spirit in so staid and firm a posture to his last gasp, that they could hardly "judge whether they beheld in him the greater Example of Humane Misery, or of "Heroick Constancy.

* Or Priapism.

"In this ruinous Body crumbling away thus by piecemeal, his Judgment sound and "entire, disposed yet of his greatest Affairs: and at the moment of being no more, "endeavour'd to extend his Dominion to the future, labouring to draw up Counsels, "Advice, and Memoirs to direct the Government of his Son. Many were found "after his death, of which some stole into the publick Light; Vain and ambitious "Care! Princes will Reign according to their own fancies, they seldom or never will "believe their Predecessors; Therefore well may they imagine their Successors will "as little believe them, or follow their Instructions.

"He made his Will two years before his death: by a Codicil he enjoyned his Son "to have the business of *Navarre* well examined, and to do right to the Heirs of "John d'Albret if it were theirs. He said, his Father *Charles V.* had Ordained him "to do the same by his Will: but his vast Employments had not allowed him time "to think of it. At the end of this Codicil he added a Clause which destroy'd his "former Order: It was, That they should not make the said Restitution or Reward, "but in case it would be no way a prejudice to the Catholick Religion, or to the "Tranquility of his Estates. Wherefore this Clog? Did he think to bargain with "God Almighty? At the same instant that this remorse of Conscience press'd him "to restore his Neighbours Goods, his wicked Politiques interven'd and suggested "these Subterfuges to detain them; Thus he became doubly guilty, first for not "doing Justice himself, and then for recommending it to his Successors upon such terms "as would be sure to hinder them from doing it likewise.

"Before the news of his death arrived in *Flanders*, the Archduke was gone thence, "having deposited the Sacred Purple in the Church of *Notre-Dame de Haux* within "two Leagues of *Bruxels*, and left the Government of the *Low-Countries* to the "Cardinal *Andrea of Austria*, in the name of the Infanta *Isabella* who had there been "owned for Princess. He passed by *Tirol*, whence he carried *Margaret* Daughter of "the Archduke *Charles* (who was dead) and the Widow, his Mother, to *Ferrara*. "They were received very solemnly, and Pope *Clement*, who had been in that City "from the Eighteenth of *May*, celebrated the Marriage of King *Philip III.* with "Margaret, and of the Archduke with the Infanta *Isabella*, *Albert* being Proxy for "the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Sesse* for *Isabella*. The new Queen and the "Archduke did afterwards stay two Months in *Milan*, then in the Month of *February* "of the following year, they embarked at *Genoa* for *Spain*, where this double "Marriage was Celebrated between the said Parties in the City of *Valencia* in the "Month of *April*.

A little before Mid-October, the King being at *Monceaux*, (an Estate which he had given to his Mistress) as he was beginning to enter upon a Diet, he fell ill of a retention of Urine attended with a higher Fever and frequent fits of fainting, which gave some apprehension that he was near his end: but the cause being remov'd, he was immediately relieved, and left his Bed within two days.

October.

His Mistress having thus seen her self so near the Precipice, did sollicite him eternally to Marry her, and press'd him with the more confidence, as her tender care and watchfulness express'd in this occasion, seemed to oblige him to make good his Promise; and really she was not unworthy of that Honour, setting aside some inconveniencies

November.

December.

1598.
December.

conveniencies might have ensued. Soon after the Cardinal *de Medicis*, being come to take leave for his return to *Rome*, the King discover'd to him the design he had to satisfy her, and intreated he would do him the good office to persuade the Pope to dissolve his Marriage with Queen *Margaret*. The Legat answer'd, very coldly, that his Holiness had sent him into *France* for no other business but what concerned the Peace, which having successfully mediated, he was now going to give an account to the Pope. The King repented he had discover'd his Heart so openly to one whom he perceived was no favourer of his design: and therefore the year after when he sent *Sillery* to *Rome*, he enjoyed him expressly to assure that Cardinal all those fancies were dispell'd.

1599.
January, &c.

In the beginning of the year 1599. three or four illustrious Marriages filled the Court with Divertisements; First that of Madam *Catharine* the Kings Sister with the Duke of *Bar*, which was Celebrated on the last day of *January*, some while after, that of *Charles* Duke of *Nevers* with *Catharine* Daughter of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and that of *Henry* Son of that Duke with *Henrietta* Sister of *Charles*, and then that of *Henry* Duke of *Montpensier* and *Henrietta Catharine*, only Daughter of *Henry* Duke of *Joyeuse*, and Heiress of that rich House. The King the same year erected *Aiguillon* to a Dutchy and Pairrie in favour of the Duke of *Mayennes* Son.

The Duke of *Bar* had great repugnance for his Marriage to a *Huguenot* Princess, who besides was of Kindred in the third and fourth degree, and therefore stood in need of a double dispensation, the one for diversity of Religion, the other for Parentage: but the Duke his Father thinking to find great advantage in this Match, passed over all those Scruples of Conscience. The difficulty was to find a Prelat that would adventure to Celebrate this discordant Marriage: many whom they solicited did flatly refuse it; the Archbishop of *Rouen*, Bastard Brother to the King, after a little intreaty, lent a helping hand, and tied the Nuptial Knot in the Kings Closet, and in his presence, thinking it unbecoming to deny so small a piece of Service to him who had so lately promoted him to so fair an Archbishoprick.

After the Solemnities of those Weddings were past, two unexpected changes gave the Court just cause of admiration; the one was of that same *Henry* Duke of *Joyeuse* who had newly Married his Daughter, the other of *Antoinetta* Sister to the deceased Duke of *Longueville*, and Widow of the Marquis de *Belle-Isle*. The first, as we have formerly related, came out of the *Capucins* Convent, Anno 1592. Now being moved with his Mothers Tears, a Lady very devout, and very scrupulous, pressed by the summons of his own Conscience, peequ'd at some words utter'd by the King, and solicited by the Popes secret Admonitions, (for he had given him dispensation to tarry abroad in the World but while the Catholick Religion should need his assistance) he resolv'd to make good his Vow, and having sent his Marshalls Staff and blew Ribbon to the King, retired to the *Capucins* Convent in *Paris*. They were much amazed, three or four days afterwards, to see him in a Pulpit, where that Penitential Habit, and his Sermons much fuller of Zeal, then Learning, gave him more lustre in the opinions of the People, then either his Birth or Dignity had given him at Court.

1599.
May.

For the Marchioness of *Belle-Isle*, one of the handsomest and wittiest Ladies of her time, having left *Bretagne* without communicating the design to any of her Relations, she went and cast her self into a Convent of *Fucillantines* newly instituted at *Toulouze*. It was said, that a secret displeasure for that a Soldier whom she had employ'd to revenge the death of her Husband upon *Kermartin*, was Hanged, she not being able to obtain his Pardon, gave her so much distaste that she would never converse more with the World by whom she had been so slighted.

In the beginning of the year, *Sillery* being sent to *Rome* about the business of the Marquise of *Salusses*, had Orders likewise to sollicite the dissolution of the Kings Marriage. The hopes of having the Seals upon his return, was a powerful motive to make him act with all his might, for the Dutches of *Beaufort* had promised she would get them for him, without any regard to the Interest of the Chancellor de *Chiverny*, a good Friend to her Sister de *Sourdis*; believing she had done sufficiently for her by obtaining a Cardinals Hat for her eldest Son.

The first point of *Sillery's* Commission had not proved difficult but only for that Queen *Margaret* knowing very well, the King after he had repudiated her, would

Marry

Marry the Dutches, gave notice to the Pope how for that very reason, she would never consent; And the Pope for the same cause had repugnance enough to it; For he did not see very well how he could Legitimate Children that were born in Adultery, and foresaw great troubles for the Succession of the Kingdom, for as much as the Princes of the Blood would never have agreed to it, and besides the Children that should have come afterwards, being born in lawful Wedlock, would have disputed it with the former. However the King importun'd him extremely by his Agents, and it was to be doubted lest to go a shorter way he should make Process against Queen *Margaret* for Adultery, and do by her as *Philip* the Fair had done by his eldest Sons Wife.

Thereupon, I cannot say what hand, (but certainly a very wicked one, although the Consequence were beneficial to the whole Nation) did not untie but cut the knot of all these difficulties. The Dutches of *Beaufort* did never leave the King, and was gone with him to *Fontainebleau*, being big with Child: The Easter Holidays approaching, he desired she would, to avoid scandal, go and pass them at *Paris*, and lodge at *Sebastian Zametti*, that rich Partisan who owned himself Master of Seventeen hundred thousand Crowns. (Now one Maundy-Thursdays, this Fellow having taken a most particular care to treat her with such Viands as he knew were most agreeable to her Palate, it hapned that going to the *Tenebrae** at the Little *Saint Antoinnes*, she fell into a Swoon; Immediately they bring her back to *Zametti*: but her illness increasing, she had no patience till they had removed her out of that cursed House. They convey'd her therefore to her Sister *Sourdis*; and there was she taken with such violent and strange Convulsions, that she died the next day. The King who was coming from *Fontainebleau*, upon the news of this accident, being inform'd of her death at *Ville-Juif*, turned short back again with what grief we may imagine, but which was soon dislodged by a fresh Engagement.

April.

* Matins in
Lent in the F.
C. Churches.1599.
April.

After her death she appeared so hideous, and her Visage so disfigur'd, none could behold her without horror. Her Enemies from thence took an occasion to make the People believe it was the Devil had put her into that sad and dismal plight, affirming she had sold her self to him upon condition she should engross all the Kings favour. They made the like Story of *Louisa de Budos*, Wife of the Constable de *Montmorency*, who died this year with the same Symptomes; and true it is, there was in either of their deaths, not really the operation, but the instigation of him who hath been a Murderer from the beginning.)

The Pope believed it was a favour granted by Heaven in answer to his Prayers: so soon as he heard the news, he became very inclinable to dissolve the Marriage of Queen *Margaret*. This Princess keeping her self still shut up in the Castle of *Usson* in *Auvergne*, having been parted from her Husband almost fourteen years, had hitherto denied to give her consent: but after she was acquainted with the news of this Ladies death, she sent her Petition to the King, desiring she might be permitted to Address her self to the Pope, to demand, He would pronounce the Nullity of her Marriage, since there having never been any mutual consent, but a manifest compulsion, besides the diversity in Religion, and Parentage in the third degree, and for that the dispensation which was necessary upon those two Heads, having never been demanded by the two Parties, nor notified in due time and form as they ought to have been, it was Null.

The King allowed her Applications to the Pope; who having read her Petition which contained these Reasons, and likewise one from the King which tended to the same purpose, named the Cardinal de *Joyeuse*, *Horace de Monte* a *Neapolitan* Archbishop of *Arles*, and *Gaspard* Bishop of *Modena* Nuncio for his Holiness, to Judge of this Affair upon the place, telling them that if the Allegations were true they were to part the Married couple. These Judges having therefore examined the proofs which were produced on either side, Declared the Marriage null and not valuably contracted, and permitted the Parties to re-Marry elsewhere. The Proceedings carried to *Rome*, the Pope confirmed the Sentence the more willingly as having been put in hopes the King would chuse a Wife amongst his Relations.

1599.
April.

As soon as the Legat was gone forth of the Kingdom, the Assembly of the *Huguenots* which still held good at *Chastelleraud*, pressed more instantly the Verification of

of the Edict of *Nantes*. Besides that the thing in it self had many difficulties, the Clergy made their opposition in Parliament; and in that numerous Company there were many more for rejecting, then for receiving it. It was observed that such who had been formerly most zealous for the League, pleaded now most earnestly for the Verification; which was because they had found by experience, that in matters of Religion, any violent methods destroy much more then it can edifie. A long time were they Haranguing *pro* and *con*, upon this so important a Subject: but the King having sent for them, did in his turn Harangue them so effectually, adding the force of Authority to the power of Persuasion, that they in fine obey'd and Verified the Edict.

Many being herewith discontented, a favourable opportunity presented to stir up the People. One named *James Brosier* who was a Weaver of *Ramorantin*, had a Daughter named *Martha*, aged Twenty years, who tormented with Vapours from the Spleen, was put into most extraordinary Motions and Postures, as Saltations, Contortions of all sorts, Cries that imitated the Voices of several Animals, foaming, and lolling out her Tongue, and sometimes speaking inwardly like the *Engastrimites*, or *Ventriloquist*, in so much as it was very easie for him to make the Populace believe she was possessed. With this Get-penny, leaving his own home, he strowed about the Country under pretence of carrying her on Pilgrimage, or to find out some Exorcists that might deliver her. The Bishop of *Orleans* and the Canons of Clergy had hunted her out of their Territories, and *Miron* Bishop of *Angers* had sent her packing from his Diocese, guessing by many particulars he had observed, that it was only some Natural Distemper, with an addition of Studied and long practised Impositions: the Father however must needs bring her to *Paris*, where there are always so many various minded People, that nothing can be so extravagant but some will be infatuated, or for their profit will endeavour to infatuate others.

The honest *Capucins* seized first on this possession, and began to Exorcise her in the Church called *Sainte Genevieve*. The Cardinal *de Gondi* Bishop of *Paris* was not light of belief, but by Advice of a great Assembly of Ecclesiasticks whom he called together in that Abby, chose five famous Physicians to examine what it might be. After several Scrutinies three of the five made their Report to him, that there was very little of the Devil in the Wench, but a great deal of Artifice, and indeed somewhat of a Distemper: for her Tongue was mighty red and swollen, and they did hear some kind of a ratling noise in her left *Hypocondrium*. A fourth, by name *Hautin*, would declare nothing positively, but said, according to the Sentiment of *Fernelius*, they must wait the trial at least three Months; *Duret* was the only Man who maintain'd she was possess'd. His great Reputation gave them the confidence to call in other Physicians; These were of his opinion, and thereupon they once more open the Scene. The People ran thither in Multitudes and with Emotion, great heats there were for and against it; and it was to be feared lest this Oracle should give some Seditious Answers, unless they made good haste to stop her Mouth. The Parliament therefore put the Possessed into the hands and guard of *Lugoli* Lieutenant Criminel, and the Kings Attorney in the *Chastelet* for twenty days together, and in the mean time appointed eleven Physicians of the most famous of that Faculty to visit her. These made their Report they could discover nothing which was above the power of Nature. The Preachers notwithstanding cry'd aloud they undertook upon the Jurisdiction of the Church, and stifled a miraculous Voice, which God had sent amongst them to convince the Hereticks. The Parliament was fain to use their Authority and impose Silence upon them; and as for *Martha* they gave Order to *Rapin* Prevost *de Robe Courte*, to convey her back to *Ramorantin*, and there leave her in the custody of her Father, with command she should not stir out of that Town without expresse leave from the Judge of the place, upon pain of Corporal Punishment to either of them.)

The Comedy did not end for all this: *Alexander de la Rochefoucauld*, Abbot of *Saint Martin*, and Brother of that Count *de Randon* who was slain at the Battle of *Iffoire* and of *Francis* Bishop of *Clermont* afterward a Cardinal, stole away this wretched Creature, by advice of the Bishop, as was guessed, and carried her to *Avignon*, then to *Rome*, fancying she would act better on that grand Theatre, and that he should find more credulity in that place which is the Spring head of Belief. But the Agents of *France* having already pre-possessed the Pope and all that Court with

with the fear of offending the King, those Friends by whom he thought to be there supported, failed him, and he could meet with none that would believe a thing so contrary to their interest. Therefore finding himself mistaken, he was forced by Letters humbly to beg pardon of the King; and soon after fell sick and died of Grief, as it was said, for having gone so far to be despised. *Martha* and her Father forsaken of all the World, had now no other refuge but an Hospital.

"The Reader will not be displeased if I mention three very great Rarities which were observed in three several Persons this year. The one was in *Gaspard de Schomberg*, who had served the King very successfully in his Armies and in some Negotiations. He was from time to time troubled with sudden and great difficulty of breathing: coming one day from *Conflans* to *Paris*, being near *St. Antonies* Gate, he was in a moment seized with this difficulty, and lost both his Respiration and Life. The Chyrurgeon that open'd him to search the Cause, found the left side of that Membrane called the *Pericardium*, which encompasseth the Heart, and serves as a Bellows to refresh it, was turned into a Bony Substance, so that it hindered Respiration.

"The second was, that in the Country of *Mayne* was seen a Peasant named *Francis Trouillu* aged Thirty five years, who had a Horn growing upon his Head, which began to appear when he was but Seven years old. It was shaped almost like that of a Ram, only the Wreathings were not spiral, but strait, and the end bowed inwards toward the *Cranium*. The fore-part of his Head was bald, his Beard red, and in Tufts, such as Painters bestow upon Satyrs. He retired to the Woods to hide this monstrous deformity, and wrought in the Cole-pits; The Mareschal *de Laverdin* going one day a Hunting, his Servants spying this Fellow who fled, ran after him, and he not uncovering himself to salute their Master, they tore off his Cap, and so discover'd his Horn. The Mareschal sent him to the King, who bestow'd him upon some body that made Money by shewing him to the People. This poor Fellow took it so much to Heart to be thus Bear-led about, and his shame exposted to the Laughter and Censures of all the World, that he soon after died.)

"The third Curiosity is the Daughter of a Country Smith of *Conflans*, a Burrough upon the limits of *Poitou* and *Limosin*, who was three whole years without eating or drinking; which proceeded from a Relaxation of the *Æsophage*, after a great fit of Sickness, in so much as this Maid could not swallow any thing, but had a horrible aversion for all sorts of Meats and Drinks. Neither did she void any Excrements, her Belly was quite flat, there was nothing but a kind of Parchment Skin covering her Sides, she was very cold to the touch in every part of her Body, excepting near her Heart: but otherwise her Arms and Legs were pretty fleshy, her Breast plumpish, her Visage passable, Hair long and thick, walked to and fro without trouble, and did all manner of work in the Family as well as any other. Now after she had remained three years in this condition, some Physicians going thither with Orders from the King to bring her to *Paris*, and her Friends advising her that she might thereby avoid such trouble, to endeavour to swallow something, she forced down some Broath; which having with difficulty for the two or three first times assayed, she found good in it, and by this means open'd the Conduits of Nourishment, and by little and little brought her self to the eating of solid Viands. The like had formerly hapned *Anno* 825. to a Girl under the Empire of *Lotaire*, after she had been three years without swallowing any Food.)

"In these years a new and very odd kind of Distemper over-spread *Potukia*, a Province of *Poland*, bordering upon *Hungary*, whence it extended thorough all those Countries. It hath its seat in the Hair, which it twists together in one, or two Locks, and at first causes no inconvenience, but in some space suppurates and breeds an infinite of Vermine, and if they cut them off, that acid and fuliginous humour which so entangleth them, flows back upon all the parts of the Body, and begets cruel Pains, Contortions, Dislocations, Ulcers, Exostoses, and all the strangest Accidents imaginable. Physicians have given it the name of *Plica*, because it hath such effect upon the Hair, and that of *Cirragra*, as being a kind of Gout, which begins by that odd kind of weaving.)

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A Peace being made, the Grantees of the Kingdom were but little consider'd in the Administration of Affairs: the Council compos'd all of Men of the Quil, desir'd to bring them lower that they might stand on equal ground. Those that had been of the League were so well treated as to have no just cause of complaint, but rather gave a jealousy to the others. As for the Duke of *Mayenne*, otherwise their Head, being ruin'd both in his Estate and Credit, he lived meanly, and affected to appear yet poorer then he was, knowing his want of Power and Riches was now his only security.

But divers of those that had served the King, taking themselves to be ill used, absented yet more from him, then he was alienated from them. The most discontented were the Marechal de *Bonillon*, the Duke de la *Trimouille*, the Constable de *Montmorency*, the Duke of *Montpensier*; More then these yet, the Duke d' *Espernon* and the Marechal de *Biron*. This last more bold and confident then the rest exhal'd his discontents by odious complaints, and vauntings not to be endured. He could speak well of no body but himself, which was his Eternal Theme and Entertainment: He exalted himself above the greatest Captains, it was he alone that had done all; there was no Place or Dignity he did not think beneath his Merit; Nought but the Sovereignty could satisfy him, and he would Crown himself with his own hands.

Too great applause had corrupted this brave Courage, the King himself had praised him too much, had raised him too high. After the loss of *Dourlens* and *Cambray*, the Nobles and the Soldiery all cast their Eyes upon him only, as both the Sword and Buckler of the State; At his return from the Siege of *Amiens* he was intoxicated by the fondness of the *Parisians*; and when he went into *Flanders* to Witness the Archdukes Swearing to the Peace, the *Spaniards* knowing his Vanity and ill disposition, gave him such lofty Elogies, as filled his Head with Air and Vanity, and his Heart with wicked Thoughts and Sentiments.

From that time, nay even before, he sought and courted the favour of the Populace, affected for the Catholick Religion a Zeal that proceeded even to Beads and Confrairies, as if he would again set up that League his Sword had beaten down. This year in the Month of *May*, having made a Journey into *Guyenne*, he there regaled the Nobility with Feasts, Presents, and Careless, held private Conference with such as had most Credit in the Province, and behaved himself after such a manner, that the King apprehending some Disturbance there, descended to *Blois*, and set a Report on Wing that he would pass on to *Poitiers*, thereby to prevent many who might have engaged themselves in his Contrivances. He was yet there when the news of the Duke of *Savoy's* Voyage obliged him to return to *Fontainebleau*.

During his abode in that Country, *Philip Hurat Chiverny* Chancellor of France, who had desired leave to go and see his House of *Chiverny*, did there fall sick and died the Nine and twentieth day of *June*. He stood much upon his Nobility, and did as much affect the Quality of Earl and of Governor of *Orleanois* and *Bleis*, as that of Chancellor, which he had held twenty years. His Posterity, as almost all those that attain great Fortunes at Court, sunk in a short time.

Pomponne de Bellieue succeeded him in that great Office, and at first began with two things which were most necessary, viz. a severe Edict against Duels, and a Rule that none should be admitted to the Office of Master of Requests till he had been ten years in the Sovereign Courts, or twenty in some Court Subordinate.

This new Chancellor, *Villeroy* Secretary of State, *Sillery* President in the Parliament of *Paris*, *Jannin* in that of *Burgundy*, and the Marquis de *Rosny* Sur-Intendant of the Finances, had the greatest share in the Administration of Affairs. The last governing the Purse, had great advantage over the others; besides the King made himself more familiar with him, and consider'd him as a Creature he had raised, and one that had never held any Party but his own. And indeed, he was shaped every way to his humour, and very fit to manage that Office as he intended it should be. For besides that he was indefatigable, thrifty, and a Man of great order, he was rough in denial, impenetrable to Prayers and importunities, and with both hands greedily scraping Money into the Kings Coffers. To this purpose he received all manner of Proposals, the easiest he made benefit of in his time, and the refuse was left to glut the following Reign. He made thorough inquisition after such Money as had been misemploy'd, and wherever that lighted he fell upon the great as boldly as the

the little ones, took the hatred and blame of all denials or disappointments upon himself, slept his Ears at their Complaints or Reproaches, not minding any other thing, but where to raise new Fonds from day to day.

Hereby did he become most necessary to the King, and got into his favour more and more. He often shewed him a just state of Receipts and Payments in every Concern distinctly; as likewise the Projects of such Expences as were to be made; and the Inventories of all the Arms, Ammunition, and Cannon in his several Places; all by Summary Abridgments, to give the more gusto in perusal and inform him without tiring him. For he knew very well that the King being of a ready and quick apprehension, could not dwell long upon any one particular, neither in Reading or Writing, nor endure any tedious Discourse or Reasoning.

Those that had managed the Revenues, or Finances, had put things in a most horrible disorder and confusion, and the Expences in the Civil War had drained them so low, that it was almost impossible to remedy them by the ordinary ways. The King was charged with Six Millions of yearly Rents and Pensions, above five Millions Salary for his Officers of Justice and the Treasury, with Petitions of an infinite number of brave Soldiers, Officers, Gentlemen, and Lords, who prayed some for Rewards, others for some Benevolence and Charity, that they might at least subsist. It would therefore have been but reasonable if for a time they had exceeded the bounds of the common methods, to repair these Disorders, were it not that such Examples remain even after the necessity is over; and that a Tax or Charge once imposed turns to a common Right or Claim.

That they might bring the Revenues into the grand Channel of the Exchequer, or *Espargne*, he studied in the first place to open all the Springs from whence they were to flow, and stop up all by-leaks which made them drop aside and lose themselves. Most enormous abuses were committed upon the levying of such Moneys as were raised by extraordinary Commissions; and it was the custom of some of the Council to procure very easie Adjudications that they might share in the profit: As to the former, he order'd the Receivers to make Receipts for these as for the other; and as to the second, having found out that the Sub-farms, amounted to twice as much, as the general Adjudication, he tied up the hands of the Principal Farmers, and caused the whole to be brought into the Treasury. As to the remainder he soon made himself so much Master of the Council for the Finances, that he retrencht all the little Tricks and Projects, and made it apparent to those grand Statesmen, that to discharge his Office there was no need of so great Politiques and Craft, but only to be diligent and laborious, and both know how to add and to subtract.

The Kings clearest Revenues were alienated or engaged to the greatest Lords; he assigned their payments on the *Espargne* or Exchequer, and restored all these Alianations to the Kings, who made them treble the value. He likewise abolish'd all those Levies they had settled for their own profit, without any other Authority but the Licence of a Civil War. He also caused all such Priviledges to be revoked as had been granted for above thirty years; together with all Patents of Nobility from the said term. King *Henry III.* had sold a thousand in *Normandy* alone: and it was said, that under colour of that profusion, others had traded for above double that number. Those Gentlemen of Parchment were allowed the Exemption they had enjoy'd during all that time, for their re-imbursement. Then was the famous Priviledge called *The Franchise of Chalo Saint Mars*, utterly abolished.

After these Revocations, he sent Commissioners into the Provinces to regulate the Tails. And because the open Country was much destroy'd, he was constrained to lessen them about Six hundred thousand Crowns, and to remit all Arrears to the year 1597. which amounted to above twenty Millions. As well, it would have been impossible to have raised them; and then it was not so much a loss to the King, as to the Receivers who had advanced one part of it; and those Captains and Lords who had Assignments on the other. They cancell'd all the Obligations the Debtors had given to the former, and revoked the Assignments of the latter.

His design was, said he, to take off all the Tails, to this purpose to dis-engage the Kings Demeasns, in which he labour'd very much, and so supply what more should be wanting by an Augmentation of Imposts upon Wares. These happy thoughts, whether really intended or not, were very suitable to the Kings great goodness, who

§ § § § §

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May and June

June, &c.

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†. in effect cherish'd his People as his Children, and was much more fearful of oppressing them, then desirous to fill his own Coffers.

Any other way but that of Arbitration would have better pleased the Duke of Savoy. He would willingly the Spaniards had undertaken his defence: and although he had already experimented at the Treaty of *Vervins* they had not over-much zeal for his interests, he omitted not to solicit them and to give them great Respect: but when they had made him know, they would not engage their young King in a War for love of him, he thought it might do well to inform the Pope with the Reasons he had for detention of the Marquisate. *Francis d'Arconnas* Count de *Touzaine* his Ambassador in the Court of *Rome*, and *Sillery* who was there in the same Quality for the King, gave in an Abstract of their Titles: whilst those were under examination, the King demanded as having been disseized, he should be restored before all other Proceedings; and the Duke replied that the said Maxim of Right had place between private Men, not amongst Potent Princes, as the King was, to whom if they should once adjudge the possession, he would never quit or surrender it again.

Upon this *Sillery* propounded an Expedient, viz. that the enjoyment should rest in the Duke till a definitive Sentence, provided he would hold it as a Feif Mouvant of *Dausue*. *Arconnas* not yielding to that, the Pope found out another, which was, that it should remain in Sequestration in his hands. The Patriarch of *Constantinople* (this was *Calatagiron* General of the Order of *St. Francis*, whom he had honoured with that Title) was enjoined by him to propound it to the two Princes, and if they approved it, to demand a prolongation of the time agreed for Sentence, which was ready to expire. Both of them feigned to think well of it, and yet neither of them were really contented: for they feared lest the Pope, if he had it in his hands, should take a fancy to bestow it upon one of his Brothers Sons. Thereupon *Arconnas*, either with design to gain his friendship, or to forestall his Judgment, went and assured him on the behalf of his Duke, that if the Marquisate fell to his Master, he might dispose of it, to such of his Nephews as he should think fit. The Pope interpreted this Compliment a high injury to his Integrity, and from that time waved the Arbitration.

1599. The Duke was not much troubled, he was setting other Engines at work in France by means of his Ambassadors. When he found they could not succeed to his wishes, he resolved to come himself; and because he knew his Council would not permit him to hazard thus his Person and Reputation, he order'd *Roncas* to write to him, that the King would be very glad to see him, though on the contrary he had told his Agents plainly, that unless he were disposed to render up the Marquisate, he would find little satisfaction in his Voyage. This Prince had so good an opinion of his own ability, and his Talent of Wit, which indeed were admirable, that he doubted not to gain the heart of the King and his Ministers by his subtil ingenuity, or over-persuade them by his Arguments and Reasons. In the Month of *June* was fought that famous Duel, betwixt *Philipine* his Bastard Brother, and the Lord de *Crequy*; *Philipine* was slain, and that sinister accident, (for he relied much upon the like presages) should have made him alter his Resolution: but another Omen seemed to promise he should reap something of his labour; which was, that in the Month of *September* all the Fruit-Trees in *Savoy* put forth their Blossoms which turned to Fruit in less time than an hour. So he parted from *Chambery* the first day of *December* with his Council, a Train of twelve hundred Horse, whereof he sent back the one half from *Lyons*, and great Riches in Moneys, Toys, and Jewels.

The Marriage of Queen *Margaret* being dissolv'd, the Kings Agents engaged him upon seeking for *Mary de Medicis*, Daughter to *Francis* in his life time Duke of *France*, and Niece of *Ferdinand* Brother and Successor to that *Francis*: but in the interim his heart which was not wont to be long in freedom, was taken by the attractive Charms of *Henrietta de Balsac*, a pleasant, airy, witty, and engaging Virgin Lady; and indeed she came of a Race that inspired Love, for her Mother was that *Mary Touchet* who had been Mistress to *Charles IX.* and was after Married to the Lord d'*Enragues*, from whose Embraces this young *Venus* sprung. Her Parents desiring to make the best of such an opportunity, were very watchful, and kept her close, lest enjoyment should extinguish that bright flame of Love her Eyes had kindled in the Kings Breast. This she did so well second on her part, that in fine by her bewitching innocency and modesty, and by her inviting denials, she engaged him to give his promise he would

would Marry her, if within that year she brought him a Son. Upon this assurance, and after a shower of Gold (worth a hundred thousand Crowns) he had his full liberty. He soon after gratified her with the Lands of *Vernuil*, and the Title of Marchioness.

We do not know whether for his honour we should believe he did intend to make good his word: but *Sillery* and the Cardinal d'*Osat*, went so far on with their Treaty for *Mary de Medicis*, that they put it beyond his power to recall it. He therefore sent *Alincour* Son of *Villeroy*, to *Rome*, under colour of returning thanks to the Pope for the justice he had done him concerning the business of his Marriage with Queen *Margaret*, and to acquaint him with that he desired to Contract in the House of *Medici*. After this Complement he intreated his Holiness to vouchsafe that *Sillery* and he might go to *Florence* to see the Princess and Negotiate that Affair, which was much more advanced then they discover'd to him.

1599.
November.

It is incredible how much the Marchioness of *Vernuil* was vexed and afflicted to see her self fallen from the fairest hopes of a Crown, yet she dissembled it and hid her trouble under the borrowed countenance of content: but the Count d'*Anvergne* her half Brother, as much out of the Malignity of his Nature as Repentment, sought to revenge this injury, and joyned with the Malecontents we have before mentioned. These together conspir'd to coop the King up in a Prison, to rob him of his Crown, and give it to some other Prince of the Blood: Many have been of opinion the Duke of *Savoy* had a hand in the contrivance, or that at least having some hint of it, he had undertaken to come into *France* to try what advantage he might be able to reap thereby.

What ever design he had, he descended along the *Rhose* by Boat to *Lyons*, and then from *Rouane* to *Orleanse*. In this last place he was received by the Duke of *Nemours*, upon his way betwixt that and *Fontainebleau* by the Marechal de *Biron*, and two Leagues nearer by the Duke of *Montpensier*. At *Pluviers* he took Post a little after mid-night, with seventy Horses in company, and arrived at *Fontainebleau* the Fourteenth of *December* about eight in the Morning, where he found the King just ready to mount his Horse to have gone and met him. After he had entertain'd him there for six days together with the Divertisements of Hunting, Gaming, and Promenades, he took him to *Paris* upon the One and twentieth of the Month. He offer'd him an Apartment in the *Louvre*, but the Duke giving him thanks, went and lodged at the *Hôtel de Nevers*.

December.

There is no Art, no Wyle of the ablest Politicks, or experienc'd Courtiers, but he made use of to succeed in his design; and this may be affirm'd, that if the end did not answer his desires, yet his Conduct surpass'd his Reputation. He made Court to the King with great Complaisance, but without the least servility: for he accompanied his Respects with a becoming liberty, and the Submissions or Condescensions he tendred were of such a sort as did no way eclipse his Quality. One might observe a more then ordinary grace and grandeur in all his actions; He express'd a great esteem and kindness for all the Grandees of the Kingdom, gave a civil and obliging Reception to all the Kings Officers, entertained the Ladies with much wit and gallantry, and shewed every where a Royal liberality. In his New-years-Gifts, especially, he made this Characteristick Vertue of a Prince most plainly appear, he bestowed rich Presents on the whole Court, who by the Kings permission accepted of them; and after so wonderful a profusion, which seemed to have exhausted all his Coffers, they were amazed to see him at a Ball he made, cover'd all over with Jewels, valued at above Six hundred thousand Crowns.

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With all this he gained nothing of the King. Upon the very first Discourse he held with him, he found what condition his hopes were in: In the beginning he endeavour'd to lay open his Soul that he might gain some affiance, and after he had with much eloquence made all imaginable protestations of service and adherence, intreating him to receive both himself and Children into his protection, he fell a complaining of the Spaniards, then propounded the Conquest of *Milan* and of the Empire, and to make discovery of the Friends, the Intelligence, and the Means he had for that purpose. We may believe his Tongue was then guided by his Heart, for he was much picqued with the little regard the Spaniards had for his Interest at *Vervins*; and besides his Wife, Sister to *Philip III.* (which was the only Link had ty'd him

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him to that Crown) died the foregoing year. However it were the King heard him attentively, and gave him thanks for his good will: but after all told him the restitution of the Marquisate ought to precede all those designs, and that they would consider the other Affairs when once this point was over.

Each time the Duke renew'd the charge, he was repulsed in the same manner. This inflexibility, so he called it, put him into amazement and despair, yet on his Face appeared no symptoms but of inward satisfaction; as the King likewise on his part, continuing the civilities he owed his Guest, took care he should be diverted the most agreeably they possibly could. All the Grandees had the *Bouquet* * to treat him each in his turn; and amongst the Singularities of France, the King led him to his Parliament, and to a hearing in the Grand *Chambre*, where a Cause upon a most extraordinary Subject was pleaded, which gave full scope to the Clients Advocates to exercise their Eloquence, as also to the Kings, his name being *Lewis Servin*. After the Pleading was over, the First President treated the two Princes most Magnificently at his own House.

Notwithstanding these demonstrations of a seeming amity, their humours as different as their Interests, maintained the discord of their minds, and so increased it; that either of them sometimes let fall words mingled with discontent and bitterness. One day the Ambassador of Spain came to the Duke, and openly hit him in the teeth with a most bloody reproach, saying the King had assured him he was come purposely into France to persuade him to make a War upon Spain.

The Duke was offended in the highest degree with the King, but not daring to question him, designed to revenge himself upon the Marechal de Biron (who as yet passed for) his Favourite. Being therefore one day a Hunting, he takes the Marechal aside, and begins to complain of the King in very sharp terms, with design Biron should take him up, and give him some occasion to draw his Sword. Biron, far from undertaking to justify the King, began to rail much worse at him than the Duke, and having once let loose the reins of his impetuous Spirit, disclosed all his secrets, and made known there was already a Conspiracy formed to dethrone him. The Duke surprized and pleas'd at the same instant to hear of this which was above his hopes, immediately closed with the Party, offer'd all his assistance to the Conspirators, and even wrote into Spain to make them partakers of such good tidings. But perhaps they might be acquainted with it sooner than himself, and Picote have Negotiated the thing with the Count de Fuentes, who was a Personal Enemy to King Henry IV. This Picote was a Native of Orleans, but an ill Frenchman, who fled to the Low-Countries; Biron had held him Prisoner at *Aussonne*, and there it was he first began to know him.

From this day, the Duke began to caress Biron extremely, and to flatter his vain and ambitious humour. Knowing the too great Reputation of this Marechal gave the King some Umbrage, he studied to praise him even to excess before his Face, on purpose to augment his jealousy, and picque him to let fall some disobliging thing against his valour and brave feats in War. In effect, he did force two or three very stinging Expressions from him, which straightway the Duke convey'd to the Marechal's Ears by *Lafin*, a double and dangerous Man, who having corrupted Biron by his flatteries, was a great Agitator in this intrigue, and made the Conditions between the Duke and the Conspirators.

After Twelfth-tide they notwithstanding went on to Treat of the Affair concerning the Marquisate, there being four Deputies on the Kings part, as many on the Dukes, the Patriarch of Constantinople also assisting: who had Orders from the Pope to use all his dexterity to dispose the King to leave that Territory to the Duke, so much he feared the Neighbourhood of the French might bring a War (perhaps Calvinism) into Italy. The Duke on his side made divers Propositions to the King, sometimes he demanded the Marquisate upon Homage for one of his Sons, then offer'd an exchange, he propounded three several ones. The King would hearken to none, and persisted to have either a Sentence for Restoral, or the Sequestration in the hands of the Pope.

In fine the Duke approving neither the one nor the other, proposed to leave him the Marquisate in exchange for Bresse, comprising the City and Citadel of Bourg, Barcelonnette with its Vicariat, even to Angentiere, the Valley of Sture, that of Perouse, and Pignorol with their Territories. The King accepted this offer: the Treaty was Signed the Twenty seventh of February, and they allowed the Duke three Months time to consult with the Lords his Subjects, and to have free liberty to chuse either the Re-

integrande,

* A Nose-gay given from one to another, which appoints who shall Treat next.

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February.

integrande, or this exchange. Three or four days after he took leave of the King, who conducted him as far as Charenton, and left him the Baron de Lux, who accompanied him thorough Champagne and Burgundy to the borders of Bresse.

This year, as all others which are the last of an Age in the Christian Era, was named the Holy-year, because of the Jubile observed at Rome, with the Ceremonies his Holiness is wont to practise upon that great Solemnity. It being customary for such Ambassadors as are there to obtain Remission by offering an Almes, he from the King distributed amongst the poor two thousand pieces of Gold stamped with the Arms of France.

Amidst the great affluence of Pilgrims, whom either devotion or curiosity (for there were many Religionaries) brought to the said City, the Duke of Bar made one, but incognito. This Prince after his having lived like a kind Husband with Madam Catharine his Wife for six Months together, had suffer'd his Confessor to fill his Head with so many scruples of Conscience, that he left her, and took the opportunity of this Jubile to go and obtain his Absolution of the Pope, and a dispensation for the time to come. The Pope did flatly deny him the latter, unless Catharine would become a Convert, and for the first he so terrified his timorous Conscience, that he promised never to cohabit with his Wife, but repudiate her unless she would become a Catholick. Upon this protestation he was privately restored to the Communion of the Faithful, for to have been admitted publicly, the transgression being publick, he must have undergone a Penance that was so. Two smart words from the King would have made the Court of Rome step over all these difficulties, and joyned him again to his Wife; for want of this courage, the poor Princess did for a while live as a Widow in the midst of Marriage.

In the Spring time the King being at Fontainebleau, was Spectator, and in a manner Moderator of the dispute between James Davy Du Perron Bishop of Evreux, and Philip du Plessis Mornay. This last had compos'd a large Treatise against the Mass: the gravity of the Matter, the quality of the Author, the politeness of the Language, and the force which at first appeared in his Reasonings, and those Authorities drawn from the Fathers, to the number of above four thousand, had acquired him a great deal of Reputation; and that Reputation had been mightily increased by the feeble attacks of all those that had undertaken to refute him.

1600.
May.

The King had great interest and reason this work should be blasted, because many suspected he maintain'd and justified the Author, who in effect had served him very successfully both with his Pen and with his Sword. Now Du-Plessis himself gave him the occasion by his temerity. Du Perron who was in his Bishoprick of Evreux, bragg'd he would produce five hundred passages in his Book which were falsely alledged, maimed, or alter'd. The Friends of Du-Plessis advised him to reply that if there were any such, he would forsake them, and stand to those that were not so, of which there yet remained to the number of above three thousand five hundred, but he too fond of his own labours, summon'd Du Perron by a publick challenge to joyn with him, and set his hand to a Petition for the King to appoint Commissioners to examine and verifie the Passages in his Book Line by Line. Du Perron did not flinch from it, and the King named five, viz. for the Catholicks the President de Thou, Francis Pithou Advocate, and John Martin Reader and Phisician to the King: for the Huguenots Philip de Canaye Lord de Fresne, and President at the Chamber of Castres, and Isaac Casabon Regis Professor in the Greek Tongue. He had sent for this last to be an Ornament to his University of Paris: but some years after he went into England.

It was extream imprudence in Du-Plessis to undertake a Combat where the King and all his Court were Parties, and to venture his Honour and Credit upon the Faith of his Collectors; such People being ordinarily but little exact, not caring whether their materials be good, provided they can but furnish store enough. And likewise his acquaintance knowing his Quil much more fluent than his Tongue, desiring he would rather have continued to write then adventure to discourse, dissuaded him from entering the Lists with an Adversary whose Eloquence was a Torrent, and his Memory a Prodigy. Now whether it were presumption or want of fore-sight, he either would, or could not get out of this snare.

In

In the beginning the Popes Nuncio was much alarmed at this Conference, however the King making him understand it did not concern the truth of the Doctrine, but only that of his Quotations; he assented to it. The day appointed upon the fourth of May, the Bishop of Evreux consigned into the hands of the Chancellor the five hundred Passages, of which they were to take a certain number every day into examination; and the very evening before the dispute, he sent nineteen to Du Plessis, which he would impugne. This was perhaps a Stratagem to stupifie him, and take off the edge of his wit, by engaging him to study the whole night.

1600.
May.

The King was present at this Combat with the Chancellor, some Bishops, the Secretaries of State, and six or seven Princes. They could examine but nine passages that day. Du Perron having the truth, the King and the favour of the Assembly for him, had the advantage in all: he did not only overcome but overwhelm his Adversary; who much weaker, amazed, and disfavoured, defended himself so poorly, it made the Catholics pity and his own despise him. The Judges pronounced that in the two first passages, he had taken the objection for the solution; as for the sixth and seventh, they were not to be met with in those Authors, whence he quoted them: upon the ninth that he had mis-translated Images for Idols, and in the rest had either omitted some words that were material and necessary, or had recited them but by halves.

The night put an end to the dispute. Du Perron pursuing his advantage demanded it might be continued the next day: but his Antagonist disordered with his over-watching the night before, and to say truth, with the shame of his ill success, fell sick and retired to Paris, and from thence to Saumur, without so much as taking his farewell of the King; leaving the Field to his Enemy, and a fair Subject for triumph to the Catholics, and confusion to those of his own Party; which was soon after forsaken by Fresne-Canaye. Du Perron had for Crown of this Victory a Cardinals Hat.

The University eldest Daughter of our Monarchs, being like the rest of the Kingdom, extremely disfigur'd by the War, wanted to be reformed. The King at his return to Paris gave charge thereof to Renaud de Beaune Archbishop of Bourges his great Almoner; who having advised with the Deans of the four Faculties, the most able Professors, Proctors of the Nations, Principals of Colledges and the Rector, and viewed the Statutes and Reglements made 150 years before upon the like occasion by the Cardinal d'Estouteville, changed, added, and retrenched as was thought most expedient. The Parliament allowed of those Articles, and deputed a President and three Counsellors, who caused them to be openly read in an Assembly expressly convoked at the Mathurins.

June, &c.

"The Arch-Duke Albertus going to attack the Prince of Orange who besieged Nieuport, had at the first a notable advantage over him, regaining the Fort Albert taken by Maurice and cutting off near a thousand Hollanders in the place; After which had he but fortified himself in the passage between Ostend and Nieuport, he would have forced them to surrender at discretion, or to have taken Shipping in such disorder, as must have given him opportunity to have charged and defeated them. His Men were almost quite spent with lassitude and hunger, for the preceding day he had marched them from Maestric at one Stage, and the greatest part had scarce eaten a bit of Bread in four and twenty hours: but the heat of this good success led him out of his Post to fall upon the Hollanders. The Fight was very bloody, being very old Soldiers on either hand, and animated by the brave example of their Chiefs. The day began to decline when the Victory inclined towards Maurice; not but that his purchase was dear enough, for it cost him twelve hundred Men, but the Arch-Duke left near four thousand upon the place, all his Cannon, and a great number of brave Captains; Amongst others Colas formerly Vice-seneschal of Montelimar, and pretended Count de la Fere.

"It is observed to the honour of Maurice, that he gained this Battle over an Albertus of Austria, upon the same day, viz. the second of July, as another Albertus of the same House, had three hundred years before gained a Victory over an Adolphus of Nassau, in a Plain near Spire, where he deprived him both of his Empire and Life. It was said the generous Blood of Nassau had brought forth this Prince three Ages after, to be the Avenger of the most illustrious of his Ancestors.

The

The intention of the Duke of Savoy was not to stand to his Treaty at Paris, he pretended to have been compell'd by a just fear of being detained: and he flattered himself either that the King durst not attack him by force, for fear of being look'd upon as a Violator of the Treaty at Vermins; or if he were assaulted he should be supported by the Spaniard, whose interest it was to employ all their Power to bar up the French-mens entrance into Italy, or that, in fine, if he should leave Paris, those Seeds of Conspiracy he had sown in France would disclose themselves. In effect, the King of Spain had commanded the Count de Fuentes to furnish Monies towards it, this Count had informed himself of it's Truth by the Spanish Ambassador in Switzerland, and Roncas who had discoursed with Biron, disguised like Porters, yet nevertheless he refused to advance any thing unless the Duke of Savoy would give him Montmelian and two other Places for Security of the Money; The Duke could never be brought to do that, and so the Count let slip a fair Occasion for his Master's advantage.

1600.
March.

As soon as he was arrived at Bourg the Fourteenth of March, he dispatch'd a Courier to the King to give him thanks for the Honour he had received in France. Being at Chambery the Four and twentieth of May, Bruslard Brother of Sillery, and the Patriarch of Constantinople, went to Summon him either to agree to the Restitution or the Exchange, since the time drew near. He refer'd them till he should be at Thrin, and from thence sent Roncas to demand a new delay; this was to give Bely his Chancellor time to compleat his Negotiation in Spain. King Philip's Council, to make him the more obstinate in the Retention of the Marquisat, assured him the young Prince would come and assist him in Person at the head of Fifty thousand Men: But these were but words; for the Duke of Lerma who govern'd him, being no Martial Man, would be sure not to engage him in a rupture, that would have disturbed his Favour, and consumed the Revenue, which he quietly disposed of during the Peace.

May.

May and
June.

The Duke's delays, and the Discourses he held of the Severity they had shewed him in France, made it plain enough that he had no desire to execute the Treaty. Wherefore the King consenting to a Prolongation till the end of July, did not however omit to advance towards Lyons, that so his approaches might both hasten the said Restitution, and at the same time the Preparations for War he was making to compel him. His Council who were much divided about this Enterprize, detained him above Fifteen days at Moulins, where he arrived at the beginning of July; and in the mean time the Billets Doux, (or Love-Tickets) from the Marchioness of Verneuil his Mistress, and the Intrigues of the Ministers of his Pleasures, recalled him daily to Paris. That Lady passionately desired he would be at her Labour, believing if she brought him a Son; there might be some hopes yet to persuade him to perform his Promise. He was more than a little inclin'd to return and give her Satisfaction, when the hand of Heaven, if we may say so, broke the Charm, and set this Prince at Liberty: for one day after many violent Claps of Thunder, a Flash of Lightning breaking into the Chamber of the Marchioness, and passing under her Bed, she was so horribly frighted, that she was presently deliver'd of a dead Child.

July.

The Duke thought he should find contrivances enough to amuse the King till Winter. Roncas and the Marquis de Lullins propounded the Restitution to him, but at the same time demanded the investiture of the said Marquisat for one of the Duke Sons; This demand was no better received from their Mouths, than it had been from the Dukes at Paris; and Roncas sent back to him again, was commanded to let him know the King's great dissatisfaction. On the other hand, Fosseuse whom the King at the same time dispatched to the Duke to know his utmost resolution, brought back word, That nothing was to be done, unless they left out of the Treaty Savignan and Pignevol.

July.

Roncas however returning some days after, assured that his Master intended to restore the Marquisat upon the Conditions expressed in the Treaty of Paris, which he, the Marquis de Lullins, and the Archbishop of Tarantaise Ambassador in Ordinary, of that Duke, gave in Writing under their Hands. Upon that the King gave Commission to Bruslard and to Janin, to Negotiate with those Three concerning the Articles. When they had fully settled them, Roncas who had the Secret, excused himself for signing them, till he had first shew'd them to his Duke: The King allows him some days too for this; but the Duke, who desired nothing but to gain time, instead of sending Roncas back to Lyons, sent only a Courier, who carried an Order the other two should Sign, but which was only Verbal.

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The

1600.

These Deputies after they had Signed, started up some new Difficulties to spin it out yet longer: they demanded that the King, as the most Powerful, should first commence the Restitution, he satisfied as to that by offering them Hostages. They afterwards desired him to Name the Governor he meant to send to the Marquisat, for that in the Treaty of *Paris*, it was said, That he should place none there that was an Enemy to the Duke. To solve this difficulty, he named *N. de Poissieux le Passage*, whom the Duke could not reasonably suspect, being Brother in Law to Count de la Roche his Grand Escuyer, and immediately ordered him to March with Nine hundred men to go and take Possession of the Citadel of *Carmagnoles*.

August.

The Articles agreed to by the Deputies, expressed that the Duke should render it the Sixteenth of *August*; The King doubted not of it, he was much astonished when he was informed he refused to ratify them, and that on the Seventh of the Month he had plainly declared, that the most Cruel War in the World would be more honorable to him, than the Execution of so Shameful a Treaty. He was therefore forced to recal *le Passage*: Nevertheless the Duke did again send the Patriarch of *Constantinople* to *Lyons*, to assure him he was disposed to Surrender the Marquisat, upon certain new Conditions which he had contrived. But it was now too late to shuffle, the King quite tyred with these *Dedalian* intricacies, had sent to declare War, and was advanced to *Grenoble*. The Patriarch came to him the Fifteenth of *August*, most earnestly to beseech him in the Name of the Pope, not to rekindle that Flame again which his Holiness had with so much care extinguished: He received no other satisfaction, but only he assured him he desired nothing but to recover his own, and sent him to confer with his Council at *Lyons*.

August.

It did not seem that he had Forces sufficient to undertake this War, and that was the thing which deceived the Duke of *Savoy*. Indeed he began it at first with not above Seven or Eight thousand Men at most, but he had given such good Orders, that this Snow-ball increased more than one half in very short time. He divided these Forces in two Bodies, the one to enter upon *Savoy* towards *Chambery*, the other to fall into *Bresse*; This was Commanded by the Marechal de *Biron*, and the other by *Lesdignieres*, a great Commander for those Mountainous Countries. *Rosny's* Diligence provided so well for Ammunitions and Cannon, (having convey'd them by Water) that in the end of *July* he had in those Parts forty Pieces of Cannon, and wherewith to make Forty thousand shot.

And indeed he omitted nothing in this Expedition to show himself worthy the Office of Grand Master of the Ordnance, wherewith the King had newly honoured him, having also Establish'd it an Office of the Crown. Two years before he had likewise given him that of Grand-Surveyor of the High-ways, knowing him to be careful and orderly, and that he would take great pains in repairing and maintaining the Roads for conveniency of Carriage, which in effect he performed extremely well.

In one and the same day being the Twelfth of *August*, *Biron* took and pillag'd the City of *Bourg*, by forcing his way thorow one of the Gates with a Petard; and *Creguy* seized on that of *Montmelian*. The *Savoisiens* suspected the Count de *Montmajor* who Commanded in the first, did betray it; some *French* on the contrary, imagined *Biron* had purposely given him notice of his Enterprize that it might miscarry: for 'tis certain that the former had put himself in a posture of Defence, standing to his Arms the whole Night, as if he knew of it, but then defended himself so poorly, that they had just cause, at least, to accuse him of Cowardize.

The Duke of *Savoy* believed he might sleep quietly upon the Security of this Fortrefs, and that of *Montmelian*; They were both accounted impregnable, the one because it was very regular, the other for its odd situation: for it stood upon a lofty Rock, very steep on every side, with Bastions not Mine-able, a Fosse, or dry Ditch, hewn out of the quick Stone, the Ground about it the same, and cover'd with pointed Mountains which seemed accessible to none but the winged Inhabitants of the Air; so that it was thought impossible either to make any Trenches, or to raise Batteries. This place was really well enough furnished, but the Governor, who was the Marquis de *Brandis* of the House de *Montmajor*, wanted Resolution; The other on the contrary wanted almost every thing, especially Provisions: but in recompence was provided with a Commander who was very brave and resolved to all Extremities. They called him the Chevalier de *Bouvins*.

The

1600.

August.

The taking of the City of *Bourg* was followed with all those of *Bresse* and the Country of *Bugey*. *Grillon* with a Party of the Regiment of Guards seized on the Suburbs of *Chambery*; The King going thither in Person, the Count de *Jacob*, who Commanded in the City, capitulated to Surrender within Three days if it were not relieved: The fear of being Plundered, obliged the Inhabitants to anticipate the said term, and open their Gates the very next day. *Miolans* and *Conflans* made little resistance, the Floods of Rain, and difficulty of carrying their great Guns in a Country scarce passable for Carts, defended that of *Charbonnières* near Fifteen dayes: But as soon as their Cannon had batter'd it in a place which seemed a Rock and was not so, it was taken by assault the Nineteenth day of *September*.

Septemb.

After this Success *Lesdignieres* push'd directly to *Saint John de Maurienne*, made himself Master of all that Valley to the foot of Mount *Cenis*. Then entering into *Tarentaise*, made them bring him the Keys of *Briancon*, *Monliers*, and *Saint Jaquemont*. The report of these so sudden Conquests extremely astonished the Pope: The Spanish Ambassador solicited him most instantly that he would interpose his Authority to stop the King's Progress: both these apprehended almost equally, not the Ruin of the Duke of *Savoy*, but that the *French* should have Passage to enter into *Italy*: The Pope was therefore over-persuaded to send his Nephew the Cardinal *Aldobrandin* to the King in the quality of Legate, with order to use all possible means to procure an accommodation.

It was much wondred at, in the mean while, that the Duke of *Savoy* did not go about to resist so Puissant an Enemy, but on the contrary pass his time at *Turin* in Dancing and making Love, as if he had rested in the bosom of a profound Peace. We cannot tell whether he relied on the intercession of the Pope, assistance from *Spain*, the effect of some great Conspiracy, or the event of some vain Predictions, which assured him, That in the Month of *September* there should be no King in *France*; which proved true, for he was then in *Savoy*. Now when he found that all these failed him, that the Citadel of *Bourg* was invested, that of *Montmelian* formally Besieged, and the Fort *Saint Catherine* block'd up, he began to awaken and draw his Forces together.

He promised himself that the Citadel of *Montmelian* would hold out at least Six Months, believing the Heart of *Brandis* as well fortified as the place. In effect, that Marquis did at first triumph in words, as imagining they could raise no Batteries to Attaque him: But when *Rosny* had found the way to plant them in four or five places, (for what cannot Money, Ingenuity, and Labour bring to pass?) his Bravery sunk on a sudden: He permitted his Wife to hold Conversation with the Wife of *Rosny*, and his Fears encreasing every hour, he capitulated the Fourteenth of *October*, to Surrender the Place upon the Sixteenth of *November*, if it were not relieved within that time.

October.

Upon which Design the Duke parted from *Turin* with Ten thousand Foot, Four thousand five hundred Arquebusiers on Horseback, and Eight hundred Maitres, passed by the Valley of *Aoste*, and along the little *Saint Bernard*, then came and encamped at *Aixme*. The King went to meet him as far as *Monliers*, and had fought him, but for the great Snow which fell in the Night, and made a Barricade betwixt the two Armies. The Duke needed but have made a Diversion towards *Provence*: But Four thousand Spaniards (lent him by *Fuentes*) refused to go any further than *Saint Bernards*, and *Albigny* Lieutenant General of the Duke's Army, had much ado to make them stay there to guard that Passage.

October.

Mean time the timidity of *Brandis* had so infected the Courage of his Soldiers, that there was no Spirit left amongst them. For some out of fear did precipitate themselves from the Rocks to escape, and the rest could scarce endure to stand under their own Arms, and wanted even the Confidence to fire upon the Enemy. Nay more, Having suffer'd the *French* by small Parties to enter the Place, they were found to be so numerous, as to be able to Master them, and could have turned them out. So that having suffer'd himself to be reduced to this Condition, he was forced to anticipate the term of the Capitulation, and began to dislodge upon the Ninth day of *November*.

Novemb.

In the Place were found Provisions for above Four Months, Thirty Pieces of Cannon mounted, and Amunition enough for Eight thousand shot. He talked a long time with the King in the Cloister belonging to the *Dominicans*, and that same Night treated *Rosny* and *Creguy* with a Supper in his own House. He afterwards

T t t t t 2

wards

1600. wards retired into *France*, where his Cowardize was opprobrious even amongst the most Cowardly, he took Sanctuary at *Brandis* in *Switzerland*, and some while after was apprehended at *Casal*, and carried Prisoner to *Turin*.

The Legate would not stir from *Rome* till the Ambassador of *Spain* had promis'd him in Writing, the King his Master should agree to such Treaty as he could make, and recall his Forces if the Duke proved obstinately contrary. Passing by *Milan* he got the like Writing from the Count *de Fuentes*, and the Duke whom he saw at *Turin*, promised to stand to what he should think convenient. His coming did not make the *French* put up their Swords: the King would not see him till he was Master of *Montmelian*, and the Five and twentieth of *November*, coming to *Chambery* to receive him, he refused to hear any thing of an accommodation or a Truce: he only permitted the Dukes Deputies, (these were *Francis d'Arconnas* Count *de Touzaine*, and *René de Lucinge des Alymes*, Chief Steward of his Household) should salute him, then sent him to confer with *Villeroy*, and at the same instant went to the Siege of the Fort *Sainte Catherine*.

This Place and the Citadel of *Bourg* being all the Duke had left on this side the Mountains, the King was persuaded the taking of them would reduce him to demand a Peace. *Bouvens* who was in *Bourg*, stood out resolutely both against his Proffers and his Menaces: But *Peter Charrière* Governor of the Fort *Sainte Catherine*, chose rather to follow the example of *Brandis*, than his: for three days after the Arrival of the King, viz. the Sixth of *December*, he capitulated to Surrender within ten days.

The City of *Geneva* having the King so near them, sent him two Deputies to implore he would continue the same Protection to them as his Predecessors. *Theodore de Beze* the most ancient and the most renowned of all the Ministers of that Religion, deliver'd the Message, and in few words made him a Compliment worthy of his Reputation.

Biron in all this War plaid a very ambiguous part: as he was most extremely vain, but withal engaged with that Duke, he desired Honor for his own share, and yet ill Success to the King; so that he could not forbear doing bravely and well, nor speaking basely and ill. In the Month of *September* being at *Pierre-Chastel* in *Bugey*, *Laffin* came to him, and by his order made to Journeys two *Roncas*. The King, who then was at *Chambery*, informed of this going and coming, and being jealous of some dangerous underhand Practice, sent for him, and gave him caution to Banish that pernicious fellow from his Society. He did not regard, as he ought to have done, this good advice, on the contrary he increased the just Suspicions they had of him: for being under such Apprehensions as those still are that intend Mischief, he went no more to see the King without a great crew of desperate Fellows, and always lodg'd himself in some by-place.

There were two things exasperated this haughty Spirit, and made his discontent swell to a perfect Rage; the one was, the King denied him the Government of the Citadel of *Bourg*, which he requested for a Friend of his, when it should be taken: The other that he had not given him the sole Command in this War, as he had formerly at the Siege of *Amiens*, but equal'd or rather even prefer'd *Lesdiguieres* above him, who was a *Huzenot* and his Enemy. In this fury he conceived an Enterprize upon the Person of the King, but soon after had a horror for it within himself and desisted: However he did not let fall the Practices he was engaged in with the Duke, and the Count *de Fuentes*. *Laffin* under pretence of a Voyage to our Lady of *Loretta*, departed about the last days of the year to go and conclude the Bargain he treated first at *Yvrée* with the Duke and the Ambassador of *Spain* in that Court, then at *Turin* with *Roncas*, and afterwards with the Duke and the Count *de Fuentes* at *Some*. *Picoté* who came from *Spain* met them, and they there explain'd themselves more fully, and cleared all Difficulties.

To repeat the whole substance of this Treaty in few words, as was since discover'd, they agreed to Dismember the Kingdom, make as many Sovereignities as Provinces, and shelter all these petty Principalities under the Protection of *Spain*. The Duke of *Savoy* for his part was to have taken, if he could, *Lyonnois*, *Dauphiné* and *Provence*, and *Biron* the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, to which the *Spaniards* would have joyned the *Franche Comté* as a Dowry for a Daughter of their Kings, or one of *Savoy*, whom they promised to give him in Marriage. They were besides engaged to furnish him with such Prodigious Sums of Money, that he might easily have guess'd by the excess of their Promises, they never designed to perform them.

It

1600. It being impossible these things should be transacted so privately, but the King must know somewhat, and take notice of it, *Biron* moved rather by his Fears than any remorse of Conscience, approached him in the Monastery of the *Corde-liers* at *Lyons*, and pretending a deep and sincere Repentance, confessed that the refusal of the Government of *Bourg*, had fill'd his Mind with Phrenetique thoughts and fancies; but Protested they were past away like Dreams and Shadows, and that if he had a Thousand lives, he would Sacrifice them every one to obtain his Pardon. The King was touched to the very heart with a kind of secret Pleasure to see he thus confided in his Clemency, that Vertue which he cherish'd above all others: he Pardon'd him without any reserve, and assured him, That he would give him so many tokens of his Affection, he never should have any cause to prove unfaithful.

A Pardon attended with so much Goodness, ought certainly to have purged his giddy head of all those wicked Thoughts and Designs; And yet no sooner was he returned to *Bourg*, but he dispatched *Bosco* the Cousin of *Roncas*, to the Duke and the Count who were still at *Some* with *Laffin*. This Trade continued all the year 1601. until the Birth of the *Dauphin*, when *Biron* seem'd to change his Mind, and sent for *Laffin* to return. Now as this Traitor began to play double, *Fuentes* perceiving by his juggling there was no trusting him, thought fit to seize his Person, and likewise upon *Renazé* his Secretary. In effect *Renazé* was apprehended as he pass'd thorow *Savoy*: but *Laffin* who was mistrustful of every thing, went by the *Grisons* Country, and so avoided the Ambuscade.

After this he was highly offended that they detained his Secretary, a young Fellow who was accused of serving him for other uses less commendable than his Employment in Writing. Which displeasure, joyned to a jealousy he conceived that the *Marschal* put more confidence in the Baron *de Luz*, than in him, was the true Motive that push'd him on to ruin him.

So soon as the Fort *Sainte Catherine* had capitulated, the King took Horse to go and meet his new Spouse who had staid for him Eight days at *Lyons*. The Duke of *Florence* Uncle to this Princess, having received the King's Procurator by *Bellegarde* his Master of the Horse, Married her the Fifth of *October* (the Cardinal *Aldobrandin* performed the Ceremony) and afterwards shewed his Magnificence and Riches in Feastings, Huntings, Carroufels, Balls, and other Divertisements usual upon the like Solemnities. The *Italians* have not omitted to note, as a mark of his Grandeur, that one single Comedy cost him Sixty thousand Crowns the acting.

The Gallies belonging to *Florence* and *Malta* brought the new Queen to *Marseilles*, where she Landed the Third of *November*, accompanied by the Grand Dutchess of *Florence* her Aunt, the Dutchess of *Mantua* her Sister, *Don Antonio* her Brother, and *Virginio des Ursins* Duke of *Bracciana*. The Constable, the Chancellor, the Dukes of *Nemours* and *Ventadour*, with the Duke of *Guise* Governor of that Province, and the Cardinals *de Joyeuse*, *de Gondy*, *de Givry*, and *de Sourdis*, were sent to receive her on the behalf of the King, as likewise many of the Princesses and greatest Ladies of the Court to keep her Company.

After the Consummation of the Marriage, which was performed the very same day of his Arrival, the City of *Lyons* honoured the Queen with the Pomp of a Magnificent Entrance. Afterwards the Nuptial Ceremonies were celebrated the Seventeenth of *December* in the great Church there by the Cardinal *Aldobrandin*. Whom (which we mention *en Passant*) the King permitted to exercise the Functions of Legate in his Kingdom, though his Faculties were not verified in Parliament.

The Treaty of Peace which had been begun at *Chambery*, was continued at *Lyons* between *Sillery* and *Janin* on the King's part, and *Arconnas* and *des Alymes* on the Dukes. The Legate contributing his Mediation and care to advance it, obtained a Suspension of Arms from the King for a Months time while they were in Treaty. The Pope and the *Spaniards* did above all things dread the *French* should have the Marquisat; and the Duke had likewise a great deal of interest not to suffer it, because by this means they would have had footing in the midst of his Estates, and have held him, as it were, continually blocked up in *Turin*; It was therefore not very difficult to make him offer *Bresse* in exchange. The *French* withall demanding Eight hundred thousand Crowns for the Expences of the

1600.

Decemb.

Novemb.

Decemb.

1600. the War, the Legate obliged the Deputies of *Savoy* to add for that consideration, *Bugey* and *Valromey*, and then also the Bailliwick of *Geix*, that they might have *Cental*, *Demont*, and *Rocque-Sparviere*: for the King affirmed that those places were not of the Marquisat of *Salusses*, but of the County of *Provence*.

The Chancellor and *Villeroy* had positively promised the Legat, that none of the places taken from the Duke should be demolished, and he had sent such word to the Pope: To the prejudice of this Promise, *Rosny* had blown up the Fortrefs of *Saint Catherine* by Mines, and the Inhabitants of *Geneva* failed not to demolish it; Hearing this News when they were ready to Sign, he was so offended that he ceased intermeddling any further with the Treaty, and openly declared that he revoked all he had said.

Arconnas and *des Alymes* did not so hastily press him to undertake the Business anew, as judging the Citadel of *Bourg* was yet in a condition to hold out a long time, and in the mean while their Duke, together with the Spanish Army, would make some great Attempt to put in Relief. The Besieged suffered very much already, most of them having for at least a Month past fed upon nothing but Dogs and Horses: During the Suspension the King had allowed they should be furnished with a Hundred Loaves a day, and some Bottles of Wine: But with these refreshments they convey'd in a Report that their Deputies abusing of their faithful Constancy, did not hasten to conclude the Treaty, but trusted more to what they could yet suffer, then they did Commiserate them for what they had suffer'd already. The Besieged thought this so great a Truth, that they sent a Ticket to those Deputies, Signed by *Bowens* and all their Officers, to declare they could not hold above two days more, and that they should make their account accordingly.

The Necessity was not so pressing as they pretended: However the Deputies took so hot an Alarm, that they immediately besought the Legate to renew the Treaty. He would do nothing in it till they had given him a Declaration in Writing that it was upon their request, and that they would Sign all he had agreed to. They had received Letters, indeed, from the Duke of the Eight of *January*, which enjoined them to Sign when the Legate commanded it: But when all was concluded, they excused themselves by reason three days afterwards another Express was come, which order'd them to defer it till the Duke had confer'd with the Count de *Fuentes*.

They ought, no doubt, to have follow'd the last Instructions; and yet the Legate who found all the pains he had taken likely to be lost, and himself like to receive a sensible Affront, employ'd Arguments, Intreaties, and Artifice to persuade them that they were bound to follow the first. The Spanish Ambassadour joyned his instances to the Legates, and the Necessity of their Master's Affairs pressed them also, for they believed the Citadel of *Bourg* to be lost. Yet could they find no way to reconcile the breach of this last Order with their Duty: the Patriarch found out one; which was that the Legate should give them a Promise under his hand, To make the Duke approve of the Treaty, to free them from his Indignation, and to warrant their Persons, Declaring that what they had done was out of the respect due to his Authority, and because of the rank he held in Christendom. Upon the assurance of this Writing they Signed the Treaty the Seventeenth of *January*: but to say the truth, this was no reason to the Duke, it was rather an offence, to own the Commands of any but himself. Therefore the Negotiation being ended, *Arconnas* was received by him with extream coldness: *Des Alymes* fearing something worse, durst not go to Court, but set himself upon making his Apology; and understanding it had but the more exasperated the Duke, he changed his Sovereign, and retired to the Country bearing his own Name, called *Bugey*.

The Duke and the Count de *Fuentes*, deferr'd for some time to ratifie the Treaty; the Duke because he was willing that to oblige him to it, King *Philip* his Brother in Law should have recompensed him for the inequality of an exchange which he pretended to be very disadvantageous to himself: The second, because he ardently desired a War, hating the King's Person, and vainly promising himself he should find the *Fortune de la guerre* as favourable in those Parts, as formerly in *Picardy*.

The Legate, who was then gone to *Avignon*, took such an Alarm upon their refusal, that he rode away Post to find the Count at *Milan*, and e're he went dispatched a Gentleman to the King to desire he would harbour no distrust concerning

cerning his making good the Treaty, and to prolong the Suspension of Arms for Fifteen days more. The Duke of *Savoy* made them wait yet Seven or Eight days e're he came to *Milan*; and the Count being of intelligence with him, refused to Sign before that Prince had done so. But when King *Philip* had signified his Pleasure, and the Legate, by a wyle of an *Italian* Breed and Air, had reproached him that he alone hindred the Duke from Signing, had picqued him with Honor, and obliged him to decipher the whole Secret between him and the Duke, he could delay it no farther. And besides, the Duke having sent a Messenger expressly to *Bourg* with a Token, (which was the one half of a broken piece of Gold) to know the condition of the place, upon pretence of going there to Surrender it, found it really such that the Besieged could not maintain it Three days longer, unless they would feed upon one another.

So that he and the Count Signed and sent their Ratification to *Lyons*, *January* and where the Constable, *Sillery*, and *Janin*, staid to receive it. The King *February* was gone thence Post to *Paris* about Fifteen days before; the Queen follow'd by easie Journeys, and arrived at the beginning of *Saint Germain's* Fair. Towards Spring, both of them went to *Orleans* to gain the Jubilé the Pope had sent thither. *May*.

This is the Substance of the principal Articles of the Treaty. The Duke quit- ted the Country of *Bresse* to the King, comprehending *Bourg* with its Cannon and Ammu- nitions, *Bugey*, *Valromey*, and the Bailiwick of *Geix*, with the River of *Rosne* from *Geneva* even to *Lyons*, excepting only *Pont de Gressin*, which he retained for the conveniency of Passage. Moreover he gave up the City, *Chastellenie*, and Tower of the Bridge of *Chateau-Daupin*, and demolished *Beche-Daupin*. The King in ex- change left him the Marquisat of *Salusses*, with the Cities of *Cental*, *Demont*, and *Roque-Sparviere*, and rendred up all the Places he had taken during this War. Both the one and the other were bound to make good the Gifts, Rewards, and Assignments made by either of them or their Predecessors upon those Lands they yielded up.

Bowens went out of the Citadel of *Bourg* the Ninth of *March*. Had there been Provisions they could never have forc'd him thence: But the City being surprized on an instant, he could not transport any Stores into that place, which Demonstrates that it is more secure to lay up Stores in Citadels than in the Cities. The King gave this important Government to *Peter d'Escodeca Boesse* a *Huguenot*, and therefore the fitter to be trusted there. *March*.

In the Count de *Fuentes* Army were Five and twenty thousand Men, he could wil- lingly have employ'd them against France: but the Council of Spain had designed them elsewhere. One half were sent to *Flanders*, the other about Mid-spring were put aboard several Gallies for some grand Enterprize against the Infidels. It was believed they meant to surprize *Algiers*, by the Assistance of Ten thousand Christian Slaves who were to be Armed upon their Landing. The Barbarians suspected it, and shut them close in their Cellars, doubly-chained. Now, whether that were the Design or not, this Fleet having roved about those Seas some time, returned into Port, much shatter'd without so much as off'ring to make any the least attempt. *May, June, and July*.

A powerful Diversion of the Turkish Forces would much have amended the Affairs of the Emperor *Rodolph*. Sultan *Amurath III.* had broke the Peace with him in the year 1591. after he had made one with the Persian. 'Tis true that during the rest of his Reign he ever had the disadvantage, nor was his Son and Successor *Mahomet III.* more fortunate the first year of his: The Imperialists having taken *Strigoniam*, and *Sinan* his Grand Visier being most shamefully chased by *Sigismund* Batory Prince of *Transilvania*. But the following, which was 1596. the said Sultan going in Person, gained the Fortrefs of *Agria* in the Upper Hungary, which the Turks call the *IN-EXPUGNABLE*, and won a great Battel over *Mathias* the Emperor's Brother, who came, too late, to the relief of that Place.

The Invasions of the Persians who renew'd the War with him, and the Mutinies of *May, June, and July*, the Janisaries, made him lay aside his Enterprizes for some years: but having brought his Forces again that way, the Emperor not relying any more upon the Conduct of his Generals, who served him very ill, had cast his eyes upon the Duke of *Mercoeur*, as well because of his Courage and Quality, as because it was likely he would bring great Numbers of brave Frenchmen with him, who otherwise weary of being idle, would have

1601. have run themselves into the Service of the United Provinces. This Duke did joyfully accept so honorable an Employment, not, however, without the King's Permission, and took with him the Count de Chaligny his Brother, a great many Volontiers, and some compleat Companies of Soldiers.

There is no Historian of those times but hath taken delight to mention the Exploits of this generous Prince; They relate the great, though fruitless, efforts, he made with only Fifteen hundred men, to raise the Siege which Ibrahim Bassa had laid to Canisa with Threescore thousand Combatants, and to draw him to give Battel; Afterwards, when he had no more Provisions, his gallant Retreat, the bravest that Europe had beheld in all these Wars; Then the following year 1602. the taking of Alba-Royal, and defeat of the Turks who marched to relieve that Place. After so many noble Actions, as he was returning into France for his Domestick Affairs, a Purple Fever seized on him in the City of Nuremberg, and sent him to Triumph in Heaven the Nineteenth of February.

July.

1602.

Now Seha Abbas King of Persia, having renew'd a War against the Turks, was persuaded by Anthony Shirley an Englishman, one of the greatest Cheats in the whole World, to seek the Alliance of the Christian Princes against their common Enemy. His Ambassador Conducted by this Anthony, saw the Emperor, the Pope, and the King of Spain; they all gave him noble Reception, and magnificent Promises, but such as had no effect. The whole Profit of this famous Embassy fell to Anthony, who stole and converted to his own use the greater part of the Presents the Persian sent and designed for the Christian Princes.

Mahomet advertis'd of the great Noise it made in Europe, and that the Duke of Mercœur with a small number of French, put his Armies to more trouble than the whole Forces of Germany had done before, dispatched an Envoy to the King, desiring him to recall that Prince, and renew the ancient Alliances between the House of France, and that of the Ottomans. This Envoy was only a simple Physician without any Train or Attendance; not that those Barbarians are so insolent as to hold the Kings of France Inferiour to their Grandeur, but because our Kings themselves would never admit of any splendid Embassies from thence, lest it should provoke the hatred and reproach of the rest of Christendom. However the effect of this Negotiation was as inconsiderable as the Minister of it.

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1601.

The Treaty of Vervins did not hinder the two Kings from seeking to take their advantages of each other. The Spaniards reproached the King that he assisted the United Provinces with Money, and that he permitted his Subjects to go into their Service with whole Troops of Horse, and compleat Regiments of Foot. As to the first he replied, That if he did send them Money, it was because he owed them a great deal: But for the second, he could not avoid making an Order to Prohibit the French from bearing Arms for those Provinces, though in effect he were very glad they disobey'd him in that point, and was as sorry and displeased with those that took Pay under the Spaniard.

On his part there was much more cause to accuse them of infidelity; He complain'd that they had sent Forces to the Duke of Savoy; that the Count de Fuentes had endeavour'd to form an Enterprize upon *Marseilles*; that they had debauched the Marechal de Biron; and that they yet held intelligence with the Grandees of the Kingdom to stir up the flame of a new Civil War.

It wanted but little, being thus already exasperated at each others underhand dealings, of breaking into an open defiance, for an Affront the Spaniard put upon the Ambassador he had at Madrid, this was Anthony de Silly Rochepot. Some young Gentleman belonging to his Train, amongst whom was his Nephew, quarrelling one Evening as they were washing in the River, with some Spaniards, whom they protested were the Aggressors, kill'd two of them. The Dead being of the best Families of the Town, their Parents and their Friends so stirred up the Rabble, that they ran in multitudes to the Ambassador's House to do themselves justice by force. The Alcade, so they call the Town-Judge, could find no other way to appease this fury, but by going himself to the Ambassador's, and with strong hand break open the doors, and carry those Gentlemen away Prisoners. This was an attempt, justly deserving Punishment, to force a place which ought to be held Sacred: the King of Spain however did not do justice, but even detain'd the Prisoners when the Commotion was over, as if they had been liable to his Laws. The King therefore made loud complaint to all Christian Princes that they had violated the Rights of Nations, and the Majesty of France recalled

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June.

his Ambassador, who departed without taking leave of the King of Spain, and forbid all Commerce between his Subjects and Spain. 1601.

The People on those Frontiers did already apprehend the miseries of a Bloody War, and were the more alarmed upon a Report that the Bell at Arragon, which they hold miraculous, had rung out divers times of its own accord, which never happens, said they, without presaging some great Accident; And that upon Holy Thursday, in the Village de Cudos near Basas in Gascongne, a Woman uncovering her Passe, which she had wrapped in a Napkin, perceived a Bloody Cross both upon the one and the other. This was seen by great Numbers of People, and the Vicar of the Parish carried some of it to the Bishop. Which may perhaps not seem so miraculous to those that consider how amongst good Wheat there grows sometimes another worser Grain, which after its Flower is kneaded, will seem as it had been mingled with Blood.

Now the Duke of Lerma Minister of King Philip, apprehending a War as the bane of his Fortune, intreated the Pope in behalf of his Master to become the Mediator for an accommodation, and caused the Prisoners to be put into his hands. The Pope deliver'd them into the French Ambassador's at Rome, and desired the King to send another Ambassador into Spain, assuring him that he should be received with as much honour as he could desire. The King thereupon sent Emery Joubert de Barrault in the stead of Rochepot; the Principal Officers went forth to meet him at his approach near any of their Cities; when he came to Court, the Grandees made him their Visits, and within three days after, he had a favorable Audience.

August, &c.

During the heat of these Contentions, the King being gone to Calais, the Arch-Duke who besieged Ostend, greatly feared he drew near to disturb him, in his great Enterprize, and sent to Compliment him in terms as one that is afraid and intreats. The King assured him he had not the least thought of molesting him, and that he did desire to observe the Peace, provided that on the Spanish side they would do him reason.

And in truth, it was not any such thing that led him down to Calais, but the desire of Negotiating at the nearest distance with the Queen of England. That Princess having some Projects to impart for the ruining of the House of Austria, longed to confer with him personally, and flatter'd her self with the hopes of an interview at Sea, between Dover & Calais. Biron was ordered on the King's behalf, to go and make his excuses to her for that he could not participate of that joy.

August.

Whilst he was preparing for this Embassy, Rosny passed into England to endeavour the discovery of Queen Elizabeth's thoughts. He pretended to have no order to see her, but only a Curiosity to make a Voyage to London: he was soon taken notice of, as he desired, by some English Gentlemen, who carried him to the Queen; & gather'd as much of her Mind as she would let him know. Now when she found the King deprived her of the satisfaction of an interview, which she so ardently desired, she went about Forty Miles from London; & there it was she received Marechal de Biron, & treated him with all the Magnificence imaginable. From thence she brought him to London, where she shewed him, perhaps designedly, the Head of the Earl of Essex, otherwhile her Favorite, planted upon the Tower, amongst those of many more English whom she had put to Death for conspiring against her.

All France, but principally the King, was in great impatience to know if what the Queen bare in her Womb, would prove the accomplishment of their earnest wishes: Knowing therefore her time drew near, he went in haste from Calais to beat her Labour. She was deliver'd at Fontainebleau, and brought forth a Son who entred upon the Stage of this World on Thursday the Seven and twentieth of September about Eleven at Night; he was named Lewis. The Father transported with joy, did the same day put his Sword into the Royal Infant's hand, according to the Custom of the Kings his Predecessors, craving the favour of Almighty God that he might one day make use of it for his Glory, and the good of his Subjects. The Birth of this little Prince was preceded by an Earth-quake, a presage of those terrible Wars wherewith all Europe was to be shaken during his Reign.

Septemb.

Five days before, viz. The two and twentieth of the Month being the Feast of Saint Maurice, the King of Spain had a Daughter Born, to whom they gave the Names of Anna-Maria-Mauritia. Such as pretended to have Skill in judging of future times, observing that Heaven had given Birth to these two first Children of different Sexes, so near one another, did then foretel it was decreed they should

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1601. be one day joyn'd together, to produce a Prince that should in his single Person unite the Grandeur of those two most August Houses.

October. The *Dauphin* made his first Entrance into *Paris* the Thirtieth day after his entrance into the World: his Cradle was carried in a Littiere accompanied by the Dame de *Montglas* his Governess, and the Nurse. The *Prevost des Marchands* and the *Eschevins*, went a good way into the *Fauxbourg* to receive him, and made him a Harangue; the Governess replied to it.

April. In the Month of *April* a difference arose which was like to have embroiled all *Provence*, between the Archbishop of *Aix*, (*Paul Hurand de l'Hospital*), and the Parliament. A Priest had forced a little Boy of Six or Seven years old: the Parents giving information, the Arch-bishops Official, or Chancellor, order'd that the Parties should proceed before him: but upon the Parents appeal, the Parliament ordained one of the King's Judges should have the hearing of it. In fine

April. the Priest by Sentence was Condemned to such Death as his Abomination deserved. Before Execution the Parliament summon'd the Archbishop to degrade him: but as in *Provence* the Ecclesiasticks were wont to enjoy the same Privileges and Franchises, as those of *Italy* enjoy'd, the Archbishop complaining they had infringed the Liberties of the Church, excommunicated all such Councillors as had been assisting in this Prosecution, forbid any within his Diocese to administer the Sacrament to them, and sent a Brief to all the Churches containing their several Names. This Scandal was the greater as hapning to be near the time of *Easter*. The Parliament offended with this proceeding, cited the Archbishop, and upon default of Appearance, declared his Brief calumnious, and his Excommunication null and abusive, ordained he should take it off, and enter the same in the Court Register, (or upon Record) within three days, in default whereof he should pay Ten thousand Crowns fine. In the mean time the Archbishop was obstinate, to persist, and the Parliament to compel him, the People were divided into two Parties, and grew hot even to the danger of some great Commotion: Nevertheless the Parliament having order'd a seizure of the Archbishop's Temporal Estate (the only Bridle for the Clergy, when they more value their Revenues than either their Duty or their Dignity) he soon complied, took off his Excommunication purely and simply, and sent to his Dioceans to receive those Judges to the Communion, whom he had deprived.

May.

1602.

March.

The following year in the Month of March, almost the like Scandal hapned at *Bordeaux*. The Archbishop who was the Cardinal de *Sourdis*, a hot-brained man, had demolished an Altar in the Church Saint *André* his Cathedral, without communicating it to the Chapter. The Canons endeavouring to Rebuild it, were drove away somewhat too rudely by his People. The Parliament took the Cause in hand, and upon their Complaint put the Mason in Prison who had pull'd down the Altar. The Cardinal breaks the Prison doors and takes him thence. Some days after, the Parliament, assisted by the Jurats who came with a strong hand, caused the Altar to be Rebuilt. The Cardinal was so enraged, that the Sunday following, being informed the first President, (by Name *Godfrey Malloin Sessac*) and the President *Verdun*, were hearing Mass in the Church of Saint *Projet*, he went thither with his *Archiepiscopal Crozier* and the Holy Sacrament, and there Excommunicated them by Bell, Book and Candle. The Parliament in great wrath for the injury done to all their Body by this affront to their Head, made a Decree which enjoyned him to revoke his Censures, and to cause the same to be published in the same Church upon the Penalty of Four thousand Crowns Fine, forbidding all Bishops to use the like for the future to any Judges for doing their Office, upon Pain of Ten thousand Crowns. The King having received the Complaints of either Parties, brought the Business before himself, and there kept it, to allay the heats on either hand.

There were divers Reglements published this year necessary to discharge the King's Debts, and make the Money circulate. Amongst others the Suppression of the Triennals created upon necessity of the Siege of *Amiens*, and their Reimbursement by the Ancient and Alternatives. They did however reserve those of the *Espagne*, *Parties Casuelles*, Extraordinaries for War, and some others. The Prohibition against Transporting Gold or Silver out of the Kingdom, or exposing any more Foreign Coin, except Pistols and Reals of *Spain*. Another forbidding the wearing of Gold or Silver upon their Cloaths, or to squander away that precious Metal in gilding. The King authorized this last by his own Example, and look'd very sorely upon a Prince who presumed to appear before him with

with that Gawdry. This Reformation did much discountenance the Gossips and Gallants, and was reckoned one of the Publick Grievances by that sort of Cattle, who have no other Perfections but what they borrow from the Lace-man and the Taylor.

The most Universal cause of all the Disorders and Corruptions, sprang from Luxury; the extraordinary Taxes first brought forth and Nursed this proud and dainty Monster: tho' to say truth both of them were as yet but in the Cradle. The Contractors and Exchequer-men having abundance of Money, which for the most part cost them but the dash of a Pen, did lay it out in all manner of Vanity. And most of the Gentlemen, who were picked to equal those foolish Expences, did by over-swelling and strutting burst themselves, like the Frog in the Fable; Then when they were so ruined and had nothing left to sell but their Honour, they Married with those Fellows Daughters, to get great Portions, which they could not have met with in Houses of Repute or Quality; not considering that from such corrupted Blood, nothing but a corrupt and vicious generation could proceed.

It was therefore become most necessary to repress the insolency of these Robbers, and their Pillage, or unlawful Gains, that caused it. The King for that purpose establish'd a Royal Chamber, composed of Judges of known and approved integrity, selected from amongst the Masters of Requests, belonging to his Parliament, and the *Cour des Aides* of *Paris*. The People who are easily fed with vain hopes, imagined that the Gallows would soon do them Justice upon those Robbers under the specious title of Officers, and that their Spoil would be restored, at least in part, to such as had been fleeced by them: but by vertue of great Presents and Intrigues, they found out able Mediators; for some of the greatest Lords, many fair Ladies, together with the Ministers of the King's Pleasures, attack'd the Clemency of that good Prince with so many Engines and Importunities, that he admitted those Rascals to Composition, after the Chamber, or Court had sat till the year 1604. and so punish'd them only in their Purfes, and that but very lightly.

Thus the Publick, far from receiving that Satisfaction they so justly expected, had the displeasure to find this Inspection served only to secure that booty to them who had so unmercifully rifled the Kingdom. Nor could they distinguish the Innocent, few as they were, from the Guilty, since not the most wicked, but the more weak were the most roughly handled.

The Adventures of a Man who said he was Sebastian King of Portugal, miraculously escaped from the hands of the Moors after the Battle in Africa, did for some years exercise the worlds Curiosity, and begot a diversity of Judgments, according as mens Minds were variously disposed. The Portuguese did easily believe it was their King, the Italians doubted it, the Spaniards treated him as a Fourbe and Magician. He told his Fable, or his History so well, and brought so many Proofs and Tokens for the truth of what he said, that they could not detect him of one Mistake. The Senate of Venice, to whom he first addressed himself in the year 1598. found all his Answers very pertinent to such questions as they put to him: but the Spanish Ambassador to that Seignoury, made so much noise, that he was laid hold on, and after he had been Prisoner there two years, condemned him to quit their Territories within Eight days. The Portuguese Merchants who were then in Venice, travestied him as a Jacobin to carry him to Rome about the end of the year 1600. As he passed by Florence the Grand Duke apprehended him, and fearing to offend the King of Spain, who had a Fleet upon those Coasts, put him into the hands of the Vice-Roy of Naples. The Vice-Roy having detained him a while, caused him to be shaved and sent to the Galleys, who carried him into Spain; where he was shut up close Prisoner in the Castle at Saint Lucar, and there died soon after. A horrible Injustice if he were Don Sebastian, and too slight a Punishment if he were an Impostor.

Some years before, another who came from the Terceres into Portugal, acted the same Part, having gotten together Six or Seven thousand Men, created Grandees, and bestowed upon them all the Offices belonging to the Crown: The Cardinal of Austria Vice-Roy of Portugal dispersed this confused Herd of Wild Beasts, and put their Counterfeit King with his principal Associates to Death.

The year 1602. found the whole Court very jocund: there was nothing but Feastings, Balls, Hunting-Matches, and great Gaming. Besides the gay Courtiers

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tiers promis'd themselves a Golden Age, upon the discovery of some Mines of Gold, Silver, Copper, and Tin. In so much, as by an Edict, which however was not verified till June, *Bellegard Grand Escuyer*, or Master of the Horse, got to be made the Grand Maistre, or Superintendent of them, *Beaulieu Rusé* Secretary of State that of Lieutenant, *Beringhen* first *Valet de Chambre* Comptroller General, and *Villemarcueil* Councillor in Parliament the Office of President to take Cognisance of all Matters, and Causes relating to Workmen that should be therein employ'd. The Parasites did not stick to say Heaven had reserved this Happines for the Reign of *Henry* the Great, and that the Earth enamour'd with his incomparable Vertues, open'd her breast to let him behold all what she had of Rich and Beautiful: but when they came to work in their Mines, the expence did much exceed the profit, so that all these metallick Treasures vanish'd in fume and vapour like Quick-silver.

The Alliance between *France* and the *Swiss* and *Grisons*, being expired after the Death of *Henry III.* the Agents for *Spain* had omitted no endeavours to break those People wholly off from us, and engage with them; particularly the Five petty Catholick Cantons; so that for some time past these had made one with them, and with the Duke of *Savoy*. Now the King desiring earnestly to renew with them upon the same Conditions as his Predecessors, *Francis Hotman Morfontaine* his Ambassador in those Countries, had begun to lay some foundation for a Treaty, and would have carried it on much further, if Death had not laid his cold hands on him at *Soleurre*. Afterwards *Emeric de Vic* placed in his stead, pursued his work; and about the end of the foregoing year *Sillery* had been sent thither expressly to put the finishing hand to it.

The greatest difficulty, was to make the Treaty of the Five little Cantons accord with what the King demanded upon the foot of the old ones. *Sillery* thought he had overcome it by the Promise he made of Paying them a Million of Gold for what was due upon the former account: But the delay of Payment (the most sensible of all Injuries to them) had given opportunity to the Emissaries of *Spain* and *Savoy* to cast the Seeds of Anger and Discontent into the Minds of those suspicious People; in so much, that all was breaking in pieces when the *Mareschal de Biron* arrived at *Soleurre* in the Month of *January* of this year 1602. with a numerous Train, and a pompous Equipage.

January and
February.

His magnificent Expence, his Discourse wholly Martial, and the lustre of his brave Acts, whereof themselves had often been Eye-witness, had indeed a great influence upon those War-like Spirits; but it was the Arrival of the Waggons loaden with Silver that wholly won their hearts. The Alliance was then renew'd to last, not only during the life of the King, but during the life, also, of the *Dauſin*. The *Mareschal* crowned this Festival with the Magnificence of a sumptuous Banquet, where he did wonders, in describing the Grandeur of the King, and the Power and Strength of *France*. This was not the least of his Services, but it was the last day of his Glory and good Fortune. At his return, finding that *Laffin* was sent for to Court, he staid in *Burgundy* and would not stir thence till the Month of *June*.

There had been granted by the Estates at *Rouen* a Tax of a *Sol per Liner* upon such Wares as should be brought into any City, but for Three years only; the term expired, this Impost was continued with great severity; and the Partisans had hung up Papers containing the Prizes of all sorts of Goods near the Gates of the Towns at their Toll-booths. Those of *Guyenne* and *Languedoc* could not endure so odious an Imposition, and which was no way due: *Limoges* and *Rochell* opposed it by main strength, the rest were ready to follow the same Dance, some Emissaries running about those Countries blew up the flame; and there was danger it might put those whole Provinces into a Combustion, unless timely care were taken to prevent it. To this purpose the King went to *Blois*, and thence to *Poitiers*, and sent the President *Jambeville* into *Limosin*.

April and
May.

This Magistrate was very vigorous, he took the Hoods away from the Consuls of *Limoges* who were in Office, and caused two or three of the most Factionous to suffer by the severest hand of Justice. By these means he appeased the Tumult in *Limosin*: as on the other side the Voyage of *Rosny* to *Rochell*, disposed the People of that haughty City to admit of the Impost. The Order and Paper of Prizes therefore was set up again in all the Cities: But some Months after, the King being satisfied of the Obedience of his Subjects; and moreover finding the said Impost did stand him in almost as much to Collect it, as it brought in, revo-

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ked and converted it into a moderate Subsidy; For Imposts, though they be abolished, like Wounds do ever leave some cicatrice and ill-favour'd Scar behind them.

1602.
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Whilst the King was in *Poitou*, the Parliament the Chambers assembled, after a *Mercuriale**, and chiefly at the instance of the President *Segnier*, seconded by the Examiners, ordained that all Advocates, or Attorneys, pursuant to the 161 Article of the Estates at *Blois*, should at the end of all their Briefs or Writings put down the particulars of all they had received for their Fees, and give a Certificate of what they had gained from their Clients for their Pleadings. He made this Decree the Thirteenth of *May*, upon the desire the King had to reform the gross Abuses in Law-States, and upon Complaint made to him by the Duke de *Piney*, of an Advocate that had demanded Fifteen hundred Crowns of him to Plead one Cause. The Advocates refusing to obey, there was a second; which enjoyned those that would not Plead, to make such Declaration to the Register, after which they were forbidden to exercise their Profession, upon *peine de faux*, i. e. *Loss of Life and Estate*.

* Afternoon
Sittings, &c.

The Morrow after this had been pronounced in full Court, they all went by two and two out of the Chamber of Consultations to the Number of 307. and going to the Registers laid down their Caps, and declared that they obey'd. The Palace, (or Court) was dumb for Eight or Nine days: Some of the Courtiers persuaded the King to leave them in that humor which they would have been weary of sooner than himself: But having Business of much greater weight than this, and the *Brouillery* beginning to look like a Commotion, he would needs determine it, and caused an Order to be dispatched which restored the Advocates to their Function, and commanded them to return to the Bar and obey the first Article. Which was only for the Formality. For the Judges themselves who made it wink'd at it, and let it fall to nothing.

May.

It was with much reason suspected, that the Commotions in *Guyenne* were a Train leading to those other Mynes contrived by the *Mareschal de Biron*; and it looked as if at the same instant that he was to spring them, the *Spaniards* were prepared to give the Assault, and enter upon the Kingdom. For they had raised a numerous Army by Land, which was kept upon the frontiers, and were fitting another for Sea under the Command of *Juan de Cardonna*. They gave out that the first was to be sent into *Flanders*: and the second to execute some Enterprize upon *Algiers* by the assistance of the King of *Fez*: But it was apprehended rather to be designed against *Burgundy*, and to surprize some Sea-port Town in *Provence*.

The *Spaniard* shewed plainly enough by his Treatment of *Alexander Caretta Marquis de Final*, who was comprised in the Number of the King's Allies, that he cared not over-much to observe the Treaty of *Verwins*: for *Fuentes* seized upon *Final*, having paid the *Garrison* of that place for Ten or twelve *Musters* that were due to them. The very Old-Age of that poor Lord, who was near upon *Four-score*, and his being destitute of Children, gave him the Confidence to make this *Usurpation*, for which the good Man never had any other Satisfaction, but only, I know not what Pension allow'd him in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

The fear of some terrible Event keeping the King in perpetual alarms, he came back from *Poitou* to *Fontainebleau*, that he might search into the bottom of the Conspiracy, believing that if once it were but laid open, it would not be so dangerous. And therefore he would needs at what rate soever, have *Laffin* be brought before him who was privy to the whole Secret. We have told you what cause of discontent this man had against *Biron*; it is conjectur'd he had given notice to the King of all his Practices for a long while before this time; at least it is most certain he had thoughts of doing so; and of providing himself with Evidence to verifie his Accusation.

May.

And this they ground it upon, *Biron* had with his own hand written a Project of the Conspiracy, *Laffin* persuaded him it was dangerous to keep it by him, and that he needed but to have a Copy. *Biron* gives it him to Transcribe in his presence. When he had done so, he rowls up the Original between his hands like a ball, and cast it into the Fire: but *Biron* not minding it further, (the negligence of a great Lord) he craftily draws it out agen, and puts it into his Pocket. So that some will needs believe this man over-whelm'd with Debts, Crimes,

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Crimes, and other Misfortunes, soothed the passionate Marechal in his Designs; on purpose to make a fortune by betraying his Secrets; and that if he would, he might easily have prevailed with him to lay them all aside; especially after the Queen was deliver'd of a Son. For amongst the Letters the Marechal had written to him, there was one that said, *That since God had bestowed a Dauphin upon the King, he would think no more of his former Follies, and pray'd him to return.*

When *Biron* understood *Laffin* was press'd upon by the King to go to Court, he sent a Gentleman to put him in mind of his Oathes, to let him consider he had his Life and Honor in his hands, to intreat him above all things to burn all his Letters and Papers, and to rid himself of a certain Curate whom they had employ'd in some ill-favour'd Business. *Laffin* being come to *Fontainebleau* revealed all to the King, gave him all the Letters and Papers, and named the Conspirators to him; amongst whom he involved so many Persons of Quality, even *Rosny*, that the King amaz'd at the greatness of the Peril, was for some time in much doubt whom to confide in.

His secret Council thought convenient to dissemble in respect of many of the accused, and indeed there lay no other proof against them but the Depositions of *Laffin*; It had been the ready way to have set all *France* on a flame should they have fallen upon so many great ones at once, it was safer much to allow them time to repent, than to have put them to the necessity of seeking their particular safety in a desperate general Rebellion. And therefore all the Letters *Laffin* produc'd, they publish'd none but those which made mention of *Biron* only; there were Five and twenty of them. The King gave them into the Custody of the Chancellour, who for fear they should be lost, sowed them within the lining of his Doublet.

May.

All this was done before the King went to *Poitiers*. During his Voyage *Peter Fougues Deschamps*, and then the President *Janin* being sent into *Burgundy*, labour'd to dispose *Biron* to come to Court. His Conscience, his Friends, those Prognostications wherein he put much confidence, divers ominous Prefages, the pressing haste of those that would have him go, dissuaded him; On the contrary, the Assurance which the Baron *de Lux* newly return'd from Court gave him, that *Laffin* had discovered nothing, the King's profound Dissimulation, who one day said before this Baron, that he was very glad *Laffin* had cleared several doubts which some had made him conceive of *Biron's* innocency, the shame the Marechal had of shewing any fear, and giving advantage to his Enemies, the apprehension of being thrust out of his Government if he did not obey, and withal his Pride and his ill Fate betray'd him to the resolution of going to the King.

Before he went, he received a Ticket from a Lord, his intimate Friend, who advis'd him rather to go into the *Franche Comté*: for there was now no farther Security for him in *Burgundy*, the King's Agents having dispos'd of all things there to invest him. Upon his way many more of the same Tenor were deliver'd him; At *Montargis* he met one so pressing that he was like to have turned back again; nevertheless he pursued his unhappiness, and arrived at *Fontainebleau* the Fourteenth of June.

June.

The Duke *d'Espernon* had sent before his coming to proffer him his Service, believing those odd Reports that flew about were but the Slanders of his Enemies. When he was at Court he did not meet with his accustomed Applause, and might well read the disposition of the Prince in the countenance of his Courtiers. Wherever he went his Presence cast a damp upon their looks, few people approach'd him, and none could speak but with a great deal of Constraint: whilst every thing pointed out the danger he was in; and if he did not understand that Language, a Note from the Countess *de Rouffy* his Sister, spake more plainly, wishing him to get away before he was more strictly guarded.

June.

This would perhaps have proved very difficult, so carefully was he observed: but he had no need to provide for his Safety by such shifts, the King himself offer'd him a way both more certain and more honorable. He had resolv'd, and his Council applauded that resolution, to extend his Clemency to him, and forget all what was past, provided he would faithfully discover and unriddle the whole Practice, with all the instruments of this Conspiracy, that so by certainly knowing from what quarter the Storm was to have fallen upon him, he might be eased of his Fears, and Jealousies that did so much disturb his rest.

June.

He

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He therefore made three several attempts to persuade him to own the Truth freely and sincerely: one the very same Morning he arriv'd at Court, having drawn him aside in a private Walk of the Garden; another after Dinner the very same day taking him into his Closet; and the third the next Morning in another private Promenade. He every time exhorted, and conjur'd him not to conceal those things which could not by other means be made out without ruining him, assur'd him of a full and real Pardon, and told him that what he desired to be inform'd of from his own Mouth, was not for want of other Evidence, but purely because he desired to save his Reputation, and keep the Knowledge from any but himself, of such things as must if prosecuted be so disadvantageous to him. All these endeavours were to no purpose, for he believing *Laffin* had kept his Faith, and thinking whatever the King hinted was but Conjecture, was so far from owning any thing, that he talk'd audaciously and without respect. The first time he replied, he was not come either to justify himself, or to accuse his Friends. At the second, he made loud Complaints, was transported, demand'd Justice against his Accusers, or Permission to carve his Satisfaction with his Sword. At the third it was nothing but Bravado's, Menaces, execrable Oathes, which convinced the King that he was much more susceptible to commit a Crime than to repent it. He therefore resolv'd to abandon him to the severity of Justice, since he refus'd to cast himself into the arms of Mercy, and gave Order to *Vitry* and *Praslin* Captains of the *Guards du Corps*, to be in a readiness to apprehend him, and also the Count *d'Auvergne*, the most intimate of his Acquaintance, and Accomplices.

Before it came to this, he would needs Communicate the Proofs he had against them to his secret Council, that he might not bring People of such great importance before his Tribunal, unless there were enough to Convict them. When they had satisfied him that there was more then needed, he made yet another and last effort to draw the whole Truth of the Fact out of the mouth of the Marechal. At Night about Ten of the Clock, having left off his Gaming with the Queen, he call'd him into his Closet, and conjur'd him once for all, to confess that freely of himself, which he was but too well inform'd of by others, passing his word that a true and ample Confession should wipe off all his Crimes, how many and enormous soever. The least token of Humility and Repentance had sav'd him: But he most arrogantly replied, *That, this was to press an Honest man too far*: So that the King touch'd at the same time with Sorrow and Indignation, left him, saying, *Since you will reveal Nothing, Adieu Baron.*

June.

Going forth from thence, he was seized by *Vitry*, as the Count *d'Auvergne* was by *Praslin*. Both of them being kept that Night in the Castle, were the next day convey'd to *Paris* by Water, and lodg'd in the *Bastille*. The same day the King arriv'd by the Gate *Saint Marceau*, the People following him with loud Acclamations which express'd the Joy they resent'd for his having discover'd so dangerous a Plot.

Three days after, *Biron's* Relations to the number of Seven, of whom were *Saint Blancard* his Brother, *Salignac* of the same Surname, and *James Nompars Caumont la Force*, coming and casting themselves at the King's feet to implore his Mercy, had for Answer, That he would leave him to the Severity of the Law. Immediately he sent a Commission to the Parliament of *Paris* to make his Process, and another particular one to the first President, to the President *Potier*, and to *Fleury* and *Turin* the two eldest Councillors of the whole Company to Examine him. His Friends presented a Petition in the Name of his Mother, desiring he might have Council allow'd him, as is usual to such as are accus'd; But the Court denied it, grounding it upon this, That they are not allow'd any in case of Treason.

In this necessity whereas he should have collect'd all his strength of Reason and Prudence, he shew'd if ever he were Master of any, that this present trouble of Spirit had utterly confounded them: for from the moment he was Apprehended to the day of his Death, all his Discourse and Behaviour seem'd to tend only to the aggravating his Crime, and loading him hourly with new Guilt. When *Vitry* made him Prisoner, he would needs have the King be a Persecutor, and said to those that saw him led away, *Behold, Sirs, how they treat the good Catholics.* After his Confinement, unless at those times when he fell into perfect raving, his mouth was ever full of Reproaches, Imprecations and Rodomontado's.

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tado's. When they came to interrogate him, he disown'd the Project, then owned it without any necessity, denied and then confessed divers Facts, and upon this so ticklish an occasion, whereas the wisest speak but by Monosyllables, he launched into tedious Discourses, and thereby often and very much entangled himself.

June.

As to the Witnesses, he reproached them not till after he had heard their Depositions, though he had been fore-warn'd that if he had any thing to object, it must be before-hand. Thus he owned *Laffin* for an Honest man and his good Friend; Then when they had read what he deposed, he Curs'd him as the worst of all Mankind, a Sorcerer, a Traytor, and a Sodomite. Had he said this in due time, it might in some measure have weakned his Evidence. He said that if *Renazé* had been alive he could have testified the contrary, and justified him: he did not imagine he was so near at hand, and was much amazed when they read his Deposition, and brought him to confront him. This fellow had made his escape from the Prison at *Quiers* with his Keepers, so opportunely, one would have guess'd the Duke of *Savoy* was of Intelligence with the King.

July.

The Witnesses alone Convicted him, for most of his Writings were dated before the Pardon the King had granted him at *Lyons*. All things being ready, they led him to the Parliament to give Judgment: He was convey'd thither by Boat with a strong guard. The Chambers were assembled, the Chancellour presided, not one of the Dukes or Pairs were there, although they had been summon'd in due form. He defended himself somewhat better there, than he had done before his Commissioners. They gave him full liberty and time to Plead, and this time he did Plead as he had often Fought; that is, he did wonders.

All the strength of his defence consisted in an endeavour to make it out, that the Will without any Effect, or a Design without an Overt act, was not punishable, that his Services ought to over-poise and excuse some transports of passionate and indecent words and thoughts that had no farther consequence; And above all he laid his main stress upon this, that the King had Pardon'd him in the *Cordeliers* at *Lyons*. To these Reasons and Arguments he added so lively a Representation of his brave deeds and so many Motives for Compassion, that he drew Tears from the Eyes of some of his Judges; and if they had at that instant given their Opinions, perhaps he might have found some mercy: but they having then not time enough to take all their Votes, the Business was deferred till *Monday*, in the mean while he was remanded to the *Bastille*.

On *Monday*, while the Judges were in Consultation, an Order was brought them under the Great Seal, whereby he revoked the Pardon he had given him by word of mouth at *Lyons*. Some of his Ministers finding the Prisoner stood so much upon that, and apprehending his fury if he should escape, prevailed with the King to make the said Revocation, though it were a thing altogether unnecessary, and somewhat contrary to his Natural Clemency.

July.

The Judges, as one Man, gave all their Votes for his Death; They declared him Convicted of High-Treason, for Conspiracies against the Person of the King, Designs upon the State, and Treaties with the Enemies, and Condemned him to have his Head cut off in the Greve, his Estate confiscate to the King, the Dutchy of *Biron* to be Extinguish'd, and those Lands and others, if he had any which were held of the King, reunited to the Crown. The Sentence being brought to the King, he put off the Execution till the next day, and changed the place from the *Greve* to that of the Court in the *Bastille*. Which to his Friends was interpreted as a Favour, though it was purely an effect of the fear they had of some Commotion, not so much amongst the common People, as the Soldiery, who loved him most entirely.

Upon *Tuesday* the last day of *July* about Noon, the Chancellour with some Councillors of State and of the Parliament, went to the *Bastille* to put the Sentence in Execution. So soon as *Biron* saw him he cried out, *he was a Dead man*, and asked if there were no Pardon. The extravagancies, and the transports he shewed in this last Scene, where his Courage ought to have shew'd its force, if he had had any, demonstrates enough, that some who dare venture into dangers with Bravery, because they have a prospect of overcoming, have not the resolution

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tion to stare Death in the face, when there's no possibility of escaping. The Chancellour having given Order they should lead him to the Chappel, he gave himself up to Cries, to Complaints, and to Reproaches, protested his Innocency, summon'd the Chancellour to appear at the Bar of Almighty God, accused the King of Ingratitude and Injustice. After he had thus spit all his fire and venom, he fell into the other extreme: his too great love of life flatt'ring him yet with a faint beam of Hope, made him beseech his Judges to intercede once more for him, and made him even beg the favour of *Rosny*, though he esteemed him his most mortal Enemy; Then when he found they all were deaf and dumb to his requests, he fell into more fury than before.

They had at first no little trouble to bring him to that condition a Criminal should be in to hear his Sentence pronounced: yet he heard it patiently enough, excepting those words which accused him of *having Conspired against the Person of the King*, this he could not endure, but cried out, *That was False*; and he persisted to his very death, that he was innocent as to that point. It was a mighty laborious task the Doctors had to prepare and dispose him to his Death: he had scarce any settled intervals. They thought fit not to tie him, lest that should put him out of all his Senses. When they led him to the Scaffold, the sight of the Executioner put him into a new rage: He would not let him touch him, nor tie a Handkerchief over his Eyes, he bound it on himself, and then unbound it again two or three times. At last the Executioner took his time and blow so dexterously as made his Head fly off at one stroke. As it was full of Fire and Spirits, it was observed to make two Rebounds, and cast forth a much greater quantity of Blood, than came from the whole trove of his Body. His Corps was interred in the Church of *Saint Paul*, with a marvellous Confluence of People, who flocked thither from all Parts, and served for his Funeral train.

July.

He was of a middle Stature, and for Corpulence gross enough, had black Hair beginning to turn grey, his Physiognomy cloudy and ominous, his Conversation rough, his Eyes sunk inwards, his Head little, and no doubt ill furnished with Brains: his extravagant Designs, his giddy Conduct, and the foolish Passion he had for gaming (losing in one year above Five hundred thousand Crowns) were infallible marks of it. The King bestowed the Government of *Burgundy* on the *Dauphin*, and the Lieutenantcy on *Bellegarde* during his Minority.

The Death of *Biron* put out all the remaining Sparkles of the Conspiracy, if any were yet alive: his Friends and Relations bemoaned his Death, but durst not murmur; his Confederates knowing he had said nothing against them, and being certain they had not written any thing, (for amongst his Papers they found no Letters but his own) reassured themselves, and that more especially because the King made as if he had no knowledge of their Practices; the King of *Spain*, nor Duke of *Savoy* dared not make any attempt now; whose Ambassadors were not the last that Congratulated the King, for his having detected this Conspiracy. He let them understand he very well knew their evil Disposition towards him, but yet assured them he would not break the Peace: but he denied to grant Passage by this Bridge de *Gresin* to their *Milan* Forces, before he had thoroughly inform'd himself of all this grand Affair.

Their Design, as they gave out, was to pass into *Flanders*, nevertheless he suspected they were brought thither only to favour the Enterprize of the Marechal de *Biron*, and apprehended when he was first taken, lest they should have exasperated his Confederates by despair. Upon this consideration, and to keep *Burgundy* in obedience, he had sent thither the Marechal de *Lavardin* with some Forces; So that those who held the Castles of *Dijon* and *Auxonne*, after they had used threatenings four or five days talked no more but of submitting, when they perceived him in a condition to force them. The Fidelity, no less than the Courage, of this Lord, was well known to the King upon many Trials, therefore for some time past he had taken delight in bestowing the Noblest employments upon him, to eclipse the glory of *Biron*.

Edme de Malain Baron de Lux, Lieutenant in the Government of this Province, acquainted with the utmost Practices of the Conspiracy, was so wise and fortunate as not to lose himself: He trusted to the Mercy of the King, came to him, and disclosed all. Wherefore he Pardon'd him without any reservation, passed his Oblivion in the Parliament of *Paris*, and in the Parliament of *Burgundy*, and left him in his Command.

July.

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The

1602. The Baron de Fontenelles of the House of Beaulieu, and René de Marce-
August, and Monbarot Governor of Rennes, were apprehended as Confederates with Biron.
Septemb. The Grand Council having a Commission to try the first, condemned him to be
Drawn on a Hurdle to the Greve and there to be Broken alive upon the Wheel,
and sent two or three of his People to the Gallows. The Cruelties this Gentle-
man had committed in Bretagne during the League, and the obstinacy he had
shewed for that Party, did not a little help to aggravate his Punishment; On the
contrary, the Services which Monbarot had done the King in that same Province,
did much contribute towards his justification. The Count d'Anvergne remained
but Two Months in the Bastille after the Death of Biron, the King set him at
Liberty, and also received him into his Favour. He had a Powerful Intercessor
October. in his Sister the Marchioness of Verneuil, and moreover he owned all he knew.

The Marechal de Bouillon thought it more safe to be at large, and to justify
himself at distance; He consider'd that Rosny jealous of the too great credit he
had amongst the Huguenots, did him ill offices at Court, and he had reason, had
he been never so innocent, to apprehend the Indignation of the King, because
at Poitiers, that Prince having told him of his Practices, he retorted again too
confidently, and in such a manner as is justly accounted Criminal towards a So-
veraign. Thus, far from coming upon the King's Commands, he went
and presented himself at the *Cambre my-Partie* of Castres, offering to justify
himself there, for he pretended they were his Natural Judges, because his
Vicounty of Turenne is within the Jurisdiction of the Parliament of Toulouse,
whereof the Chamber of Castres is a Member. How-ever it were, he drew from
them an Act of Comparition, for which the King was very angry with them.
Passing by Montpellier, he engaged the Reformed Churches of Languedoc, to write
in favour of him to the King; then finding no place of Security in France, he
went to Geneva, and from thence into Germany, where having persuaded the Pro-
testant Princes of his Innocency, and craved the intercession of Queen Elizabeth,
he gave his Enemies more cause to animate the King against him.

October. Towards the end of this year, the King discover'd how the Prince of Joinville
had suffer'd himself to be circumvented by the Spaniards, and negociated some
December. Contract or Colligation with them, by means of Philip d'Anglure Guyonville a
Lord Franc-Comtois. He caused him therefore to be apprehended: but when he
found there was more of Puerility and Wantonness, than Malice in his Tran-
sactions, he would not put the young Prince in Prison, he only put him into the
Custody of the Duke of Guise his eldest Brother, that he might teach him
more Wit.

Amidst so many Inquietudes and Alarms, the Court tasted some little joy at
the reception they made for the Swiss and Grison Ambassadors who came to Paris
to swear their renewed Alliance with the Crown. They were in number Forty
two, Sagner Advoyé of Berne was their Orator: They arrived at Paris the Four-
teenth of October, and stay'd there Thirteen days. The manner of their Re-
ception, their Lodging, the Feasts that were made for them, the Ceremonies
they used at their Swearing the Alliance in the Church of Notre-Dame, which was
performed the Two and twentieth of October, the Presents which the King be-
stow'd on each of them, were just the very same things as we have seen these lat-
ter years upon the like occasion, and are withal more proper to fill up a Ceremo-
nial than a History.

But it is remarkable that at the Treat was given them in the Archbishoprick
after they had taken the Oaths, the King who had dined apart, came into the
Hall where they were sitting, accompanied by the Cardinals de Joyeuse and de
Gondy, and some other Lords, and presenting himself at the end of the Table
without sitting, nor yet suffering any of them to rise, drank to the health of his
Comperes, or Gossips, and obliged the two Cardinals to do the like. The Am-
bassadors received this Honor bare-headed, and Pledged him in the same
manner.

About four or five days afterwards they took leave of him, having obtained
Three things which they earnestly desired: The First for the whole Body of the
Cantons, viz. A Confirmation of the Privileges that had been granted to them in
France; Of the other two, the one was for the Protestant Cantons, and im-
ported, That they should not be obliged to serve against those of their own Religion:
The other for the little Cantons, allowing them, to continue their Alliance with
Milan and Savoy, provided it were not Prejudicial to that which they had newly made
with the King.

An

1602. An Edict which the Chancellour had minuted against Duels, was not yet Pub-
lished. The King receiving every day Complaints how the most generous Blood
of his Nobility, (idle and punctillious) was shed in these Combats, thought
himself obliged to put that Curb upon so Tragical a Fury; The Edict was Pub-
lished in the Month of June. It forbad all the King's Subjects from making any
Duels, or Challenges, as well within, as out of the Kingdom, under pain of the Pu-
nishment inflicted for High-Treason, viz. Death and Confiscation; as well for the Se-
conds, as for the principal Parties concerned: Ordained that Process should be made to
the memory of those that should happen to be Slain in those Combats; Enjoyed the Con-
nestable and Mareschals of France, to cause such to be brought before them as had any
quarrel, and to order Reparations for the Injury; to which the Parties were to acquiesce,
otherwise to incur the uttermost Displeasure of the King, and to be Banished both from
the Court, and the Province.

June.

Complaint was made that Strangers melted down the Gold and Silver, and
carried it out of France, and that the manner of counting by Crowns encreased
Luxury; because it cost no more to say Crowns than Livers. Upon this pretence
some of the Council, by Motives not well understood, persuaded the King to raise
the price of Moneys, so that the Gold Crown which was at Sixty Sols, was raised
in value to Sixty and five; the Franc's * which were worth Twenty Sols, to One
and twenty and four Deniers; the quart d'Escu of Fifteen Sols, mounted to Six-
teen; and the Testons of Fourteen and a half, to Fifteen and a half. It was
likewise ordained, That from that time forward they should account by Livers, as
was used before the year 1578. when King Henry III. ordained they should reckon
by Crowns.

* These are
the Pieces of
27 Sols now.

Those who had given this advice, desiring to have it Authorized, the King
sent for the Chief of the Four Sovereign Companies, of the Chambers des Monoyes,
and the principal Bourgeois and Merchants to come to the Louvre to have their
Opinions. All excepting those of the Monoyes found great inconveniencies in
the said Change or Alteration: Nevertheless, those that had given that Coun-
cil, persuaded the King to pass by all those Reasons to the contrary, and to forte
the Parliament by divers expresse Commands to verifie it, without having any re-
gard to the Remonstrances made by them whom they would not allow to speak,
but only to deliver what they did object in Writing.

The Preparation made by the Duke of Savoy, was for an Attempt upon Geneva.
Albigny his Lieutenant General on this side the Alps, and Governor of Savoy,
had the first Conceptions of it; Bernolier Governor of Bonne perfected the De-
sign. The first chose Twelve hundred Men to execute the same on the Night of
the Two and twentieth of December, led them to the foot of the Wall between
the Porte-Neuve and that of la Monnoye, made them plant their Ladders which
were of a marvellous Structure, and saw Three hundred Soldiers get up well
Armed, and provided with good Hatchets, Pincers and Hammers; this was a-
bout two hours after Midnight. Bernolier, who managed the whole Design, ha-
ving surprized the Sentinel, forced the Word from him, then kill'd him, and
stood in his place; he did the same to the next that came the Rounds, but im-
prudently suffer'd a Boy that carried the Lanthorn to escape. The Lad ran to
give the Alarm to the Court of Guard, and the whole Town: who but for this
had remained in a profound quiet, resting upon the Faith of their first Syndic of
the Guard, named Blondel, who was afterwards proved to be of intelligence with
the Undertakers.

Decemb.

They had designed not to stir till just at break of day, but now finding they
were discover'd, they resolv'd to begin the Execution. They therefore divided
themselves into two Parties, went to gain the one the Porte-Neuve (or New-Gate)
and the other that of the Tartaise, and of these last part of them believing the
Town was already their own, broke into the Houses and fell a Plundering. The
first did Petard the inward Gate: but it hapned that the Petard was not in a
readiness to break open the second; that soon after their Petardier, or Gun-
ner, was Slain, and a Burgher cut the Rope which held the Port-Cullis, and
made it slide down. Then was the time they should have made use of their
Hatchets: But their Astonishment made them forget they had any such In-
struments.

In the mean time the Inhabitants having taken up their Arms, and gotten into
a Body, came to attaque them. The Savoisens who were gone to the Tartaise
Gate, rejoyn with those at the New-Gate; This Gate is taken and retaken

X x x x x 2

three

1602. three several times, *Bernolier* is laid dead upon the spot; those that were without do not succour them as they ought to have done, by giving hot and false Alarms at the other Gates. In fine, their great Numbers overwhelm the *Savoisians*, about some Fifty of them are cut off, the rest run to their Ladders; the Cannon from an opposite Bastion had batter'd them in pieces, they leap from top to bottom of the *Fosse*, where most of them are knock'd on the Head, and even many of those that had not been within the City. *Attrignac* and the other Chiefs, to the number of Thirteen, defend themselves so valiantly they obtain a Capitulation with their Swords in hand: But, as you shall find, their valour reserved them but to a more ignoble Fate.

The Duke of *Savoy* believed the Success so certain, that he parted from *Turin* four dayes before, and was come to *Pont a' Efranbieres*, which is within a League of *Geneva*. We may guess what his displeasure was, when upon his Arrival he heard *Albigny* Scunding a Retreat; Wherefore he returned the very next day over the Mountains in post-haste, leaving his Forces in the Countries of *Faucigny*, *Chablais*, and *Ternier*, and sent dispatches to the Neighbouring Princes, especially to the *Swiss*, to justify his Action.

He had three colours for it; The First, That *Geneva* was not comprised in the Treaty of *Vervins*; Neither was it indeed expressed by Name: but the King maintain'd that it was included under the Name of the *Allies of the Swiss*. The Second, That the Inhabitants of *Geneva* refused to Pay him the Duties and Imposts for what they possessed in some Parts of the Countries subject to him, and this was true. The Third, That *Lesdegnieres* had contrived a Design to seize upon their City, and that he only endeavour'd to prevent him, as being more equitable it should fall into the hands of their Natural Lord; then into a Strangers and an Hereticks.

The Day come, they held a Council in the Town-Hall how to dispose of their Prisoners: the wisest were of opinion to keep them as Hostages in case the Duke should have a mind to Besiege their City: but the common Rabble, and the Widows of those Citizens that had been Slain in the Attraction, made such Out-cries, that they resolv'd to treat them as Robbers. They therefore Strangled those that were alive, then cut off the Heads of them and Threescore more that were dead; planted them upon the Walls, and cast their Bodies into the *Rhosne*.

They make mention of a *Damoiselle* Wife of *Sonnas* one of the said Thirteen Officers, that had Seven Children by him, and was great with the Eighth, who having resolv'd neither to eat nor drink till she had once more kissed her dear Husband, and the Magistrates having refused to let her have his Head, she sat her self just opposite to the place where they had planted it, and kept her Eyes ever fixt upon that dismal Object of her Love, and her Dispair, till Death deprived her both of her Sight and Life.

It hapned after some good distance of time, that *Blondel* Syndic of the Guards was accused by certain Persons of having had intelligence with *Albigny*: but they being of the Scum of the People, his Authority was enough alone to invalidate their Testimony; so that the Business had rested there, if himself, to his Misfortune, had not push'd it on too far, by contending to have them punished as Calumniators. The necessity of a Self defence, drove them to search out for Proofs; They alledged that he had sent Letters to *d'Albigny* by a *Savoyard* Peasant. The difficulty was to meet with this Fellow, three years were spent before they could get a sight of him; so soon as he appeared *Blondel* made him Prisoner, and had put him down into a Dungeon. He thought by his very rough handling to force him to be willing to clear him: But finding he persisted in the Truth, he suborn'd the Goaler, who strangled him in the Dungeon, and left the Rope about his Neck, as if the poor wretch had exercised that Cruelty upon himself. The truth of the Fact being discover'd by Inspection of the Place and Circumstances, *Blondel* and the Goaler were broke upon the Wheel; The first before he died, owning his Correspondence with the *Savoyards*.

1603. The News of this Enterprize being carried into *Switzerland* and *France*, the Canton of *Bearn* immediately concern'd themselves for the defence of *Geneva*, the King assured them of his Protection, and a Thousand or Twelve hundred *Huguenots* put themselves into the Place to defend it in case it were attacked. This People turbulent and proud of the Support of the Protestants and that of *France*, gave themselves up to their resentments, and began a War against the Duke of *Savoy*.

Savoy: but with much more Fury than either Force or Success. Now the King, whatever kindness he bare to *Geneva*, had an interest to make up an Accommodation: For if it went farther, he knew himself obliged to assist the *Huguenots*, and joyn all the Protestant Party together, which would mightily have shock'd the Pope, whom he more dreaded than all the Powers upon Earth. For this reason he gave Order to *Emery de Vic* his Ambassador with the *Swiss*, to come to *Geneva* and dispose them to Peace, and at the same time declared to the Duke of *Savoy* who armed to Besiege that City, that if he proceeded any further he must concern himself.

The consideration and weight of so great a Power, put a full stop to their Motions on either hand, and brought them to a Peace. The Cantons of *Glaris*, *Solure*, *Scaffhaussen*, *Basil*, and *Appenzel*, the least interest'd of the Thirteen, undertook to manage it. It was first begun at *Remilly*, and finished at *Saint Julian's* near *Geneva* the One and twentieth of July, and ratified by the Duke the Five and twentieth. The Treaty contained, That they should mutually restore the Places which had been taken; That the Immunities and Exceptions which those of *Geneva* enjoy'd for what they Possessed in the Territories of the Duke, should be Confirmed: That the Duke should not draw any Forces together, raise any Fortifications, nor keep any Garrisons, within four Leagues of their City; and that it was declared to be comprized in the Treaty of *Vervins*.

The Court passed the Winter after their wonted manner: Dancing, Gaming, Feasts, Balls, and Comedies, especially those of the *Italians*, were their daily Divertisements. In the beginning of *March*, the King took a journey to *Metz*, *January* and carrying the Queen along with him, who on the two and twentieth of the preceding *November*, was delivered of her first Daughter. The chief Motive of this Voyage was to discover what practices the Duke of *Bouillon* might possibly have contrived with the Protestants of *Germany*, and secure the City of *Metz*, which being at that time in great combustion, might have sided with some other Party. *March.*

The Duke of *Espernon* having been settled in that important Government by King *Henry III.* had left the Lieutenantcy both of that City and Country in the hands of a Gentleman named *Mont-Cassin* his Kinsman, and that of the Citadel to *Sobole* of the House of *Cominges*, who had been bred as his Page. Soon after having recalled *Mont-Cassin* near his person, he bestowed both those employments on the second; he invited a younger Brother to come into that Country, a man violent and covetous, and who soon gained the full sway over him. Now the Elder *Sobole* having brought some assistance to the King at the Siege of *Laon*, got of him, as the reward for his Services the promise of these Lieutenantcies, his Master being then in *Provence* and in disfavour at Court with this new power, playing *Rex*, he begins to treat the Inhabitants scurvily, and enraged that the Duke seemed to justify their complaints, and foment their discontents, he by the advice of his younger Brother, Accused the principal Citizens and Officers of Justice, of having intelligence with *Mansfeld* Governor of *Luxembourg*; upon this Information several were imprison'd, and had been put to the Rack. But, in fine, the business being brought before the Parliament, their innocency and the calumny of *Soboles* were clearly made known. Then the Duke makes no difficulty of espousing the quarrel of the oppressed, so that they barricade themselves to besiege *Soboles* in the Citadel. This Mutiny proved the loss of the two ingrateful Brothers: but the Duke got nothing but the pleasure of a revenge. For the King making haste to treat with them, pressed it so home, that before his Arrival they Surrendered the place into his hands, without making the least advantage to themselves. He settled *Francis de Montigny la Grange* Lieutenant for the King over that Country and that City, and *Arquien* his Elder Brother in the Citadel, under the Government notwithstanding of the Duke *D'Espernon*; who feigned to be very well satisfied, though he fore-saw he should have no power in those parts so long as the King lived.

Ever since the Kings absolution at the Court of *Rome*, the Jesuits had missed no opportunity of employing the Popes intercession, with all their art and industry to sollicite their re-establishment, pretending it was one of the secret conditions which had been opposed at his absolution. But the imprudent conduct of some of their Society in *England*, at *Venice*, and in the lesser Cantons of *Switzerland*, having brought complaints against them to *Rome*, the Pope grew somewhat cold in the pursuit of it. Now as the King was passing by *Verdun*, the Rector

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Rector and Fathers of the Colledge in that City, encouraged by *la Varenne*, presented themselves to request of him that the Decree of the Parliament of *Paris*, which forbid the *French* to send any of their Children to study in the *Jesuits* Colledges, might not extend to theirs. The King having returned them a very Gracious Answer, they thought it a fit time to try a little further. Their Provincial named *Armand*, and three or four of his, came to *Metz*, and chusing the week of the Passion of our Lord, most proper to stir up mercy and compassion in a Christian Soul, got into the Kings Closet upon *Holy-Thursday* after noon, and fell down at his feet. The good Prince soon raised them again, and gave them a full Audience. The Provincial who was Spokes-man, insinuates himself, by extolling of his Victories and his Clemency, then endeavour'd to justify his Society from the common reproaches of their Enemies, and afterwards concluded by conjuring and imploring his Royal Clemency by the precious Blood of *Jesus Christ* to shew mercy towards them, and to do it in such sort, that this favour might depend on nothing but his own goodness, that it might be wholly from him alone, and that they might have no obligation but to himself.

They had put down their harangue in writing: after he had heard it with all possible humanity, he took it out of their hands as if to read it with more attention. The *Monday* following having called them a second time into his Closet, he gave them his positive word for their being restored, commanded the Provincial to come to him at *Paris* and to bring Father *Cotton*, then embraced him and all his Companions, in token he freely forgave them for the time past, and would make use of them for the time to come.

While he was at *Metz*, he received some Letters the Prince Palatine had written in favour of the Duke of *Bonillon* his Brother in Law. In the same place some *German* Princes came to Compliment him, particularly *Maurice* Landgrave of *Hesse*, *N. de Bavaria* Duke of *Newburg*, the Duke of *Deux-Monts* of the same House, and *John George* of *Brandenburg*, who disputed the Bishoprick of *Strasbourg* with *Charles* Cardinal of *Lorraine* ever since the year 1592. the first having been Elected by the Protestants at *Strasbourg*, and the second by the Catholics at *Saverne*. The Emperor had often endeavour'd to bring them to an agreement, but could never effect it. The King rather suspended then decided the controversy; by sharing the Revenue between the two Contenders: but the following year it was absolutely and finally determined by the mediation of *Frederick* Duke of *Wurtemberg*, upon these conditions, amongst many others, That *John George* of *Brandenburg* should entirely yield up the Bishoprick to the Cardinal de *Lorraine*, for an hundred and thirty thousand Crowns of Gold ready Money, and that the City and Bailiwick of *Obernach* should remain in the hands of *Frederick*, redeemable at the end of thirty years by the Cardinal or his Successors, for the sum of four hundred thousand Crowns.

From *Metz* the King went to *Nancy* to visit the Dutchess of *Bar* his Sister, and to give her the satisfaction of seeing a Ballet danced which was of her own Invention; for such things are not to be counted the least important Affairs of the Court. It was likewise, as some would have it, further to convince the Duke of *Bar* of his scruples concerning that Marriage, and to let him know that the devoir of Man towards his Wife being founded both on a natural and a divine right, ought to be more regarded then humane prohibitions. However it was, within some few Months after, the Dutchess believed she was with Child.

The King had designed a longer stay upon those Frontiers, that he might draw the *German* Princes to him, by making himself a friendly Mediator of their differences, reconciling as much as possible the Protestants with the Catholics, re-uniting in one common League, those that apprehended they might be oppressed by the grandeur of the House of *Austria*, and scattering Money amongst the Captains and Officers. But the News he received that *Elizabeth* Queen of *England* was at the *Agony*, made him suddenly leave that place to return to *Paris*.

This Princess so much exalted by the Protestants, and made so black by the zealous Catholics, was in truth worthy of immortal praise for the grandeur of her courage, her marvellous prudence, the rare qualities of her mind, and above all that tender love wherewith she cherished her people, a virtue which may well cover all the other Vices in a Sovereign: but her reputation will be for ever stained with the Blood of a Queen her Cousin, which she spilt upon a Scaffold, and with that of a great number of Catholics her

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her Subjects, whom she exposed to cruel deaths. This severity, notwithstanding proceeded not so much from her own temper as the Instances of her Counsellors. Who by reason of the frequent Conspiracies, hatched by an indiscreet and unwarrantable zeal against her person, had specious opportunities to involve the innocent with the guilty, and to encrease her hatred to that Religion by the hainousness of those attempts. She died the fourth of April about four in the morning, Aged sixty nine years and six months, of which She had Reigned forty five and more.

On her Death-Bed she gave Letters written with her own hands, and sealed with her own Seal, to *Robert Cecil* High Treasurer and Secretary, with Command he should open them so soon as she expired. Now whether by these writings she had declared *James* Steward King of *Scotland* her Successor, or had left the liberty of Election to her Subjects, as the last mark of her affection, the Lords, the Bishops, those of the Privy-Council to the late Queen, with a great number of the Nobility, and the Major and Sheriffs of *London*, being on the same day assembled early in the Morning at the Guild-Hall, Elected that Prince for their King; and so speedily, that they Proclaimed him by eight of the Clock; whereof sending him notice to *Edinburg*, he came to *London* the seventeenth day of May.

It concerned *France* to take care in time to secure the Alliance with this new King, for that hitherto his correspondence and interests had been with the *Spaniard*, his whole Council held that byass, the inclinations of his Wife *Anne* of *Denmark*, who had much influence over him, were turned towards them, and it was not to be doubted but that the Catholics, who were numerous in *England*, and even all the people, because of the advantage of Trade, much more considerable from *Spain* then *France*, would use all their endeavours to oblige him to Treat with King *Philip*. It was therefore thought fit to send *Rosny* on the Embassy: for it was believed that he being of the Protestant Religion, his mediation would be the more acceptable, and that they would look upon him as a Minister who knew the Kings greatest secrets; besides that his words would have the greater influence upon King *James's* Counsellors, because he had the Purse wherewith to guild his Arguments and make them the more efficacious.

He had order to demand of that Prince, first the continuation of his Amity, and Alliances with the King; afterwards to sound whether he would incline to assist the United Provinces against the *Spaniards*. If he did not do it frankly to proceed warily, and not discover the private designs of the King against the House of *Austria*: but if he did find him disposed, to lay open the Methods whereby to destroy that grandeur, and reduce it within the limits of *Spain* only, and their Hereditary Countries in *Germany*; For this purpose to make a League wherein should enter the Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, who should first attack the *Low-Countries* and then the *Indies*, to be shared amongst the Confederates; and to set up at the same time a potent Caball in *Germany* to take the Imperial Crown from him. He was also commanded, if he found the overtures favourable, to desire that King to put a stop to the *English* Piracies, who since the Peace of *Ver-vins*, under colour of a War with *Spain*, had taken for above Three Millions belonging to the *French*; As likewise to demand that the *French* who Traded in *England*, might enjoy the same Privileges and Franchises as the *English* enjoyed in *France*, by the Treaty made between King *Charles IX.* and Queen *Elizabeth*, Anno 1572.

His whole Negotiation is to be seen at length in his Memoirs, and how he brought back a Treaty into *France* made the Five and twentieth of June, by which, the Prince promised in his own Name, and *Rosny* in the Name of the King; of which he made great use, though he had no express Commission for it, to renew and strengthen the Ancient, and never interrupted Alliances between *France* and *Scotland*, and those between the late Queen *Elizabeth* and King *Henry IV.* That a League should be concluded between the two Kings, for the Defence of their respective Kingdoms, Persons, and Subjects, and of their Allies: Especially of the United Provinces, whom they should forthwith assist with Powerful Succours, which should be raised in *England*, but pay'd by the King of *France*, the one half in Deduction for what he might be indebted to the *English*; That if either the one or the other were Attacked by the *Spaniard*, his Allie should assist him with a Land Army, or a Fleet of Ships, at the choice of him who should be so Assaulted, which should consist, at the least, of Six Thousand fighting Men; That if both should at the same time be Assaulted, or should become

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1603. become Assailants, each on his part should make War upon the Common Enemy: Henry with Twenty thousand Men, whom he should send into the Low-Countries, and a considerable number of Gallies and other Vessels into the Mediterranean. And James with a Body of Six thousand Men by Land, and two strong Fleets which he should send the one upon the Coasts of Spain, the other towards the Indies.

Before this Treaty the King had been greatly afflicted with a Retention of Urine, caused, as was said, by an Excrescence stopping up that Channel. The Danger was so eminent, that believing he should die, he had begun to dispose of the Government during the Minority of his Son.

June. When he was Cured, he applied himself as before to his Buildings, and in procuring Money to be more plentiful and of a quicker Circulation in his Kingdom, thereby to make his Subsidies flow in both more abundantly and more readily. Trade appearing to him to be one of the most certain means and wayes leading to that end, it was the Ardent desire of his Heart to make it grow and flourish, having the foregoing year erected a Chamber or Council for that end, composed of Officers belonging to his Parliament, the *Chamber des Comptes*, and the *Cour des Aides*. And because he was not Potent enough at Sea, and by that way the Expence was great, and the Profit a long time and very uncertain in its coming, he thought to succeed better and sooner by Home-Manufactures. Therefore he set up of divers sorts; Tapestries of the richest Fabrick in the *Faux-Bourg Saint Marceau*, by means of divers excellent Artists whom he invited thither from *Flanders*: (Guilt-Leather Hangings) in the *Faux-Bourg Saint Honoré* and *Saint Jacques*; Mills to work and cleave Iron with ease, and to cut the same into several pieces, which were Built on the River of *Estampes*; *Gaases* and thinn Linnen Cloath at *Mantes* upon the *Seine*; Pot-works for coarse and fine Earthen Wares of all sorts at *Paris*, *Nevers*, and *Brisambourg* in *Saintonge*: (Glass-houses for Chrystalline in imitation of the *Venetians*) at *Paris*, and *Nevers*. (There had been formerly some at *Saint Germain en Laye* in the Reign of *Henry II.* but the Wars had extinguishd the Furnaces.) (Cloath and Serges; Stuffs and Silks in divers Parts of the Kingdom, and several other things.)

The Manufacture of Silks was that which took most with the generality, and promised the greatest Profit. The use of it first began in the *East* even with the beginning of the *Persian* Monarchy; The *Romans* having penetrated those Countries by their Conquests, could easily have brought away the Art and Use of it, but despised it, fearing to render themselves effeminate by those softer Garments, much fitter for tender amorous Youths and Women, than the more rough and martial Men. Afterwards their Courage growing indeed effeminate, they suffered it to be introduced in the lesser *Asia* and in *Greece*, about the time of the Empire of *Justinian*. Then towards the year 1130. it made a step into *Sicilia* and *Calabria*, by means of *Roger* King of *Cicilia*, who upon his return from an Expedition to the *Holy-Land*, having taken *Athens*, *Corinth* and *Thebes*, transported all such as wrought in Silk to *Panormus*. Of them (the *Sicilians* learned to breed up those Worms that make the Silk, to Spin, and Weave it, and afterwards brought the Art into *Italy* and *Spain*.)

June. From *Italy* it came first into the hottest Parts of *France*, as *Provence*, the *Comtat of Avignon*, and *Languedoc*; *Francis I.* settled it in *Touaine*, thinking to make great Profit by it. Nevertheless it was not common in *France* for a long time, for King *Henry II.* was the first who wore Silk Stockings at his Sister's Wedding. Yet till those Troubles hapned, which turned the whole Kingdom upside-down (under the Reigns of *Charles IX.* and *Henry III.* the Courtiers did not use much Silk, but after that the very Citizens began to wear it frequently. For 'tis a most certain Observation, that Pride and Luxury does never spread so much as during Publick Calamities; For which I can guess at no other reason, but that it is a Curse from Heaven which ever comes hand in hand with the Plague of Civil War.

Now King *Henry IV.* believing this Manufacture might in like manner be set up at *Paris*, treated with certain Undertakers who Built several places in the *Tuilleries*, the Castle of *Madrid*, and at *Fontainebleau*, to breed Silk-Worms, (they sending every year into *Spain* for the Eggs) and gave order for the planting great Numbers of white *Mullberry*-Trees, and raising Nurseries of them in all the adjacent Parishes, the Leaves of those Trees serving as Pasture for those precious Worms or Catterpillers.

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1603. In the year 1599. he had by Edict Prohibited all Foreign Manufactures, as well of Silk, as Gold, Silver, pure or mixt, at the request of the Merchants of *Tours*, who pretended to make quantities sufficient to furnish the whole Kingdom. But as those kind of Establishments accommodate only the Undertakers, and incommode all others, it was soon found, that this Project ruined the City of *Lyons*, which may justly be called the Golden Gate of *France*, destroy'd their Fairs, and withal diminished the Customs by one half. These Considerations tendred to the King, as he was never obstinate to prefer his absolute Authority to evident Reason and Demonstration, he made no scruple to revoke it.

In the Month of *June*, *Ferdinand de Velasco* Constable of *Castille* passed thorow *France* on his way to *England* to finish that Treaty of Peace with King *James*, which *Taxis* the Ambassador in Ordinary from *Spain* had begun. I shall here observe, that he concluded it about the middle of *June* in the following year: to the great regret of the King of *France*, who knew by this what he was to hope for from King *James*, a Prince heedless and timorous, a Philosopher in words, yet having nothing but the meen of a Soldier: And who withal was not yet so well settled in *England*, as to venture or dare to shock any one of his Neighbours.

Divers things caused great inquietudes in the King; There were some which May, June, troubled his Divertisements, and others that tended to the disturbance of his July, &c. Kingdom. The Jealousies the Queen his Wife had of his Amours; the Malice of his Mistresses, especially the Marchioness de *Verneuil*; the heats of the Count de *Soissons*, which many times broke out upon Points of Honor, for the most part rather imaginary than real, and the Insolency's of the Duke d' *Espernon* were of the first sort. The procedure of the zealous Catholics, who sought by oblique Methods to engage him to ruin the *Huguenots*, as on the opposite the Discontents of the *Huguenots* who endeavour'd to Cantonize that they might not be taken unprovided, were of the second.

We shall Discourse of the two first Points hereafter. As for the Count de *Soissons*, being already much offended for that *Rosny* had refused to allow him a certain Impost upon Linnen-Cloath, which he begg'd of the King, the false Reports made to him by the Marchioness of *Verneuil*, push'd him on to such an extremity of resentment: that he talked of nothing but to be revenged by the Death of *Rosny*; and although the King did openly enough take part with this last, he could never allay the Count's Passion, but by obliging *Rosny* to disown by a Publick Writing, what he was accused to have spoken of the Count, and offer to fight any Man that durst maintain the contrary.

The Brave *Grillon* had suffer'd himself to be persuaded to lay down his Command of *Mestre de Camp* in the Regiment of Guards, the Duke of *Espernon* Colonel of the *French* Infantry, took it to be his Right to Nominate; the King would retrench that Right, and had destin'd it for *Croquy* Son-in-Law to *Lesdiguières*. *Espernon* after having made all his efforts by Intrigues and by Remonstrances, to maintain his pretended Right, retired Male-content to *Angoulême*: Nevertheless being informed the King threatned to follow him, he was advised to submit to his Pleasure: When the King saw he acquiesced obediently, he did him Justice; for he order'd *Croquy* to wait upon him in that Country, to make Oath to him, and to take his Attach on his Provisions.

However he reserved the disposal of that Office, and the like in all other the old Bodies: but would have them be subject to the same Devoirs towards their Colonel: That when two Companies hapned to be vacant in the Regiment, he would fill up one by Nomination of the Colonel, who should not be installed, nor take place, but from the day they had given their Oaths to that Officer, and taken his Attache: That as for the like Officers in other Regiments, the Colonel should Nominate, and he choose Captains out of those so named; and as to the Lieutenants, Ensign-Colonels, Sergeant-Majors, and their Ayds, Prevosts, *Mareschaux de Logis*, and other Officers, he should dispose of such by his sole Authority. Which raised his Power above that of Princes, and almost in a condition to make Head against the King himself.

In the Council his Ministers animated with Zeal against the *Huguenots*, and too much persuaded of the Spanish Grandeur, endeavour'd to divide the King from the Protestants, to reduce him to an entire submission to the Pope, to bring in the Jesuits, and to unite him with *Spain* and *Rome*, thereby to extirpate *Calvinisme* from all his Territories. *Taxis* Ambassador from the Catholick King, offer'd him

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1603. him all the Forces of Spain for that purpose, representing that the Huguenots were the greatest Enemies to his Person, and often had solicited King Philip to help them to dethrone him. He was, indeed, but too well informed that the Chiefs of the Huguenots, as *Bouillon*, *la Trimouille* his Brother in Law, *Du Plessis-Mornay*, *Lefdignieres*, and some Gentlemen that were his Domesticks, but had quitted him when he went to Mals, and almost all the Protestant Ministers, had no more that Love for him which otherwhile they had shown, but sighed after some other Protector. He could not, how-ever, resolve to treat those as Enemies who had so tenderly nursed and bred him up, and had Sacrificed every thing for his sake; and he consider'd withal, that if he could have forgot their eminent Services, he must thereby have alienated from him all the Protestant Princes, and have remained alone exposed to the Mercy of the same Power and Persons that had formed the League, which was what they desired. He chose therefore rather to restrain the hatred of particulars, without designing, or indeed daring, to fall upon the whole Body of them.

The Duke de *la Trimouille* was he who discovering himself with most Confidence, rendred himself the most Criminal, not so much by Actions, as by his Discourses. His Strength lay in *Poitou*, where he had his Estate and Friends; The King to destroy his Credit and his Intelligences, thought fit to give the Government to *Rosny*; And to this effect, knowing that *Malicorne* and the Marechal de *Laverdin*, who had the Reversion the one after the other, were content to part with it, and that they even offer'd it him for some of his Children, he gave them Twenty thousand Crowns reward, that he might bestow it on his Super-Intendant.

October. A little while before, about the beginning of October, the Huguenots had held a Synod at *Gap* in *Dauphiné*, where they made several Reiglements for their Ecclesiastical Discipline. Amongst others, That the Word of God should be the sole foundation of their Theology and their Sermons; That those Scholastick Disputes wont to be used in their Synods, should be sent back to their Schools; That they should have no Effigies upon their Tombs, nor Coats of Arms or Escutcons in their Temples. They likewise ordained many things for the maintenance and good order of their Colleges and Academies, and for the instituting of Seminaries and Libraries in each Province.

November. One of their main ends, was to conciliate the Lutherans with the Zuinglians and Calvinists: for the first were a more bitter Enemy to these than to the Catholics themselves: they invited therefore some Doctors of the Palatinat who were Calvinists, and some others from divers Parts of Germany who were Lutherans to come thither. After they had heard them all, they thought there could be no better way to suppress and silence the Discords between them, than by turning the Heat and Hatred of both Parties against the Pope, whom they knew to be their common Foe. With this Prospect, the more Factious caused it to be decreed that from thenceforward it should be one Article of Faith amongst them, That the Pope was the Anti-Christ, and in that quality should be inserted in their Confession, which should be sent and recommended to all the Protestant Churches in Christendom.

The Minister *Ferrier*, possessed with an impious and turbulent Ambition, was chief Promoter of it. The more Prudent amongst them, even the great *Scaliger*, condemned this Decree, as the monstrous Product of a violent Cabal, and acknowledged that the Name of Anti-Christ could no way be suteable or appropriate to *Clement VIII.* who was very moderate towards those of their Religion. The Pope's Nuncio and the whole Clergy of France were moved and provoked at it as became them, and carried their Complaints to the King; who thought himself more concerned and affronted yet than they, as by consequence reproaching him that he worshipped the Beast, and which was more, cut him out very dangerous work at Rome. He therefore made use of all his Authority, and all the interest he had in those of greatest Credit amongst the Huguenot Party, to get them to abolish the said Decree; But not being able to persuade them to annul it, he did however so order things that it remained (unexecuted, and) only in the Heads of those that forged it. Four years after, viz. in Anno 1607. the Factious brought it again above-board, and got it confirmed in their Assembly at *Rocheil*; And for the second time, also, he hindred the effect of it.

After his Voyage of *Metz*, the Jesuits earnestly solicited to be recalled: they had grand intrigues at Court, they had very potent friends there, who urged that

1603. that none but they were capable to instruct youth, and to convert the Huguenots. Father *Cotton* who never forsook the Court but preached there with great applause summon'd the King day by day to make good his promise, the Nuncio press'd him on behalf of his Holiness, *Villetoy* and *Sillery* joined their good Offices, but their most prevalent Solicitor was *William Bonquet la Varenne*, Comptroller General of the Post-Office, who from the meanest employments of the Kings House, had raised himself to the Cabinet or Closet, by those complaisances and Ministeries, which are the most agreeable to the great ones. This detestable Courtier had a huge fancy to enrich and illustrate *la Flesche* the place of his Nativity, and whereof the King had given him the Government: he had already set up a Presidial, an Election, and a Salt-work; all of a new Creation: the Crown of his desires was now to see a Colledge of Jesuits Established there; to this end the King had given him his Palace, had assigned eleven thousand Crowns of Revenue, and vast Sums of ready Money to build and to maintain it; and gave order that his heart and that of his Queen, and of all his Successors should be buried in their Church there.

When his intentions on this Subject were made known, there was not one in all the Council that durst open his lips against it. He therefore gave them an Edict for their re-establishment, Which confirmed them in those Houses from whence they had not been expell'd, restored them to those of Lyons and Dijon, and to all that belonged to them; yet not without several conditions very necessary, but which time or favour have easily abolished.

This Edict being not brought to the Parliament till some few dayes before the September vacations, which begin on the eighth of September, the Company put off the business till after Saint Martins day, that it might be considered at more leisure. November. The Chambers Assembled ordered to make most humble remonstrances to the King, to let him know the justice and necessity of that Decree or Act, by which they had banished the Society. The Month of December being pass'd whilst they were drawing it up, *André Hurand de Maisse* who had a Vote in Parliament, went thither from the King to hasten them, and to let them understand, he would have them to do it by word of Mouth, and not in Writing, (contrary to what he had desired of them in the Money-business.) Upon Christmas Eve the Deputies being admitted into the Kings Closet, *Achilles de Harlay* first President spake for them.

The weight of his reasons supported by the dignity of so grave a Magistrate, and with the force of his Eloquence, were enough to have convinced the King, had he not been absolutely fixed in his resolution: but as he gave Audience to those Gentlemen only to make the Restoration of the Society the more authentic, he was not at all moved. After his giving thanks to the Members of Parliament, with his accustomed benignity, for the care they shewed of the common good, and for the security of his person, he replied, that he had well foreseen and considered all those objections, and inconveniencies which they laid before him: but that they must trust him with the care of providing against those, and desired that his Edict might be verified without any modification. The Officers belonging to the King did notwithstanding delay the dispatch of it, and essay'd to put some stop to the verification: but the King having sent for them treated them with rough Language, and enjoyned them to set about it that very day; they were therefore forced to obey.

Thus the ignominy of the Jesuits banishment, served to heighten the glory of their return, and to procure them a more noble establishment; For in lieu of ten or twelve Colledges which they had before, in a short time they got eight or nine additional ones in the best Cities of the Kingdom, as invited with great civility by divers, and admitted into others by force of Orders and Interest of Friends; they now saw themselves installed in a Royal Palace, which they made their most sumptuous Colledge; And that condition in the Edict which obliged them, to have always attending upon the King one of their Society, a Frenchman, and sufficiently authorized amongst them, to serve him as a Preacher, or Chaplain, and to be responsible for the actions of the Company, instead of blemishing, as those imagin'd who had thrust it in, proved to them the greatest honour they possibly could desire, for it impowred them to give Confessors to the King.

Father *Cotton* was the first of theirs that held that place: all honest people did mightily rejoyce, imagining he could shew no connivence for the Kings

1604. Kings amours, but that he would make use together with his mildness and prudence, of the power, of his Ministry, which certainly was most necessary to cure him of an infirmity that was become habitual. He did not want for qualities proper to make him successful either within the sphere of the Court or of the wider World: his circumspection, his complaisance, and dexterity to lay hold of time and opportunities, did soon insinuate into the Kings favour, and oft-times into his very bosom and most retired thoughts.

1605. I shall say once for all the Credit of these Jesuits was so great at Court, that the following year they prevailed to have that Pyramid demolished, upon one face whereof was engraven the Sentence of *Chastels* Condemnation, and their Banishment, and on the other three divers Inscriptions in Verse and Prose very biting and very injurious to them. To take away the Brand-mark from the forehead of the Society, they must pull down that Monument which taught men to curse that hellish Parricide. It was desired it might have been done by a Decree of Parliament: but when they found the Sentiments of that great Company were quite contrary, they did it without further application to them: tho' not without giving the World a just occasion to speak variously concerning it. In the place of that Pyramid they made a Conduit or Fountain, all whose streams of Water though clear and plentiful shall never be able to wash away the memory of so horrid a Crime.

1604. February. At the beginning of the year, the death of Madam *Catherine* Dutches of *Bar*, interrupted the divertisements of the Court, and clothed it in Mourning. A tumor in her Womb, (which her Physicians, Flatterers, and Ignorants affirmed to be a true conception and treated her accordingly) made her lose her life the thirteenth day of February in the City of *Nancy*. To be reconciled with her Husband, she had divers times suffer'd disputes of Religion between some of the Catholick Doctors and her Ministers, but with no other success then what the like Conferences are wont to produce, viz. to make the truth more obscure. She had also given some hopes that she should be instructed: notwithstanding she obstinately persisted in her first belief to her very death.

March and April. The secret consultations and resolutions of the Council of *France* were known to the Council of *Spain*, almost as soon as they were taken, the King was mightily troubled at it, and knew not at whose door to lay the blame; the discovery of the Treachery of *Nicholas P Hofte*, brought it to light. This was a young Clerk of *Villeroy's*, whom his Master employ'd in deciphering Letters and dispatches. He was Son of one his Domesticks, and his own Godson; he bred him up in his own house, and for his first employment placed him with *Rochepot* whilst he was Ambassador in *Spain*. In that Country a Frenchman named *Rafis* a Native of *Bourdeaux*, (who for his having been too hot a Leaguer, could not attain the Kings permission to remain in *France*, and therefore was retired to *Madrid*) corrupted and prevail'd with him to accept a Pension of twelve hundred Crowns to betray the secrets of his Master; and after his return into *France* he continued to earn it by the same infidelity. Now *Rafis* at length finding they neglected to pay him his own allowance discover'd this intrigue to *Barrault* the French Ambassador: *Barrault* assured him of a good reward, and to get a pardon for him; In effect they sent him one immediately: but when he found it was Signed by *Villeroy*, he judged it would not be safe for him to stay any longer in *Spain*, and desired to be gone at soonest. The Ambassador therefore lent him Money and his Secretary to conduct him into *France*.

His fears were just, for so soon as the Council of *Spain* knew of their departure, they gave notice of it to their Ambassador in *France*, by an express Courier, who got thither two dayes before them. They did not find *Villeroy* at *Paris*, but at a house of his own name on his way to *Fontainebleau* where the Court was. He did not think fit to send presently to apprehend *P Hofte* who was yet at *Paris*, till he had first spoken to the King; the next day *P Hofte* came to *Fontainebleau*, but as soon as he spied *Rafis* he immediately slunk away, the Spanish Ambassador having appointed a *Flemming* to conduct him to the Low-Countries by *Champagne*.

May. The Provost des *Mareschaux* hastens to overtake them, and pursues him so close, that the unfortunate fellow had not time to get into the Ferry-boat, hard by *la Ferté*: but hearing the noise of Horses, (it was in the night) ventures to wade cross the *Marne* and was drowned. It is not known whether by chance or despair, or whether his Guide played him that sly trick, to prevent the discovery

1604. very of his Accomplices. His Body was brought to *Paris*, the Parliament made his Process, and Condemned him to be drawn by four Horses in *Grève*; which was Executed the nineteenth of May. Such as were Enemies to *Villeroy* rejoiced at this misfortune: they would willingly have charged his Servants fault on him, but not daring to Accuse him of infidelity, they taxed him with negligence. The King was for some days a little reserved towards him, however considering his great and real grief, and the necessity of his Services, instead of adding to his affliction, he took part with him, and had the generosity to console him.

The Council of *Spain* were in despair for that the *French* passed in great numbers to the Service of the *Hollanders*, and every year the King furnished those Provinces with six hundred thousand Livres in ready Money. These succours had put King *Philip* to so great an expence, that not knowing where to get any more Cash, he laid an Impost of thirty per Cent. upon all Goods imported into his Dominions, or exported thence. The King could not suffer such exaction, which enriched his Enemies to the loss of his Subjects: he prohibited all Commerce to the Low-Countries and *Spain*; and observing that the appetite of gain tempted the Merchants, who for the most part value no other Sovereign but their Interest, to infringe his Laws, he added great penalties to it. This was to begin a rupture, the *Spaniard* set a good face upon it, as if they much desired it: but underhand solicited the Popes mediation: who put an end to this dispute by perswading them to take off the new impost on the one hand, and the prohibition on the other.

Not daring openly to revenge himself upon the King, he endeavoured at least to contrive some private means to perplex and displease him. *Taxis*, his Ambassador, had concern'd himself in the intrigues of the *Marchioness de Verneuil*; *Balthazar de Saniga*, who succeeded him, follow'd his Foot-steps, and held secret correspondence with five or six *Italians* who absolutely governed the Queen, particularly *Conchino Conchini* a noble *Florentine*, and *Leonora Galigay*, a Bed-Chamber woman to that Princess, whom *Conchini* had Married. She was the homeliest Creature about the Court, and of very abject birth: but that great Empire she had over her Mistress, repaired all the defects both of her person and condition.

The King as weak in his passions and domestick Affairs, as valiant and rough in War, had neither the heart to reduce his Wife to obedience, nor to rid his hands of his Mistresses, who were cause of all his Domestick broils. Those little *Italian* people, to render themselves more necessary, exasperated the spirits they should have allay'd, and by the malignity of their Reports and Councils increased the Queens discontents; so that instead of reclaiming the King by alluring Cares (for he would be flattered) and endeavouring to regain his affection with the same Arts others made use of to steal it from her, she made him loath her Society with her Eternal grumblings and bitter reproaches. This contest betwixt Man and Wife was the perpetual business of the Court; their Confidants were no less busily employ'd in these Negotiations, then the Council was in the most important Affairs of State; and this disorder lasted as long as their Marriage, being sometimes quieted and laid asleep for a few days, then wak'd and rous'd again by fresh occasions, and accordingly as those *Bouteux* thought fit.

The Marchioness, on her part crafty and coquette, used all her artifice to maintain those fewds, which maintain'd her felicity. Amongst her Jest with which she made the King merry, she often mixed some insolencies against the Queen, and upon divers occasions would make her self her equal, spake meanly of her extraction, and then would counterfeit the Gate, her gestures, and her way of speaking. These offences did so much heighten the resentments of this Princess, that she with outrageous Language threatned a severe Revenge; the Marchioness having reason therefore to apprehend more then a bare affront: and withal displeased with the King for not taking her part, made use of an artifice common enough amongst those Female Politicians when designing to revive a dying passion: She feigned to be touched with a remorse of Conscience and Christian sorrow: the fear of God, said she, would suffer her no more to think of what was past but only to do penance for it, and that of her own life, and Childrens forbid her to see the King in private. She went yet farther, and begged leave of him to seek a Sanctuary out of the Kingdom for her and hers.

This Artifice had not at first its effect: for the Holy time of *Easter* approaching, he was resolved to take her at her word, and to give her leave to retire into *England*, where she might have the Duke of *Lenox* her near Kinsman to support

March,
April, &c.

1604. port her, but not to carry her Children. As to the rest, to qualifie the Queens discontent, he desired she should surrender up the Promise of Marriage he had given her, and with which she made so much noise, shewing it to any one that had the curiosity to see it. His intreaties were not prevalent enough, he was obliged to make use of his Authority, together with Twenty thousand Crowns in Money, and the hopes of a Marechal's Staff for the Father. Upon which Conditions she deliver'd it in the presence of some Princes and Lords, who verified, and witnessed in Writing that it was the Original.

After all this, the Queen being satisfied, and the Marchioness appearing no more, the Tempest seemed to be allay'd, when the King discover'd that *Entragues*, Father of the said Lady, and the Count *d' Auvergne* had contrived a dangerous design with King Philip's Ambassador; It was to convey the Marchioness into Spain with her Children; which was negociated with *Balthazar de Siniaga*, Ambassador from the Catholick King, by the management of a certain *English* Gentleman named *Morgan*. It was reported, whether true; or false, how the Count *d' Auvergne* having acquainted the Spaniards with the Promise of Marriage the King had given the Marchioness, had made a secret Treaty with them; by which King Philip promised his assistance, to set her Son in the Throne: And to that purpose would furnish them with Five hundred thousand Livres in Money, and order the Forces he had in *Catalogne* to March, and second the Party who were to Cantonize in *Guyenne* and *Languedoc*. Nay, much more was mention'd, but few believed it, as that the Count had framed an Attempt upon the Life of the King, and that he was to dispatch him when he came to visit the Marchioness, then seize upon the *Dauphin*.

June, &c.

Now after the Death of *P. Hofte*, the Count finding the Intrigue began to be discover'd, retired into *Auvergne*, upon pretence of a Quarrel which hapned to him at Court: The Business being taken into Deliberation by the Council, some gave their Opinions he ought to be treated like the Marechal *de Biron*; but the King would by no means proceed after that manner: The example would have been of Consequence to his Bastards; So that the Constable, and the Duke *de Vendadour*, the former, Father in Law to the Count, and the other his Brother in Law, found it no difficult matter to get a Pardon for the Life of that wretched Man, upon condition however that he should Travel three years in the Levant.

July.

When he thought himself out of Danger, he offer'd the King, if he would be pleas'd to give him his full Liberty, to continue his Correspondence with the Spaniards that he might discover all their Secrets, and give him a true account thereof. The King seemed to confide in his Promises, soon discover'd that he neither kept Faith with him nor his Enemies, but juggled with both. Thereupon he Commands him to Court: The Count excuses it, till he had his full and authentick Pardon; they sent it to him, but with this Clause, *That he should come to the King*: He could not find in his heart, to relye upon the word of a Prince whom he had so often deceived; so that the King resolv'd he should be Apprehended in *Auvergne*. The Count stood much upon his guard, and thought there was no Man in the world able to surprize him being so well fore-warn'd; Notwithstanding *Nerestan*, and the Baron of *Eurre*, having inticed him into the Field to be present at the Muster of a Company of *Gens-d'armes* belonging to the Duke of *Vendosme*, surrounded and dismounted him, and took him in such manner as is at length related by the Historians of those times.

July.

Septemb. &c.

At the same time *Entragues* and his Wife were seized in their House at *Malesherbes*, and the Marchioness in her *Hofel* at *Paris*. The Count was brought to the *Bastille*, and *Entragues* to the *Conciergerie*, or Common-Goal of *Paris*. It was necessary that all the world might see and know the Spaniards still maintained Factions in France: The King therefore commanded his Parliament, to proceed against these Criminals: The event we shall shew in the next years Transactions.

May.

Another Faction also did much discompose the King's Thoughts. He could not deny the *Hugonots* leave to Assemble at *Chastelleraut*: and it was to be feared the Intrigues of the Marechal *de Bouillon*, and Credit of the Duke *de la Trimouille* and *du Plessis Mornay* should put them upon Resolutions contrary to his will and interest. But *Rhosny* under colour of going to take Possession of his Government of *Poitou*, broke their measures: And *la Trimouille* falling into Convulsions, and then languishing, died some while after, Aged not above Four and Thirty years.

years. He was a Noble-man of great Courage, and of most eminent Qualities; but not of such as suited with a Monarchick State.

1604.

The King diverted himself, amidst all these Intrigues, with Buildings and other such like Occupations, when his leisure would give him leave, as tended to the improvement of his Kingdom. King Henry III. had begun the *Pont-Neuf*, having built two Arches, and brought the Pyles for the rest above the Water mark; Henry IV. finish'd it, so that People began to pass over about the end of the preceding year. He carried on the Works also of the *Louver Galleries*, the Castles *Saint Germain en Laye*, *Fontainebleau*, and *Monceaux*, which last he had bestow'd upon his Wife. After his Example, all the Great and the Rich fell to Building; the City of *Paris* was visibly enlarged and embellished: The Hospital *Saint Lewis* was Erected, for such as were infected with the Plague. Some private people undertook the Place, (or Square) Royal: and others offer'd to make a much finer one in the *Marefc du Temple*.

They likewise offer'd at many Projects, to make several Rivers Navigable which either had never yet been so, or else were now choaked up; and to open a Communication between the greatest, by means of the lesser lying nearest together with some new Channels where it should be necessary, to carry it from the one to the other. They proffer'd to joyn the *Seine* to the *Loire*, the *Loire* to the *Soane*, and the *Garonne* with the *Aude*, which falls into the *Mediterraneum*, near *Narbonne*: The Conjunction of these two last would have made that of the two Seas.

May.

As for that of the *Seine* and the *Loire*, *Rhosny* undertook it, drawing a Channel from *Briare*, which lies on the *Seine*, to *Chastillon*, above *Montargis*, upon the River *Loin*, and falls into the *Seine* at *Moret*. In this Channel they Collected all the Waters of the adjacent Rivolets, designing to make Two and thirty Sluces to retain, and let them go by flashes, when needful to convey their Boats. He Expended above Three hundred thousand Crowns, but the change of Government made this design to miscarry, though very much advanc'd. It was, a long while after, taken up again, and compleated at last.

In the Month of October, a new Phenomena was observed in the Heavens, which appeared four Months together. It was at first taken for the Planet Venus, because although it exceeded all the other Stars in Magnitude and Splendour, yet had it no Tail; but Observation soon found it was different from that Planet, for they both appeared at the same time. John Kepler a very Learned Mathematician, wrote a Treatise of its Motion, according to the Rules of Astronomy, without troubling himself or the World, to no purpose, like the Judicial Prognosticators, who upon this Apparition, and the Conjunctions and Oppositions of some other Planets hapning this year, and such as were to happen the year following, made, as is usual, divers strange and terrible Predictions.

There was for about two Months an extream Scarcity in *Languedoc*, and which would have caused a horrible Famine had they not been furnished with Wheat from *Champagne* and *Burgundy* by the Rivers of *Soane* and the *Rhone*. The Plague also rag'd in several Provinces of France; the foregoing year it had afforded Death a most plentiful Harvest in England.

March, &c.

When the Plague was ceased in those Countries, King James held his first Parliament in London, to whom having made a Gracious and Royal Speech concerning the happy Union of the two Kingdoms, the Affection he had for his Subjects, the Laws and Regulations they were to make, he desired of his Parliament, and they granted it, That from thence forward the Kingdoms of England and Scotland should be joyned into one Body, under the Denomination of GREAT BRITAIN, otherwise used by the Romans: Whereupon was Coined that Medal, bearing this Inscription, HENRICUS ROSAS, REGNA JACOBUS. His Speech was full of excellent things, amongst others, That he did not believe, as Flatterers would fain persuade their Princes, that God bestowed Kingdoms upon Men to satisfy their unruly Lusts, and Pleasures, but to take care of the Peace and Welfare of the People; That the Head was made for the Body, not the Body for the Head: The Prince for the People, not the People for the Prince.

The Subtil Scholiasts have so great an itch to bring every thing into Dispute, that some Jesuits moved this year three Questions at Rome which begot great Contentions in that

March, &c.

1604. that Court, and greater Scandal thorow-out all Christendom : The First, That it was not an Article of Faith to believe that Clement VIII. was Pope ; which so enraged the Holy Father, as without the Intercession of the Spanish Ambassador, the Society had been in great Danger. The Second, That Sacramental Confession might be made by Letter. The Third was, The Novell Opinion of Molina, the Spanish Jesuit, touching Grace, of which we shall perhaps, make mention elsewhere. I call it Novell, because that Author vaunted himself the Inventor of it, as a thing wholly unknown to the Ancient Fathers, who by this, said he, might have avoided a great deal of Embarras, had they lighted on the Notion. The Jesuits for Self-Preservation were forc'd to renounce the two First ; which notwithstanding were rather stifled, than Condemned : but they maintain'd the Third, with all their force, against the Dominicans, These attack'd it as an Opinion which destroy'd that of their Saint Thomas, and even that of Saint Augustin which hath been received and allowed by all the Latine Church.

By too eager an endeavour to encrease the King's Revenue, the Super-Intendant brought such disorder into the State, as can never be made worse but by the continuation of it. Formerly, the Offices of Judicature and of the Treasury might be resigned, but the Resignee was to live Forty days after, otherwise the King was to provide one. Now *Rhosny* considering that the King made no benefit upon such Vacancies by Death, but was obliged to bestow them at the importunity of Courtiers, he bethought him of a way to bring great Emoluments to the Exchequer. Which was, to secure the Office to the Wife and Heirs of those that were in Possession ; provided they would yearly pay the Sixtieth Denier of that Finance, or Revenue, those Offices had been valued at ; in Default whereof they should upon their Death revert to the Profit of the King. This was called, in Exchequer-terms the *Droit Annuel* : The Vulgar named it, *La Paulette*, from the Name of *Paulet* the first Contractor : In some Provinces they gave it that of *La Palote*, because the Officers there had to do with one named *Palot*, who undertook it after *Paulet*. This favour was first granted but for Nine years, but it has been renewed for the said term, from time to time to this very day.

Unless stark Blind, they might with half an Eye foresee that this Edict would consequently and necessarily perpetuate the Sale of Offices, besides the impossibility of reducing them, (as they ought) to their ancient Number ; That it would raise the prizes of them to that monstrous excess as we have by Experience known. That it would make those that held them less dependant on the King, as tied only by their Purse-Strings ; That it would make their Children become Careless, Ignorant, Unjust, and Proud, as being certain to enjoy the Offices of their Fathers ; That it would bar the way to Honor against People of Quality or Merit ; and open it to People of no Birth, Capacity, or Honor ; to Solicitors, Pedling-Merchants, and Excise-men, That it would excite a violent appetite after Riches, the only means now to attain Employments, and by the same consequence a contempt of Virtue, as only fit to be the companion of Poverty : And, which indeed is the greatest of all these Mischiefs, it would at once take away all future hope of recovering satisfaction for any Injustice, or Oppression done, since they must certainly have the Successors of those very Men to be their Judges, who had oppressed them.

And indeed no one Court throughout the Kingdom ; (while they had nothing in their Prospect but the good of the Nation) did much incline to accept of it : So that they only read and published a Declaration in form of an Edict, at the Court of Chancery in the year 1605. But when particular Men, (making reflexions) considered their Families would receive vast advantages, they consented to the publick loss, for their own private Gain ; which perhaps in time may not prove altogether so much as they had flatter'd themselves withall. The Chancellor *Believre* kept the said Declaration in his hands for some Months, and did not then pass it, till he was in danger of losing the Seals for it ; which he could not hold much longer however, for *Sillery's* interest forced them out of his Possession.

Men of upright Honesty could have wish'd that instead of this odd kind of Establishment, they would rather have taken away not only the Sale of Offices, but likewise all Salaries, Wages, Spices, and Presents, without leaving any other Emoluments but the Honor of the Magistracy, and hopes of future Rewards for their long, or their eminent Services in the due Administration of Justice.

This

Decemb.

1604. This Method, said they (besides that it would have produced the advantages contrary to those inconveniences which are pointed at above in the Establishment of the *Paulette*) would have been of vast Profit to the King, by easing or discharging his Coffers of the Wages to so many Officers : It would have reduced the Charges to a very small Sum, and have discharged the publick of huge Burthenes, besides the Plague of tedious Sutes in Law. For there could have been none but Men of Integrity and Probity, that would have undertaken those Offices thus denuded of Profit, and such Magistrates being totally disinterested, and not in a possibility of getting by delays, would most certainly have endeavour'd to do speedy and impartial Justice, and retrench those Formalities, and little quirks and shifts by the severe Punishment of litigious Pettifoggers : And there was no need to fear but that amongst such huge numbers of Learned Men, wherewith France then flourished and abounded, even amongst the Gentry and the richer sort, there would have been enough willing to undertake those Offices gratis, and who till their Prince should have thought fit to reward their Vertue and Diligence otherwise would have satisfied themselves with the pleasure of well doing, and the real delight of being commended, respected, honoured and by all ingenious Persons highly applauded : a Motive which alone does daily prompt the more brave and generous to venture their Estates and Lives, and wherewith the best governed States have ever rewarded the Noblest Actions, rather than with Money, which renders Judges covetous and mercenaries, proud and voluptuous, unjust and oppressors.

We must not step out of this year 1604. without briefly mentioning the Siege of Ostend, which never shall be forgotten. It lasted Three years and Seventy eight days, during which time it was the School and Cock-Pit of all that were the bravest Warriors in Christendom, the exercise of the best Ingeniers, and most dextrous Inventors of Machines, and the Spectacle of the curious and inquisitive who flocked thither from all Parts, and gazed at the sight as on a Miracle. The Arch-Duke began it the Fifth of July in the year 1601. The renowned Ambrose Spinola put an end to it the Twentieth day of September in this year 1604. having had the honor to reduce the place to a Capitulation.

It had the advantage of receiving daily Supplies by Sea ; so that when ever the Garrison was tyred, they could send them out, and take a Recruit of all fresh Soldiers in their stead. By this means the Besieged disputed their ground foot by foot, and did not Surrender till they had no more Earth left to cover themselves. When the Spaniards were come in, and found the Walls beaten quite down by the Cannon, the Earth all torn up with their Mines, and nothing remaining but Rubbish and Ruine, they were but little satisfied for having bought so dear a little heap of Dust and Sand, (or rather a place of Burial) which cost them above Ten Millions of Money, Seventy thousand Men, and Three hundred thousand Cannon-Shot ; not reckning the Cities of Rhimbergue, Grave, Sluce, Ardembourg, with the Forts of Iffendre and Cadfant, taken by Count Maurice, whilst they were pelting at this Siege.

In these times, there hapned a notable Change in the Kingdom of Sweden. The King Gustavus Eric-son had set up the Confession of Ausburg in the place of the Catholick Religion, and bred his two Sons in that Profession, namely John who succeeded him, and Charles Duke of Sudermania. John maintained the same, yet notwithstanding, whether he were not fully satisfied, or were over-persuaded by his Wife who was a Catholick, he caus'd Sigismond his Eldest Son to be bred up in that Religion. Besides this Sigismond, he had also another Son named John Sigismond was Elected King of Poland in the year 1587. during the Life of his Father, and went into that Country ; the Second remained in Sweden : Now, when King John died in Anno 1592. he by Will, either real or supposed, left the Government of the Kingdom of Sweden to his Brother Charles : this Prince making good use of the Assistance of the Lutherans, to Exclude his Nephew, and get into the Throne himself, managed his Design so Prudently, that he had the Government of the said Kingdom settled upon him by the Estates, Anno 1595. and afterwards obliged them to take the Crown from the Sigismonds, Anno 1599. And, in fine, after a War of some years, to place it upon his Head : Which was done this year 1604. Sigismond not being ever able to wrest it from him again ; so that after his Death it descended to the Great Gustavus his Son, and to his Heirs.

1604.

Decemb.

From the year 1602. until the year 1604.

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During

1605. During the Balls and Mascarades which since the Peace ever began the year, they went on with the Process against the Count d' Auvergne, and his Complices with the more diligence, because the Queen seemed to be a Party, the King not to exasperate her, shewed no less heat then she, and the Parliament made all the dispatch they possibly could. But the intentions of all three were very different, for the Queens were to chastize a Mistress of the Kings, that hereafter such as succeeded might dread her anger; as for the Parliament such as minded Courtship, more then to unriddle the hearts of Kings, thought they did great service by proceeding with all severity; and as for the King, he had no mind to disgrace his Mistress, for fear of distasting those by whom he expected to be obliged; he only desired a thundring Arrest, (or Decree) might pull down that haughty spirit and make her readily submit, who of late treated him like a meer stranger, and to his enjoyment opposed the fear of God, and the prohibitions of her Confessor.

The Count d' Auvergne was Examined three times; the King having given notice to the Parliament, by his Attorney-General, that they ought to have no regard to his pardon, nor that Brevet he had granted him. Entragues, the Marchioness his Daughter, and Morgan were likewise interrogated; the Count laid all upon the Marchioness his Sister, believing the King could never find in his heart to ruine her: he cast all the reproaches on her he possibly could express, and she upon him. Entragues on the contrary did wholly acquit her, and took all upon himself, chusing rather to hazard three or four years of a languishing remainder of life (for he was above seventy three years of age) then to put his dear Daughter in danger of losing her head with ignominy.

February. The business was carried on with such heat, that the first day of February there was an Arrest, (or Act) which condemned the Count, Entragues and Morgan to be beheaded in Greve; and the Marchioness to be reclused in a Nunnery at Beaumont near Tours, till more ample Information concerning her. The Queen received much joy, yet reaped not all the advantage she expected from this grand Arrest: for the King acquainted the Court, by his procurer, or Solicitor General, that he desired the Sentence might be suspended till he had made a more narrow inspection. When therefore he had humbled the haughty Marchioness by so terrible a Decree, he began to show favour that he might obtain some from her, and caused an instrument to be passed under the Great Seal, which was verified in Parliament the three and twentieth of March, giving her liberty to retire to her house of Vernueil.

March. After all this there were some people in Parliament so unacquainted with intrigues of this nature that they importun'd him for leave to pronounce Judgment: but he eluded their pursuits by divers delays; and at length by other instruments commuted the punishment of the Count, and of Entragues, to a perpetual imprisonment, and then restored them to all their honours and estates, though not to their Offices and Commands. Soon after he allotted Entragues his house of Malesherbes for his Prison: and as for Morgan he only banished him the Kingdom for ever. Seven Months being pass'd, and no new proofs coming in against the Marchioness, for indeed who could have taken the pains to produce any? the King gave her a Writing of the sixteenth of December which declared her perfectly innocent, and imposed perpetual silence on his Solicitor General touching that Fact.

Septemb. The Count d' Auvergne being the most dangerous, was therefore handled the worst, they left him in the Bastille, where he remained twelve years, without any other consolation then what he received from good and ingenious Books, the faithful companions for all Ages, fortunes and places.

During these amorous intrigues, which were managed as grand Affairs of State, the King began to engage in affection with Jaqueline de Bueil, whom he made Countess of Moret; yet nevertheless he soon after recalled the Marchioness, whose charming humour and conversation ever seasoned with pleasant raileries, and piquant reflexions upon the other Court Ladies, did most agreeably divert his mind, from the too intense thoughts of his Affairs, and vexations caused by the ill humors of his Wife: but on the other hand, it begot new Brouilleries every hour with her, as also frequent punctillios between the other Lords and Ladies of this Court: a Subject much more worthy and fit for a Romance, then such a Chronicle, but which have occasion'd the most considerable Events in the Court of France since the Reign of Francis I.

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As to the business of Ladies, I must note, that Queen Margaret having often earnestly desired permission to come to Paris, especially after she knew the Queen was the Mother of several Children, failed not, that she might merit that favour, to concern her self very much in discovering the contrivances of the Count d' Auvergne, whereof she gave punctual accounts to the King: so that, in fine, he resolved to grant her request. She arrived then at Paris in the Month of August; and they assigned her the Castle of Madrid in the Bois de Boulogne to lodge in. She staid there six weeks, thence removed her Lodging to the Hotel de Sens: but there, an odd accident hapning to one of her Minions who was killed in the boot of her Coach, by a young Gentleman, in despair because that Gallant had ruined his Family as to the favour they had from that Princess: She quitted that unfortunate Hotel, and purchased another in the Faubourg Saint Germain, near the River and the Pré au Clerc, where she began a great foundation of Buildings and Gardening.

There it was she kept her little Court the remainder of her days, odly intermixing voluptuousness with devotion, the love of Learning with that of Vanity, Christian Charity and Injustice: for as she had the Ambition to be often seen at Church, to converse with learned men, and to bestow the Tythe of her Revenues upon Friars and Monks, she also took a pride in fresh Galanteries, inventing new divertisements, and never paying her just Debrs.

Pope Clement VIII. by diving too far into the profound questions concerning Grace, which have no bounds nor bottom, did by the study thereof, as it was said, so over-heat his Brain, as kindled a Feavor in his Blood, whereof he dyed the third day of March. There were two Factions in the Conclave, that of the Aldobrandines, and another of the Montaltes. The Cardinal de Joyeuse, having made himself head of the French Cardinals, and of some other indifferent ones, mated them both so well, with this flying party, that he disposed them to Elect the Cardinal Alexander de Medici, who would needs be named Leo XI. this was upon the first day of April. They made Bon-fires for joy at the Court of France, and all over the Kingdom in consideration of the Queen; but the news of his death extinguish'd them as soon almost as they were lighted, for he survived but five and twenty days. The regret was by so much the more sensible, as their joy had been short liv'd, and he had raised their hopes and expectations. Then the two Parties renewed their intrigues in the Conclave with more heat and application then before: the Cardinal de Joyeuse by his prudent conduct calmed them a second time. They having on either part made use of all the little policies and stratagems employ'd in the like cases, he contrived it so, that the plurality of Votes fell upon the Cardinal Camillo Borghese; who was Elested the sixteenth day of May, and took the name of Paul V.

Whilst all Italy had both their Eyes and Hearts attentively fixed upon these Cabals, Peter Gufinan de Toledo, Count de Fuentes, Governor of Milan, thought this a proper time to forge his Chains intended for them, and would needs make an Essay of his grand design, first on the Petty Princes bordering upon his Government, then upon the Grifons. He commanded the President and Treasurers of Milan to summon the first May, June to attend them, to do homage, as feudataries of the Dutchy, and to hear themselves &c. condemned to restore the Lands they had there usurped. He first of all Attacked the Malespines, as being the feeblest: but they failed not to call upon the Princes of Christendom to assist them, and to make the World acquainted by their Apologies, that if this Claim of the Spaniard were allowed of, there was no Potentate in Italy could be exempt, neither the Dukes of Parma or Modena, the Genoese or the Venetians, the Duke of Tuscany, nor even the Holy See: insomuch as by their loud out-cries, they made him let go his hold.

As to the Grifons, the Condé being angry at the new League was made between them and the Seignory of Venice, he put forth Edicts which broke their Commerce with Milan, without which it is impossible for those Leagues to subsist; and to quell them absolutely, he built a Fort called by his own name, upon a high Rock which commanded the entrance into the Val-Teline, and the Valley of Chiavenna, to serve not only as a bridle to those people, and stir up the Valtelines against them, who being all Catholics disdained that Protestants should Lord it over them; but also to have free passage and communication with Tyrol, and other hereditary Countries belonging to the House of Austria.

The Swifts, whose resolutions are slow and heavy, did not bestir themselves so soon as they ought, to have broken this uneasie Curb, which gave a check to the whole body of

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1605. of their Leagues: the Fort was completed, with five great Royal Bastions, and the Spanish Faction so increased amongst the Grisons, as caused most pernicious divisions, and made them run great hazard of their liberty.

May, June,
8ec.

It was impossible but the remembrance of so many injuries the King received from the Spaniards, and so many Conspiracies, which by their instigation had been formed against his person, must give him some resentment: he verily believed too, that his life would be more secure in an open War, than such a treacherous and insidious Peace: wherefore, his thoughts both day and night were rowling on the means to destroy that House much more an Enemy to his particular person, yet, then to the Kingdom of France. But, as he was guilty of that fault incident to the tender hearted, not to be able to conceal his thoughts from women, he had communicated this design to his Wife; who having at that very time a too strict correspondence with the Spaniards, did eternally bait and importune him to wave it, and enter into a League with them, and with the Pope. But far from yielding to her, he re-allied himself with the Protestant Princes, and was endeavouring to draw the Duke of Savoy and the Duke of Bavaria to Club in the design, promising the first to help him in Conquering the Kingdom of Lombardy; and the second to assist him with Money and Credit to make his Interest to attain the Empire, when Rodolphe, who was already old, should cease to live. These negotiations lasted three or four years before he could succeed.

Having such vast designs, he notwithstanding was at prodigious expences in building, Gaming and Mistresses. Such as imagine that all the Actions of Princes tend to some certain concealed ends, would have it, that he was glad to find his example made the Grandees run upon those Rocks, so that being wholly taken up with vain amusements, softened by dalliance, and impoverished by excessive expence, they could neither spare the time, nor means to contrive any Brouilleries. It is very certain that many of them lost so much at play, they were not in a condition, had they intended it, to make any considerable disturbance.

I have heard it affirm'd that a refined Italian, having bought up all the Dice that were in Paris, and furnished the Shops with false ones made for his purpose, fell in with the Court Gamesters, and knowing exactly which would run high or low, made a prodigious gain, which he shared with Persons of the highest Quality.

However it were, the huge Sums the King expended in these three Articles, (not including those he employ'd on other more necessary ones) those which he had issued out for the payment of his debts, and redeeming part of his demerits, and those also which he collected and heaped up for the carrying on the projects he had conceived, could not possibly be raised without grinding his people, whatever care and Methods he took. Besides, he was too easy in granting, to his Courtiers and Ladies, either new Monopolies, or new Imposts, and made Gifts that were of profit to particulars, but which tended to the general ruine. Moreover, the Nobility, and old Commanders, were discontented in their minds to see him by little and little reduce the Companies of Ordinance, and the old Regiments to so narrow a condition; and instead of keeping those old bodies full and compleat, he gave Pensions to above twelve hundred men, who most commonly were chosen rather upon recommendation than for their merit. The Cardinal d'Osset had otherwhile taken the liberty to preface, that these discontents would become universal, and one day break forth into some great disorders.

Some Sparks of it were to be seen in the Provinces of Quercy, Perigord, and Limosin: The Servants of the Duke of Biron, furiously bent to revenge the death of their Master, employed all sorts of means to render the Kings person odious and contemptible, and to stir up the people against the pretended violence of the Government. The friends of the Marechal de Bouillon, whether they had orders from him, or acted by their own proper motions, believing he would own them if they succeeded, made divers Assemblies of the Nobility, and gave earnest Money for the levying of Soldiers, but in such pitiful Sums, that it plainly appeared this advance-money came out of some little private Purse only. And yet to give life to their Partisans, they every hour reported some forged news of the Marechal, sometimes affirming that if they held together but till the Month of October, some great matters would be done in favour of him: another while that they should find him in France sooner then his friends imagined, or his

his Enemies desired: Then, that the reason of his stay was but to bring such Forces with him from Germany, as would be able to enter into the very heart of the Kingdom, and bide Battel in the open Field.

Besides all these Rumours which at so great a distance made the Rebellion appear a hundred times more formidable than it really was, the King had frequent notice, that the Spaniards held Intelligence, and had Designs upon the most important Frontier places, as Toulon, Marseilles, Narbonne, Bayonne, and upon Blaye. He apprehended also lest the whole Party of the Reformed Religion should embrace the Marechals defence, and by the Directions of so able and knowing a Person should be inclined to form a separate Republick in the Kingdom: for they talked of setting up Councils in each Province, of not admitting such as were Officers of the Kings to any Consultations that concerned the Good old Cause, to make Orders and Regulations for raising of Men and Moneys, and to make Leagues with Strangers. To these Dangers he opposed the Carés of Rhosny, who having had Interest and Credit enough to preside in their Assembly of Chastelleraut, stilled all Motions of Affairs of that Nature, and besides mightily qualified the hottest amongst them, by presenting to them on the behalf of the King, a Brevet dated the Eight of August, which prolonged their holding the Places of Security for Three years.

When all was out of danger on that Side, the King prepar'd himself about the end of August, to take a Journey into the Provinces where the Fire was kindling; and to clear the way before him, he order'd Ten Companies of the Regiment of Guards, and Four or Five Troops of Horse to March, Commanded by the Duke of Espernon, with two Masters of Requests, John Jacques de Mesme Roissy, and October, and Raymond Vertueil Feuillas; The first went to take Information in Limosin; the second in Quercy, but caused all the Prisoners to be brought to Limoges.

Bouillon's Friends could never have believed they durst have attacked his Castles, because they were comprised amongst those places of Security granted to them of the Religion: they were much startled when they found that consideration could not protect them. Bouillon being informed of it, sent them Orders to Surrender upon the King's first Demand.

As to themselves, the wisest preferring a timely retreat before an obstinate stay, withdrew; some, as Rignac and Vassignac to Sedan, others to other places of Safety: Many had recourse to the King's Clemency, and purchased their Pardon by discovering the whole Series of the Conspiracy, the Cities they were to have Surprized, the Places where they were to be Armed, those that had promised to declare for them, and many more Particulars, which being thoroughly examined, had little other foundation, but their own credulity and foolish imaginations. Nor was any thing produced in Writing against the Duke of Bouillon, nothing appearing but the Evidence of such people whose profligate reputation destroy'd the Credit of what they would have asserted.

The more Unfortunate fell into the hands of Justice. Roissy made their Process, assisted by Ten Councillors of the Presidial. Five or Six paid down their Heads, which were planted over the Gates of Limoges, the Bodies burnt, and their Ashes dispersed in the Air. Some others were hung up in Effigie: But these Executions were not till after the King had been gone a Month; who seeing the Fire was put out, returned to Paris towards the end of November.

As he was going to Limosin, being at Orleans, he took the Seals from the Chancellor de Bellieure, to give them to Sillery, but still left him the honor to be Chief of the Council, a sorry Comfort for so great a Disgrace, and which gave Bellieure occasion to say, That a Chancellor without the Seals, is a Body without a Soul.

At Paris the King met with new cause of disquiet, the Business of the City Rents, and the Demands of the Assembly of the Clergy. As for the first, he had of a long time resolved to Suppress those Rents, or Revenues, for the creation whereof no Money had been given, and to redeem such as had been purchased at a mean price. To this purpose he had named Commissioners, who were the Presidents de Thou, Nicolai, and Calignon, a Master of Accompts, and a Treasurer of France: and in the manner these did proceed, none could have just cause of Complaint. But when he had named others, and it appeared by their management, the Council had a design either to destroy, or much lessen that Fond which was the clearest subsistence of many Families in Paris, the interested, who were

1605.

Novemb.

1605. were numerous, had recourse to the *Prevost des Marchands*, he being as it were their Guardian.

This was *Francis Miron*, a man of Courage and Probity, and who had no other interest but his Duty and the Honor of his Office; He took up the Business with some heat, spake very resolutely in the Town-Hall, and wrote to the King who was then at *Fontainebleau*. Those of the Council who had a Pique against him for his great resolution, too stiff in their opinion, imputed as a Crime that he should mention *Nero* in some Discourse of his, and insisted much with the King to have him apprehended. The *Bourgeois* were ready to take up Arms in defence of their Magistrate, although he protested he would rather chuse to die, than be an occasion of the least disorder.

It was a great happiness for the City of *Paris* to have so good and so wise a King as *Henry*: who having in other occasions thorowly tried the Fidelity and Candour of *Miron*, and it being withal his Method to give People time to calm and cool themselves, and repent of their rashness, he would not push things on to extremity, which must have engaged him to severe Chastisements; So that the Tenants referring themselves wholly to this good natur'd Landlord, and *Miron* having explained himself with all the Respect and Humility due from a Loyal Subject to his Sovereign, he stopt all further proceeding touching their Rents.

As to the rest, *Paris* does owe this acknowledgment to the honor of *Miron*, that in his Office of Lieutenant Civil, and of *Prevost des Marchands*, they never had a Magistrate so exact in settling of the City Government, their Markets, and what else was necessary, or that so warmly espoused the Peoples interest, or took more pains and care about the Revenue and Rights belonging to them, to clear their Debts, keep up that Splendour becoming the Capital City of the Kingdom, as also to beautifie, and furnish it with things that were at once an Ornament and of Publick Advantage. The several Streets enlarged, many new Paved and made shelving to convey away the Dirt and Water, Eight or Nine stately Conduits or Fountains, still casting forth their plentiful Streams, the River improved with Wharffs, Keys, and watering places, divers little Bridges in places convenient, a new Gate at the *Tournele*, that of the Temple repair'd and open'd, after it's having been shut up above Forty years, will be lasting marks and tokens of it to all Posterity. But there was nothing so noble as the Front of the Town-Hall, which seemed to have been left imperfect for Two and seventy years space, to give this Magistrate an opportunity of making it the Monument of his Fame, and to exercise his Generosity by employing all the Profits of his Offices to put it into that condition wherein we behold it to this very day.

As to the Assembly of the Clergy, that Body having recovered much force and vigour, the Complaints and Demands they had to make to the King were very great. *Hierosme de Villars*, Archbishop of *Vienne* presented the Assemblies Papers to him, and was the Mouth of the whole Assembly; He made a long discourse upon those vexations the Church suffer'd on all hands, the infamous Trade of Benefices, Simoniack Bargains, Pensions paid to Lay-men, and frequent Appeals, as gross abuses. He said, the cause of all those Disorders was the refusal, they had hitherto met with, for Publishing the Council of Trent; That it was strange the Kingdoms of the Earth, which are but as the baser Elements of the Terrestrial Globe, should substraet and withdraw themselves from the benign Influence of the Church, which is the Cælestial World; That the things which pass away on the wings of Time should hinder the Fruits of an Eternal duration; That they should make Divine Reason stoop and truckle to Humane Policies, and, if we may so express it, subject God, in a manner, to the Wills of Men.

As to the Reception of the Council of Trent, the King would not be Positive, That it could not quadrate with the Reasons of State, and the Liberties of the Gallican Church; On the contrary he declared that he desired it as much as they, and was very sorry it met with so great Difficulties: That he would spare neither his Life, nor Crown for the Honour and Exaltation of the Church. And as concerning Simonies, &c. they must lay the blame upon those that practis'd it, not upon him, for he made no Trade of Bishopricks, like the Favorites of his Predecessors, but bestow'd them gratis, and upon Persons of Merit.

He afterwards, at leisure, made distinct replies to all their Papers, and amongst other things granted them by an Edict, the liberty of redeeming such things as formerly

formerly belonged to them, and had been sold for little or nothing without due form or the Solemnities thereto requisite. They were not satisfied with this, but must have another to empower them to redeem in what manner soever they had been sold; Yet the Parliament put in this Modification, or proviso, That it should not extend to the prejudice of any who had been in Possession Forty years upon a legal Title.

"There hapned this year Three Eclipses, two of the Moon; The first upon the Four and twentieth of *March*, the second the Seventeenth of *September*; and one of the Sun the Second day of *October*: It began about One of the Clock afternoon, and for two whole hours caused such a darkness, that it seemed as it were Night; the disk of that great Luminary being totally obscured by the Moon, which appeared black, and edged with a circle of light quite round.

"The Astrologers after their wonted manner Predicted it would have most terrible Effects. If the *Fougade* in *England* had not failed, they would have made the world believe that this Phenomena did Prognosticate it. Some English Catholics accustomed to contrive Conspiracies during the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, being much incensed against *King James*, for that though at his first coming he had given them fair hopes of enjoying greater liberty than ever in their Religion, yet did now keep as severe a hand over them as any before, Plotted to destroy both him and all the most eminent of the Kingdom by a Blow, the very thoughts whereof begets a horror. *Robert Catesby*, and *Thomas Percy* were the principal Authors. These knowing the Parliament was to sit at *Westminster*, hired the Neighbouring Houses, and then some Cellars under the very place of their Meeting, filled them with Barrells of Gun-Powder which they cover'd with Coals and Faggots, and intended to set Fire thereto when the Houses of Parliament were Assembled, and so blow up the King with all his Lords and Commons there attending. One of the Conspirators could not forbear writing a Letter to a Gentleman his Friend, but in a Counterfeit hand, and without any Name, conjuring him not to meet there in Parliament for some days. This Gentleman communicates his notice to a couple of the Lords belonging to the Privy Council, who made their Report of it to the King, thereby to discharge their Duty. They took it to be a piece of Raillery on purpose to affright and scoff at them: but the King was not of their Opinion, and judged by the terms of the Letter, (which said, *That it should be a terrible Blow; and the Danger past as soon as you can burn this Letter*;) that this must be some Execution by Fire. It was therefore thought necessary to search into all the Cellars and the neighbouring Houses; the first time nothing was discover'd, but the great quantity of Woods and Coals giving some suspicion, they returned again the second time, (this was the Night preceding the Day the Parliament was to Assemble, viz. the Fifth day of *November*.) They then perceived one of *Percy's* Men at the Door, named *Fankes*; he had been observed there before, and his Countenance was now Agast; they seized him therefore, and finding him provided with Match to give fire to the Train, he boldly owned the Design.

"The Conspirators who were retired into the Country till the *Fougade* had taken Effect, hearing it was discover'd, dispersed several ways, to draw their Friends together, and make the People rise; but they were so roughly handled, that some were slain, others taken, and the rest in great Numbers forced to quit the Kingdom. Most of these last got over to *Calais*, where the King had commanded the Governor to give them shelter, those that governed his Conscience having first persuaded him it was a meer Persecution contrived by the Ministers of State against those of the Catholick Religion.

"The last day of *January*, Eight of the Chief Conspirators suffer'd, in *London*, the Punishment inflicted on such as are found Guilty of High-Treason. Not one of them accused the Priests, or Friars, being bound not to discover them by terrible Oaths; yet *King James* caused diligent Search to be made for them, especially the Jesuits. Two of those Fathers had made their Escape, viz. *Garnet*, and *Hall*, with a Boy that served them, to the Castle called *Abington* *January*, *February*, &c. belonging to a Gentleman; the People hid them in the Tunnel of a Chimney, and fed them with Broath convey'd to them by a long Pipe: But the Searchers having turned out all the Domesticks of the Family, and left a strong Guard there,

1605.

Decemb.

1606.
January.

1606. "there, the poor wretches were fain to produce themselves. They were brought "to London; the Boy, whether in despair, or for fear he should by force of tor-
"tures discover his Masters Secrets, ript open his own Belly with a Knife, where-
"of he died before he could be examined.

February,
&c.

"King James was persuaded that Garnet knew every particular of the Plot,
"as being an intimate Confident of Catesby's; but would not put him to the
"Rack: for he had rather his Confession should be free and voluntary than have
"the reproach of being extorted, for Compulsion would have rendred it suspe-
"cted. He therefore made use of Moderation and Craft, instead of Severities
"and the Rack: They allowed him much liberty in Prison, and suborn'd a
"Fellow who feigning himself a Catholick, spake so much, till he made him both
"speak and write. They permitted him to converse even with his Compagnon
"Hall; and from their Discourse, which was over-heard by two Witnesses
"who lay conceal'd, they got full proof for his Condemnation. He died as a
"Martyr, notwithstanding, and passed for such in the opinion of the English Ca-
"tholicks. His Apologist writing also four years after, affirm'd that a Gentle-
"man who was present at his Death, desiring to have of his Reliques, having
"gather'd up some few Straws which he saw stained with his Gore, found Garnet's
"Picture traced in lines of Blood upon one of them; which was at that time
"kept by a Lady as a most precious and wonderful Relique.

May.

"The Pope fully justified himself from the reproach of this horrible attempt,
"and shewed by good literal Proofs, that he had forbid the English to make use
"of any such Bloody ways. The Jesuits labour'd also on their part to make Fa-
"ther Garnet's innocency appear: And King Henry IV. whose honor was much
"concerned in their Conduct, since he had recalled them, sent Father Cotton to
"the English Ambassadour, to assure him the Society had no hand in that Con-
"spiracy, and that if some particular Members of theirs were concerned, they
"disowned and detested them. There was however another Jesuit in England
"named Oldcorne, who maintain'd that the said Enterprize was good and laudable,
"and for so doing was Condemned and Executed as Garnet had been.

1605.
December.

In France, about the end of the fore-going year, was discover'd the Treason
of John d' Alagon de Merargues, a Gentleman of Provence, but originally by his
Ancestors of the Kingdom of Naples, whence King René had brought his great,
great, great Grandfather. The resemblance of his Surname had infected him with
the vanity to believe he was of the House of Arragon; and upon that score it
came into his head to make himself a Fortune by the Spaniards; to deserve
which, by some signal action, he had undertaken to bring the Spaniards into
Marseilles. The Office of Procureur Syndic of that Country, and his great Alli-
ances by Marriage, his Wife being related to the Duke of Montpensier and the
House of Joyeuse, rendred him very considerable; the Command of two Gal-
leys maintained for the King's Service seemed to facilitate the means to make him
Master of the Harbour or Port; and the Office of Viguer, which he was assured
of for the next year now at hand, gave him great Power over the City. He had
notwithstanding so few Instruments for so great a Design, that he communicated
it to a Slave belonging to one of his Galleys, whom he would needs employ in it:
the Slave discover'd it to the Duke of Guise, and the Duke of Guise sent notice
of it to the Court.

Merargues going thither soon after about some Affairs of the Province, la
Varenne had order to observe him, and acquitted himself so well, that one evening
slipping into his House, with a Prevost, he surprized him while he was entertain-
ing Bruneau Secretary to the Spanish Ambassadour with his Design. They seized
upon both, and searching them, found a Writing tied under Bruneau's Gar-
ter, which decypher'd the whole Mystery. Bruneau was Imprisoned in
the Bastille, Merargues in the Chasteler, and from thence transfer'd to the
Conciergerie.

Decemb.

The Spanish Ambassadour made great noise at the detention of his Secretary;
he spake of it as a high injury to the Dignity of his Master, an Affront to all
Crowned Heads, and a violation of the Security due to every Ambassadour.
Going to the King to redemand him, he was at first but ill received. Sometimes
he talked high, as representing a great Monarch; then chang'd his tone into a
softer note, as knowing his Secretary ran the hazard of being put upon the Rack.
The King, without appearing overmuch concern'd, shewed him what Crime his
Secretary

Secretary had committed; and made him sensible that such who debauched and
corrupted his Subjects to commit Treason against his State, were those that vio-
lated the Rights of People, not he who only secur'd a man that had so visibly
abused it. The Ambassador having no reply to make to so just a reproach, fell upon
great Complaints, and instanced that the King sent Men and Money to maintain
the *Hollanders*, and had attempted to stir up the *Morisco's* in Spain; whereof there
was proof, said he, in the Confessions of divers Criminals that had suffer'd Death
in those Countries.

To the first point, the King made the same answer he had formerly given up-
on the same Subject: To the second, he said, it was an Artifice of the Council of
Spain, who by the extremity of Tortures had forced those Suppositions from the
mouths of some unhappy wretches, Executed for other Crimes, or had thrust
them into their forged Wills and Testaments, thereby to have matter to recrim-
inate with some appearance of Truth. After divers Replications on either part,
the King assured the Ambassador that his Secretary should have no wrong done to
him, and that he would send him the whole result of the Process, to see whether
he would own it, or not.

Decemb.

During all this Month, the Entertainment of the Politicians in their Conver-
sations, and the subject of their Writings, was to discuss to what Latitude this
Security of Ambassadors and their Servants did extend, and in what cases they
ought to be subjected to the justice of that Country, wherein they did reside. In
the mean while the two Prisoners were interrogated, the Secretary confessed all,
and when they had clearly Convicted him, and gotten sufficient proof from him
to Convict Merargues, the King forbid the Parliament to proceed any further
with him, and some few days after sent him back to the Ambassador with a Co-
py of the whole Process. But as for Merargues, they went thorow with him;
for an Arrest, or Sentence, of the Nineteenth of the Month made him lose his
Head in Greve, and Condemned his Body to be cut in four Quarters, which they
set up over the four principal Gates of Paris, and sent his Head to Marseilles, to
be there planted upon one of their Gates.

Amidst the Divertisements of the Court, to whom the Birth of a second Son
of France administred new cause of Festivity, the King was seriously minded to
restore the Duke of Bouillon upon his entire and not conditioned submission. It
was nigh upon four years he had been out of the Kingdom, and by his Apologies,
Negociations, and the intercession of divers Princes of his Religion, had contend-
ed with the King, not as to his Duty, which, he said, he was ever ready to pay,
but his Innocency and Honor which he was obliged to maintain. In effect, they
could not Convict him of any Conspiracy, not even of the last, though there
was some reason to suspect him guilty of all. The King knew he had stop't his
ears at the instant Sollicitations of the Spaniards: He remembered the eminent Ser-
vices he had rendred him in his most pressing Necessities, and he desired he might
do him more yet hereafter in the shock he intended to give the House of Austria.
On the other hand, he well knew, that this Marechal, so long as he was absent
from Court, would ever keep the Huguenot Party in suspicion; and it somewhat
concerned his Honor to make all Europe see, they being well informed of this
Affair, that it was not without good ground he had so used him. Now the on-
ly way to satisfy together, both his Reputation, and his Clemency, was to en-
gage him to come and crave his Pardon, and Surrender his City of Sedan into his
hands which he would needs have in his Power, at least for some days, that the
whole world might understand the Marechal held both his Life and Fortune from
his Bounty.

February.

The Marechal did at length resolve to acknowledge he had failed, he named his
faults however, Imprudence and Precipitation, rather than Infidelity; And though
he expressed an impatient desire to wait upon the King, yet he excused his coming,
till all those Clouds and Foggs of Crimes wherewith he had been charged, were utterly
dispersed, it being as shameful for a Master to make use of any Servant, while under
such ill-favour'd Circumstances, as for the Servant to have been wanting in his
Fidelity due to so great a Monarch. He apprehended no hurt from the King, but
only from the Counsels of Sully: for as he believed him his Capital Enem-
y, he imagined he would persuade the King to keep Sedan, and that the
apparent Benefit of the State would excuse and cover the Venial Sin of breaking
his word.

1606.
February.

Him whom we have hitherto named *Rosny*, shall be henceforward called the Duke of *Sully*, because at the beginning of this year, the King honour'd him with the Title of Duke and Pair, which he annexed to the Lands of *Sully* purchased by this Lord since his favour. The Letters Patents were sealed the Nineteenth of February, and verified the last day of the Month in Parliament; whither the new Duke went to be received, accompanied as one who had both the King's Treasures and favour to befriend him, and invite them.

The Business was brought to that pass, that the King finding himself in Honour absolutely engaged to have *Sedan*, and the Marechal obstinately bent not to be dis- seized, nothing remained but force that could determine the Controversie. In the Council, *Villeroy* and *Sully* were of different Sentiments concerning this Enterprize: *Sully* openly persuaded the King to go in Person to *Sedan*; *Villeroy* endeavour'd to hinder it, but by more private ways: To this end he made the difficulties appear very great, the Consequences worse, the place impregnable, the Marechal's Correspondence both without and within the Kingdom very dangerous: He represented how all the *Huguenot* Party was ready to rise, all Germany ready to take up Arms, all England to put to Sea to support it, that he had numerous Levies in *Switzerland* and the *Low-Countries* who would begin their March upon the first beat of Drum.

April.

But the King slighted all these Apparitions as vain and airy Fancies, and if they had been real Bodies, he ought to have hastened to prevent them. When he was gotten to *Donchery*, which is within a League of *Sedan*, with his Forces, and had himself taken a view of the place, the Marechal who had still kept his Negotiation on foot, demanded to confer with *Villeroy*, before *Sully* arrived. It had never been his design to come to the Swords point with his King, but only to make use of his Wits; and retard his March by suggesting many Dangers and things he neither would or indeed could do. On the other hand *Villeroy* had all the desire imaginable to conclude the Treaty, that he might ravish the honour of this Expedition from *Sully*.

So that upon the second Conference he had with the Marechal, he brought him to agree, To Surrender the Place to the King, and to consent that he should keep a Governor and a Garrison there during the space of four years: The King on his side fully pardon'd him, for all that he could ever have done or said to that day, without any Reservation, whereof he caused Letters of Abolition to be expedited, and sent them to be verified in Parliament, dispensing with his Personal Appearance, and many other customary Forms.

April.

The next day being the last of April, the Marechal relying on the credit of *Villeroy*, and the Protection of the Queen, who was willing to gain so knowing and so Potent a Lord, came to wait on the King at *Donchery* in the Morning, asked his Pardon, and took a new Oath of Fidelity to him. The following Thursday, the Courier having brought back the Letters of Abolition verified in Parliament, the King made his entrance into *Sedan*, and settled *Netancourt* his Governor there. This done he returned to *Paris*, where he would needs be received as Triumphant, with the noise of all the Cannon in the Arsenal. The Marechal de *Bouillon* came soon after; and the world much admired to see him the very first day as much in the King's favour, and in his most familiar Conversations, as he had been before his absents.

At the same time, the King went to *Sedan*, the most furious Winds, that ever yet were heard of, agitated the Air and Sea, not only in France, but also in England, the Low-Countries, and Germany; In the Campaigne, it forced back not only those that travel'd on foot, but even Horses, threw several often on the ground; put Carts and Coachs to a full stop, tore up the strongest Trees by the Roots, beat down Towers and Steeplés, whose Coverings and Walls buried great numbers of People under their ruins. At *Paris*, so long as this Tempest lasted, which was all Saturday, Easter-Sunday, and Monday, the Tiles, Stacks of Chimneys, nay the very Rafters of the Houses flew about the Streets, and killed or maimed above Seventy Persons. This Storm did, as it were, threaten to tear up the very Foundations of the Earth, and force the vast Element of Waters out of its Natural Bed, to cause a second deluge, after it had caused infinite Shipwracks in the securest Harbours.

In

1606.
June.

In the Month of June, the King coming from *Saint Germain* to *Paris*, by Coach, wherein were the Queen his Wife, the Princess of *Conty*, the Duke of *Montpensier*, and the Duke of *Vendosme*, and designing to cross the *Seine* at *Port Nully*, one of his Horses, instead of going into the Ferry-boat (for as then there was no Bridge) stray'd into the Water, and drew the Coach after him into a place very deep. The Gentlemen that follow'd on Horseback, threw themselves instantly into the River, and happily saved the King, and then all the rest of his Company. The Queen was in the greatest Danger, *la Chasteigneraye* drew her forth, and for this good Service deserved to be Captain of her Guard some while after. The Marchioness de *Verneuil*, as she was wont, play'd with her Wit maliciously upon this Adventure, and told the King, that if she had been there, she would have cryed out, *The Queen Drinks* *; which re-inflamed the Queens resentments, and caused new Picqueerings.

Queen *Catherine de Medicis* had given the Counties of *Auvergne* and of *Lauraguais* to *Charles*, Natural Son of her Son King *Charles IX.* Queen *Margaret* pretended that she could not do it, because that by the Contract of Marriage with *Henry II.* those Lands had been substituted to the Children that should proceed from it, of whom none were remaining but her self.

So that taking advantage of the disgrace of *Charles*, she had waged Law with him to retrieve it; and even Six years before the Parliament of *Toulouse* had pronounced in her favour for the County of *Lauraguais*. This favourable Prejudication, and the Juncture of Affairs invited her to bring the like Action before the Parliament of *Paris* for the County of *Auvergne*, and with the like success: for by a Decree in March they adjudged it to her. Immediately she made a Present of the said Lands to the *Dauhin*, by absolute Deed of Gift executed while living, upon condition they should be united to the Crown for ever, and not alienated, but she reserved the Profits to her self, which the King purchased by a large Pension.

The Court enjoying a perfect repose, now celebrated the Ceremonial Baptism of the *Dauhin*, and the two Daughters of France: for the Essential Baptism was administered immediately after their Birth. They had made Magnificent Preparations at the *Louvre* for this Ceremony, but the Plague beginning to infect *Paris* about the end of June, and spreading much in July and August, obliged the King to transfer it to *Fontainebleau*. It was there performed upon *Joly-Croix* Day, in the Court de *L'Ovale*, where they erected an Amphitheater, as having no place spacious enough within Doors to contain all their Pomp. The Cardinal de *Gondy* was the Minister; they began with the second Daughter, who was the youngest of the three Children. She was named *Catherine*, and for God-father had the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Dutchess of *Tuscany* for her Godmother, represented by *Don John de Medicis*. The Eldest Daughter had no Godfather, only a Godmother who was the Arch-Dutchess *Clara Isabella Eugenia*: *Madam d'Angoulême* represented her, and gave the Name of *Elizabeth* to the Child. At the Baptism of the *Dauhin*, the Cardinal de *Joyeuse* stood Godfather for Pope *Paul V.* who for this purpose had declared him Legat in France during three Months. The Dutchess of *Mantua* Sister to the Queen, was Godmother. She being invited to come expressly into France, the Queen prevailed she might take place of the Princesses of the Blood; a Novelty not very pleasing to the French, nor to the King himself.

On the day which preceded that of this Ceremony, a light appeared towards the Western Quarter of the Heavens, which expanding by little and little, cast forth as it were long flashes towards the South, and the East with most admirable swiftness. After these Fusées, which lasted near a quarter of an hour, appeared divers Chariots of Fire which seemed to shock one the other, and wherein they fancied to discern some appearances of Lances, Pikes and Arms which darted them. This Spectacle ended not till about Midnight, and by a clear Light which made the whole Hemisphere seem to sparkle, then insensibly decay'd in half an hours time. But two days after, about the same hour as at first, all of a sudden a great Light appeared in the Air, towards the West, as if to light the Scene, and give the Spectators the Pleasure of a Combat, wherewith the Demons of the Air, if we may believe so, would entertain the Court, and out-vie their Divertissements. For they formed, as it were, Regiments of Horse and Foot charging with impetuosity; some tumbled off their Horses, and others trampled under-foot, many Musquets and Pistols discharged at each other, the Fire and Smoke

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were

1606. were visible, nothing was wanting but the report, others laid hands on and grappled together, and did not quit their hold till one was overthrown. This imaginary Battel lasted above an hour, then vanish'd in a moment.)

In the general (Abolition, or) Pardon which the *Financiers* had been constrain'd to purchase to deliver themselves from the pursuit of the Chamber-Royal, the Crime of Forgery had been excepted, as it should ever be. Some Informers, People of no Credit nor Habitation, and indeed owning themselves for Counterfeits, imagined that this Exception would be of advantage to frighten the said Officers and make them befriend and stand by them in all their villainous Cheats. They first felt their Pulses several times thinking to squeeze somewhat from them, but they were hugely deceived; those Harpies whose greatest pleasure is in slaying the rest of Mankind, stand in less fear of Death, and would sooner suffer it themselves, than lose one single hair of their head. When these Rascals perceived they slighted and scoffed at their menaces, they insisted so far on it to the King, and promis'd him such Mountains of Gold upon this inspection, that he set up a Chamber, or Court of Justice, to proceed against such as should be accused of Forgery.

This Court, to give the greater terror, began with such severity as filled the Houses with Garrisons, the Market-places with Gibbets and Effigies, and Foreign Countries with Run-aways who went to voluntary Banishment: but the most guilty having timely got their Necks out of the Collar, and carried subsistence enough along with them to wait till the Torrent were past, began to treat at that safe distance, and employ'd part of their Spoil and Theft to gain Friends and Protectors; who by divers methods allay'd the heat of their Prosecutions, and spun things out to great length, well knowing the King was soon weary and easily gave over, when he once met with the like difficulties. Just so did it fall out, and when they heard him begin to complain of the great cry and little wool, the Queen Mother implored his Mercy for these wretches, and at the same time they offer'd to redeem themselves, and bid up to Six hundred thousand Crowns. The Richer fort advanced the whole Sum, but re-imbursed themselves doubly by those Taxes the Court allowed them upon the little ones, who had but pilfer'd; In so much, as Honest men were of Opinion these greater Sponges ought to have been squeezed again, and the Taxers a second time Taxed.

Before the year ended, the Marriage of *Eleonora* Sister of the young Prince of *Conde* was compleated with *Philip* Eldest Son of *William* Prince of *Orange* and Earl of *Nassau*. He was sent Prisoner into *Spain* by Duke d' *Alva* in the year 1568. and having remained there divers years, recover'd his liberty by renouncing the Protestant Religion. In the mean time *Blacons*, a *Huguenot* Gentleman, had got possession of the Government of *Orange*, with design, said he, to keep it for him: and in effect, Anno 1599. knowing he was at *Genoa* with the Arch-Duke *Albert*, and the new Queen of *Spain*, he went thither to carry the Keys of the place to him, and invite him to come and take possession, as he did; yet did he not leave it intirely at his disposal, for fear, said he, lest the Prince being a Catholick should misuse the inhabitants, who were not so. Now the King, in favour of the said Princes Marriage with *Eleonora*, compelled *Blacons* to restore that Principality to him, and also confirmed its independance by very expresse Letters Patents.

1607. We have but few things to collect in this year 1607. unless some perhaps desire we should observe, that the King pursued his wonted pleasures of Love, Gaming and Hunting: That he had at certain times his fits of the Gout, and observed to dyet himself as he was wont to do every year.

That upon the Popes request he sent the Order of the *Holy-Ghost* to *Alincourt* his Ambassador at *Rome*, to conferr it with all possible Solemnity on Duke *Sforza*, and the Duke de *Saint Gemini* of the House of the *Orfins*, dispensing them from the obligation of making proof of their Nobility, as the Pope had dispensed him from the Statute of that Order, which prohibits the conferring it upon Strangers.

That he had a Second Son born the Sixteenth of *April*, who bare the Title of Duke of *Orleans*, and dyed four years after, before the Ceremonies of Baptisme.

May. That in the Month of *May*, a *Chiaux* brought him a Compliment and Letters from the Grand Signior *Mahomet*.

That in the Month of *July* he re-united all his own particular demeanes to the Crown of *France*. That

That on the twenty sixth of *September*, a Comet appeared, whose long and large Train did point directly to the Sun, it being of the magnitude of *Jupiter*, and the colour of *Saturn*. It's motion at first was so swift, as in few days, within its own Circle which was very great, it ran nine degrees and more: this velocity diminishing dayly together with its magnitude, it disappeared at the end of *October*.

That the grand Master of *Malitha* sent a Bone of the Foot of *Saint Euphemia*, Virgin and Martyr, to the Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, who otherwise had chosen her for their Patroness; and that the University went in a Body to the Temple, where the Ambassador of the Order lodged to receive that Sacred Treasure.

That as to the concerns of one named *la Mothe*, who was accused of being an accessary in the Murther of *Francis de Montmorency Halot*, committed by the Marquis d' *Allegre* at *Vernon* in the year 1593. and who had obtained Letters of abolition from the King, and for his greater Security, had lifted up the Shrine * of *Saint Romain* at *Rouen*, there was great dispute before the Kings Council about this Privilege, by some Advocates of Parliament, who to speak truth, were but little skill'd in the antiquities of *France*. The Grand Council gave an Act to the Kings Ministers of this opposition that had been made as to the allowance of the said Privilege: and then by a Decree of the six and twentieth of *March* 1608. (having regard to the Kings pardon) banish'd the accused for nine years from Court, as also from *Normandy*, and *Picardy*, and condemned him to some reparations, and to some *Amende*, or Fine. The King made likewise this Modification, or Proviso, in the Privilege of *Saint Romain* for the future. That whomsoever the Chapter should nominate to lift or take up the said Shrine should be bound to take out Letters of Pardon under the Great Seal, that so this favour might be derived indeed from the Prince, and proceed in a judicial order.

We shall pass by these things and many others the like, to observe the management of two very important Affairs without doors, wherein the Kings Authority and Prudence had the best share; I mean the difference between the Pope and the Seignory of *Venice*, and the Truce between the *Spaniards* and the States of the United-Provinces. As to the first, His Holiness complained for that the Seignory had put a certain Canon to death convicted of ravishing a Girl of Eleven years old, and then cutting her Throat; for that they detained two other Ecclesiastiques in Prison, a Canon and an Abbot; the first for having inchioltré, that is to say, besmeared a door, (belonging to a Kinswoman of his) with Ink (which is the highest affront in those Countries) because she had refused to consent to his infamous desires: The second because he was Accused of incest with his own Sister, of Assassinations, Poisonings, Robbery on the High-ways, Magick, and of many other Crimes.

He was offended yet more at three or four Decrees made by them against the honour and the liberty of the Church. By one in 1602. they had excluded the Lords Spiritual, under what title or pretence soever, from the right of emphyteutique prelation. By a second of the year 1603. they had forbidden the building of any Church, Convent, or Hospital, without permission of the Senate, upon pain of banishment for such as transgress'd, and confiscation of the Ground and Edifice. By a third of the year 1605. they extended that Decree made (first only for the City of *Venice*) in the year 1536. to all the Cities and Territories under their obedience; viz. That no Ecclesiastique should be allowed, to leave, bequeath, or engage any Goods to the Church, and if it were found that they possessed any of that sort, the said Goods should be distrained, and the value restored to whom it should belong. To which was added, That henceforward none should give any Estate in Lands to the Clergy, nor to the Religious Orders, without the consent of the Senate, who would allow of it upon good consideration, still keeping and observing the same Solemnities as are observed upon the alienation of the publick demeanes.

The two first Decrees were made in the time of *Clement VIII.* the third was renewed during the vacancy of the Holy See. Paul V. declared to the Ambassador of the Seignory, That he would have this last to be abolished; The Ambassador having written thereof to the Senate, received for answer to his Holiness, That the said Decree contained nothing that was contrary to the Ecclesiastical Liberty; that it respected only the Seculars, over whom the Republick had a Sovereign Power; That it was not just that such Lands as maintained the Subjects of the State, and was to bear the Charges, should fall into Mortmain; and that the Senate had ordained nothing therein but what

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what the Emperors Valentinian, and Charlemain, the Kings of France, from Saint Lewis even to Henry III. King of England; the Emperor Charles V. and several others most Christian Princes had ordained in the like matters.

But the Pope, very far from taking these reasons for current payment demanded moreover that they should deliver up the Prisoners to him; and sent two Briefs to his Nuncio, for Martin Grimani Duke of the Seigneory, which ordained him to do both the one and the other, under pain of Excommunication, and interdiction. When these Briefs arrived at Venice, the Duke was in his agony, so that they deferr'd the opening of them till the Election of a new one, who was Leonard Donati. Under the Authority of this Duke, the Senate made answer to the Pope; "That they could find nothing in the Decree, nor in their own conduct that did any way deviate from the respect they owed to the Holy See, or which was not of the rights of their Sovereignty in temporals. At the same time they nominated Duodi Ambassador Extraordinary, to go and declare the reasons for their so doing to his Holiness."

In the mean time, he from France, (it was Fresne Canaye) and the Cardinal Delini, made use of all their skill to allay the Popes indignation: but on the one side the Cardinals of the Spanish Faction, and on the other, the Catholic Kings Ambassador, Ferdinand Paecco Duke d' Acalona, pufft him up and heated him with specious motives of Religion and Honour. The Cardinals did this to cast the good man into some Embarrass, hoping the troubles of such a perplexed business would shorten his days. As for the Duke of Acalona, he sought to revenge himself for some resentment he had against the Venetians, and thought hereby to give his Master an opportunity that might signalize his power in Italy.

The extraordinary Ambassador from the Seigneory coming too late, found all things in a flame; and notwithstanding all the respects he could tender to the Cardinals, and all the Arguments and Reasons he could urge, he saw some time after, a Bull posted up in the publick places of Rome, declaring that the Duke, and the Senate, had by their undertakings against the Authority of the Holy See, the rights of the Church, and the privileges of the Ecclesiastiques, incurred those Censures contained in the Holy Canons, the Councils, and the Constitutions of the Popes, ordained them to deliver up the Prisoners into the hands of his Nuncio, declared their Decrees null and invalid, enjoyned they should revoke them, raze and tear them out of their Archives and Registries, and cause it to be proclaimed throughout all their Territories, that they had abolished them, and this within four and twenty days which he allowed as the utmost time. And in case they obeyed not, he declared Excommunicate them, their Abettors, Counsellors, and Adherents; And if after the four and twenty days prefixed, they did abide the Excommunication with stubbornness, then he aggravated the Sentence, and subjected the City and State of Venice to interdiction. This made Duodi retire from thence without taking his leave of the Pope, bringing along with him Nani the Ambassador in Ordinary from the Seigneory.

May, &c.

This thundering Bull was sent to all the Bishops within the Territories of the Seigneory to publish it: the number of those that obey'd was the lesser, the Senate had taken such good order there that this great flash of Lightning could set no part on fire: divine Service went on still in the open Churches, and the Sacraments were administred as before. The Ancient Religious Orders stood firm, but most of the new ones quitted that Country, particularly the Capucins, and the Jesuits, both very strictly tyed to his Holiness interest: the latter having likewise somewhat to clear before him concerning the great Affair of the point of Grace, with the Dominicans; wherein they ran no less hazard, should they miscarry, then to be charged with temerity and error.

June, July &c.

Whilst both parties were thinking to arm, the one to attaque, and the other to defend themselves, their men of Learning began the War by divers writings which they sent picquering abroad. The most Signal that appeared on the Theatre for the Republick, were Pol Soave of the Order of the Servites, (vulgarly called Fra Paolo) John Marfile a Neapolitan, Doctor in Theology, and Fulgentius of the same fraternity with Pol Soave: on the opposite Cardinal Bellarmine, and the Cardinal Baronius appeared the most zealous defenders of his Holiness. After these had dealt the heaviest blows, a confused multitude of meaner Authors tilted at one another; the meanest Lawyers and Canonists presuming according to the party they espoused either to restrain or extend the Authority of the Pope beneath or above the Council and Canons; and to discourse of the power of Princes, and the boundaries of their Dominion.

It was to be feared lest a more dangerous shock should follow; the Pope drew his Forces together in the Duchy of Spoleta, and had given the general Command of them

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to Rainutio Farnese, Duke of Parma. He had promis'd himself to make his Censures more biting with the sharp edge of his Sword: and at first breath'd nothing but Barrels and Sieges; but these were old mens flashes, which grew cold and drooping as soon as he began to feel the burthen of the expence, the cares attending so great an enterprize, and the perplexity he had run himself into.

The two most potent Princes of Christendom, the Kings of France and Spain entwined each other in offering their Assistance, but he perceived plainly that they at the same time treated with the Venetians, and designed only to make an accommodation and gain the honour and credit to themselves. The Spaniard had sent him a very obliging Letter, and dispatched Francis de Castro Ambassador extraordinary to Venice. The King of France also dealt with his Holiness by Alincour his Ambassador in Ordinary, and towards the end of the year ordered the Cardinal de Joyeuse to go to the Venetians to Negotiate the Treaty which was already much advanced by Fresne Canaye his Ambassador in Ordinary.

The Cardinal found nothing so difficult as the re-establishment of the Jesuits, the Senate perswaded they had not only animated the Pope to lay the interdiction, but also stirred every stone and tried all possible means to debauch the people, and the other religious Orders, had caused information against them touching other Criminal matters, and, as if they had been Convicted, banished them from all their Territories by a solemn Decree. Wherefore they stood stiffly upon it, not to open the Door again for their readmittance; at least, till such time as by a deportment wholly contrary to the former they had taken away all just cause of suspicion and jealousy.

As to the rest of the conditions, they soon agreed upon them. The Senate made a Vote to resign the Prisoners, and not execute their Decrees, till both Parties were satisfied therein; to revoke all their Edicts made against the Interdiction, and recall all the Religious Orders that had retired themselves, excepting the Jesuits. Reciprocally the Pope passed his word, to take off the Censures; and receive the Seigneory into his paternal affection. Joyeuse and d' Alincourt, Procurators for the King in this mediation, promised to subscribe to these conditions, and to become security to his Holiness for performance; and his Holiness, upon the receipt of this writing from their hands, was to give Joyeuse power to take off the Censures.

The Cardinal de Joyeuse went post to Rome with these Articles. The day after his Arrival, which was the Eighteenth of March, the Pope having admitted him to Audience, did again make great Efforts, at least in appearance, for the restoration of the Jesuits: for it concern'd him in honour not to forsake them visibly, since they had been expell'd for his quarrel. The Cardinal did as good as undertake to obtain this point, if they would leave the business absolutely to his management; but the Pope did not think that convenient. The Cardinal du Perron who was then at that Court upon some other account, employ'd his Eloquence to perswade him, he ought not to break off the agreement for the Jesuits sakes, since their return was not positively denied but only deferred. The Pope pretended to yield to his ponderous reasons: but it appeared at last, that Du Perron's was a needless debate on that point; since the Spaniards, as was afterwards known, had secretly obtained of his Holiness, that he would make no further instance but for fashion sake only; whereof they failed not to give the Senate Notice.

They had had all the share they could desire in the secret inward managing of this Affair, but they endeavour'd likewise to have the outward publick transacting. The French would never suffer it; which proved none of the least difficulties in the completing it. For these Crafty Politicians resolving to have a hand in't, or to break it, sometimes demanded; that the taking off the Censures should be done at Rome, other while essay'd to haunt some new Clause added to the Popes Brief: Then again they endeavour'd to perswade, they ought to oblige those Bishops that had not obey'd, to come to Rome and desire absolution of his Holiness. None of these succeeding, they try'd to alarm him, by spreading a report; the Senate would protest against the surrender of the Prisoners: but the Cardinal de Joyeuse secur'd him from that apprehension. Having made all these attempts in vain, they demanded that the Cardinal Sapate who had zealously shakled for the interests of his Holiness, might be associated with the Cardinal de Joyeuse for the executing of the Brief: But Joyeuse told them plainly, he would sooner leave all as it was, then suffer any other whaever he were, to partake this honour with him.

Wherefore, thus was their Affair determined. After the Cardinal was returned to Venice, and had consulted with the Seigneory, they appointed the one and twentieth of April for the Action. In the morning, of that day, before any other thing was done, the two Prisoners were brought to the Dukes House, and theredeliuer'd into the hands

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hands of a Doctor Commissioned by his Holiness for that purpose, in the presence of several Witnesses. That done the Cardinal entered alone into the Senate; when he had been there some time, they called in two Witnesses, before whom he caused the Brief of interdiction, and Excommunication to be read, by a Herald: After which he gave absolution in due form, with the sign of the Cross, to the Senate, and to all those that had incur'd the said Censures. An Act thereof was drawn up and signed by the Witnesses then present.

The Ceremony being over, and the Gates open'd, the Count de Castro Ambassador of Spain, came to congratulate the Senate upon their reconciliation with the Holy Father; and the Cardinal went to celebrate Mass pontifically, in the Patriarchal Church, where were present the Senate, and the Count de Castro, the people flocking thither from all parts with incredible joy: Those Bishops that had not submitted to the Censures, received absolution likewise; but whilst they were in dispute about the Conditions with whom the Pope had proposed for this Affair, they wholly abstained from Celebrating, and thus in effect, submitted to the interdict after all.

The Senate honoured such as had written in their defence with good Pensions, and took them into their protection: but their whole power and care was not enough to secure Fra Paolo from the malice of some Assassines, who having watched him a long time, surprized him one day as he was returning to his Monastery, and wounded him in several places with a Stiletto, but such care was taken in the cure that he recovered. Afterwards he hung up the Stiletto before an Altar in the Church belonging to his Convent with this inscription, Dei Filio liberatori: not so much perhaps to Consecrate his acknowledgment to God, as to immortalize the horror of that Assassinate, and stir up the publick hatred against those who were believed to be the Authors.

I come now to the Truce between the United Provinces and the King of Spain. The two parties were extremely fatigued with a War of above forty years continuance: they had both of them diversly resented the inconveniencies, and did dread the Event; the Spaniards had expended infinite Sums of Money, and lost more Men than those Countries were worth: They saw no probability of reducing them by force, and apprehended withal that if they should chance to get too much advantage over them, they might cast themselves into the Arms of the French for protection, which would have drawn after them the other Provinces that were yet left them. But the greatest of their fears was, lest they should utterly ruine their Trade to the Indies, and hinder the Arrival of their Flota's, which are their main subsistence. Besides, their Council imagined, that as the War had served only to exasperate and harden those People the more, and taught them better how to defend themselves, a Peace would soften them by little and little, recover their wonted communication, and perhaps incline them to respect their ancient Sovereign, at least the Catholick party who made up near a fourth part of those revolted Provinces. Withal, the Arch-Duke Albert most ardently desired the Peace, thereby to enjoy Flanders quietly, and be able to employ his Money and Friends to gain the Imperial Throne, which he expected would soon be vacant by the death of Rodolphus.

On the other hand, the Provinces finding themselves overwhelmed with debts, almost forsaken by the English, and under the apprehension of being so too by the French, who grew weary of contributing so much towards the expences of a War without reaping any apparent profit. Many of their Merchants imagined that a Peace would bring them Mines of Gold; and some being greatly allarm'd at the progress of Marquis Spinola, who amongst other places had taken Groel, and Rhimbergue, took the freedom to say, That since they could not subsist of themselves in a separate body of State, it were better they should rejoyne themselves to their natural Lord, then to put themselves under another who would lie more heavy upon them, as being so near a Neighbour. A certain Flemming, named Caminga, one of the first of those who were otherwise called Gueux, having one night held such like discourse, was the next day found dead in his Bed at Embden.

Their dispositions being such on either part, the Arch-Dukes first founded the Foord by Valrave, de Wittenhorst, and John Jevart who in the Month of May of the year 1606, first conferred with some particular Members of the States, then towards the end of the same year were heard in the Assembly of the States themselves. This first time, having represented the long and cruel miseries of War, and praised the mild and good intentions of the Arch-Dukes, they propounded

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pounded the re-union of those Provinces, with the rest, under the obedience of their ancient Prince. The States were not over-much pleased with the discourse and sent them back with an Answer directly contrary to their demand; viz. That by the Decree made at Utrecht Anno 1579. the King of Spain had lost his right of Sovereignty over those Provinces, and that they had been United in one Body, and declared a free State and Republick: the which had been confirmed by a prescription of more then five and twenty years, and by several Princes and States, with whom they had made divers Treaties and Confederations.

The Arch-Dukes, as is believed, made this Essay only in point of honour; for their Deputies sent immediately to let the States know, That the intention of their Princes was not to gain, or take advantage of the United-Provinces; but to leave them in the condition they then were in, and to Treat upon that foot.

This proposition did not displease the States: and on their side the Arch-Dukes to shew they acted sincerely, employ'd in this Negotiation * Father John Neyer or Ney, General of the Cordeliers, but who was a natural Flemming, and had been bred up in the Protestant Religion till the age of two and twenty years. His Father was one Martin Ney otherwise very well known too and employed by the Father of Prince Maurice. As to the rest, his behaviour appeared to have so much of integrity, that notwithstanding his change of Religion, and Habit, the Hollanders had a great deal of confidence in him.

He brought them very obliging Letters from the Arch-Dukes, who offer'd amongst other things, (to take away all suspicion of any surprize) to depute none for this Treaty but Originaries of the Low-Countries; to hold the Conferences in such place as it should please the States to chuse; to agree to a Truce of eight Months, and to get the conditions ratified by the King of Spain. The States accepted of the Truce, to begin on the fourth of May; the Letters of the ratification were deliver'd on either part, and publication thereof made. The difficulty was for the ratification from Spain, Lewis Verreiken, Secretary of State to the Arch-Dukes, brought it the fourteenth of July to the Hague; but as it was only in paper, subscribed Ioel Rgy, and sealed only with the little Seal; moreover, as it gave the Arch-Dukes the Title of Lords of the Low-Countries, and they had omitted this Clause, That they should treat with those Provinces as holding them for a free Country. The States found it imperfect as well in form as in substance.

Mean time, the King of France who had received notice from the States, that they had accepted of a Truce, fearing the business should be managed to the disadvantage of his interest, resolv'd, that he might share in the Negotiation, and make himself as Arbitrator, to send thither the President Janin, one of the best heads in his Kingdom, and Paul Choard Bazenvall, to labour jointly with Elias de la * Planche Russi (whom he had sent Ambassador to the States in the stead of Busenval) by communicating with the said States and fortifying them with their conceils. The King of England likewise would needs have his Ambassadors there, and by his example the King of Denmark, and the Protestant Princes; but those of France arrived there the eight and twentieth of May: those from England not till the Month of July; and the others about the end of the year.

The Ratification of Spain carried to Madrid, being brought agen to the Hague with some alterations; but not all those the States had mentioned; did not fully content them: Those that desired not the Peace, took occasion from thence, and from some other incidencies, to frame such Obstructions as made them spend four Months in contests only. Notwithstanding in the beginning of November, the States upon the instances of Father Ney, went on to the Negotiation: but put this down for an immoveable and fixed point, That they should not in the least touch upon the foundation of their Liberty, and their right of Sovereignty, which they had acquired at the Expence of all that was dear to them in the world. Now because the Truce expired in January, they left it to the discretion of the Arch-Dukes to prolong it for a Month, or Six Weeks. In these Messages too and fro was this whole year almost wasted.

It is held, that one of the Considerations which hastned most the Council of Spain to accept of this Truce, was their fear of losing the Indies, and their Maritime Forces; for the Hollanders had taken from them and Burnt, within three years, above Thirty great Galioons, and now newly had defeated their Admiral

B b b b b

Den

February,
and
March.
* They called
him Pater Ney

April, May,
and June.

* Son of la
Blanche first
President in the
Court des aides
Massacred at
the St. Bartholé
mews.

Novemb.
and
Decemb.

1607. *Don Juan Alvarez d' Avila*, in the very Port of *Gibraltar*, the Five and twentieth day of *April*.

This Exploit may well be counted one of the most brave and resolute that ever was performed on the Seas. *Jacob de Heemskerck* Commanding the States Fleet, consisting of Twenty six Vessels, attacked that of *Spain*, though above a third part stronger than his own, and under shelter of the Cannon both of the Town and Castle. He pursued the Admiral quite through the Enemies Fleet, having given Command not to fire one Gun till they came Yard arm to Yard arm. Upon this neer approach, the Valiant *Hollander* had his Legg taken off by a Cannon Ball, whereof he died about an hour after; but in the interim harangued those with such force that were about him, and gave such good Orders, that his Men gained the Victory, Burnt, or Sunk the *Spanish* Admiral, wherein *d' Avila* was, and Twelve Ships more, took Two hundred Prisoners, amongst whom was the Son of *d' Avila*, and kill'd above Two thousand Men, whereof above Fifty were Persons of Quality. This signal overthrow fill'd all *Spain* with mourning, and carried a very hot Alarm even to *Madrid*. It was believed that if the Victors had pursued their blow, they might have forced *Gibraltar*, and *Cadiz* too; but they retired to *Titan*, a place upon the Coast of *Africa*, belonging to the King of *Faz*, to refresh, and to repair themselves.

1608. We are now in the year 1608. which is to this day called the Great Winter year, for the Cold which began to be very bitter on Saint *Thomas's* Day, lasted above two Months without relenting in the least degree, excepting one or two days, and congealed, or if we may so express it, petrified all the Rivers, froze most of the young Vine-Roots, and other tender Plants, starved above half the Wildfowl and Small Birds in the Fields, great numbers of Travellers on the Roads, and near a fourth part of the Cattle that were housed, as well by its violent sharpness, as for want of Forrage. It was observed that the heats of the following Summer did almost equal the Severities of the Winter, and yet the year might be reck'ned amongst the most plentiful.

The Thaw caused no less damage than the hard Frost had done, the Cakes of Ice in the Rivers destroy'd a world of Boats, Keys, and Bridges; The Waters raised by the sudden melting of the Snows drowned the Valleys; and the Loir, breaking down its Banks in many places, made a second deluge in the Neighbouring Campagnes.

1608. That which hapned at *Lyons* is a wonderworthy to be described; There was a mountain of Ice-Cakes accumulated on the *Saone*, before the Church de *Pobser-vance*; the whole City trembled, for fear lest upon breaking loose, it should carry away the Bridge, and therefore made Publick Prayers to avert that Misfortune and Damage: a simple Artisan undertook to make it break into little shivers, and swim away by degrees without any disorder, for a certain Sum of Money agreed upon by the Magistrates of the Town. To this effect, he on the Shoar right against it, lighted two or three small Fires, with half a dozen Faggots, and a few Coals, and falls a muttering certain words. Immediately this prodigious glaciated Rock burst, with a noise like the report of a Cannon, into an infinity of pieces, the greatest not exceeding four or five foot. But, this poor fellow, instead of receiving his Reward, was in danger of receiving severe Punishment: for the Divines said, That the thing could not possibly be so done, without some operation of the Devil; so that his Recipe, or Charm, was burnt publicly in the Town-Hall. Ten, or Twelve years after he brought his Action in Parliament, for his Reward: I could never learn the success of it.

Henry last Duke of *Montpensier*, after he had languished two years with a He-ctick Fever, reduced to suck a Nurses Breast, expir'd about the end of *February*. His only Daughter a little before his Death was Contracted to the King's second Son; who dying young, she afterwards Married the third, whom we have seen Duke of *Orleans*, he came into the world the Five and twentieth of *March* following. *Henrietta Catherine de Joyeuse*, Widdow of *Henry*, re-married some time after to *Charles* Duke of *Guise*.

In the Month of *May*, *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*, a good Prince, liberal and pacifick, passed from this life to the other, and had for Successor his eldest Son *Henry* Duke of *Bar* and *Marquis du Pont*.

Some perhaps would take it amiss should I forget, that the Duke of *Nemours* sent on an extraordinary Embassy to the Pope, to tender him the filial Obedience, made his entrance into *Rome* upon the Five and twentieth of *November*, the

the most magnificently that ever had been known upon the like occasion; and that the Holy Father caused a *Jubile* to be published which commenced at *Rome* the Sixth of *September*, and Six Weeks afterwards at *Paris*. 1608. *Novemb.*

I think I may in this year place the Invention of Perspective Glasses, because the use of them began now to grow common in *Holland* and *France*. A Spectacle-maker of *Middleburg* presented one which he had made to Prince *Maurice*, which seemed to bring any Object, though two Leagues distant within Two hundred paces of the Eye, for from the *Hague* they could easily discern the Dial at *Delf*, and the Windows of the Church at *Leyden*: the year following many were to be had in the Shops at *Paris*, but which could not descry a third part so far as those.

Some have named them *Galileo's Glasses**, as if that famous Mathematician had * Or Tele-invented them: but it is most certain this happy Discovery was made long before his time: We find manifest footsteps of them in the Works of *Baptista Porta*; and we must acknowledge that the Ancients made use of them, if that be true which *Roger Bacon* saith, That *Julius Caesar* being on the *Belgic Shoar* opposite to great *Britain*, did with certain great Burning-Glasses discover the Posture and Disposition of the British Army, and all the Coast along that Country. However it were, they have labour'd so happily to bring them to their full Perfection, that it will be difficult to make any further Addition or Improvement: The marvellous Observations which have been made and are daily taken of the Heavens by the help of them are a most illustrious proof of their Success.

As to the Subject of the Fougade at Westminster, the King of Great Britain who believed that all these Conspiracies proceeded from that Power which the Pope pretended over Sovereigns, made an Oath of Fidelity, or Allegiance after a new form; wherein he obliged all his Subjects, to acknowledge that he was their true and lawful Sovereign, and that the Pope had neither of himself, nor from any other, the Power to depose Kings, or to warrant any Stranger Prince to invade their Country, or to dispense their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance: therefore should swear to him, that notwithstanding any Sentence whatsoever of the Popes, they would faithfully obey him, and serve him, and his Successors, and should discover whatever Conspiracies they did know either against his Person, or against his State.

The Pope having notice hereof, sent a Brief to the Catholics, to forbid them the taking this Oath. *George Blackwell*, Arch-Priest of *England*, being imprisoned upon the refusal he made of it, suffered himself at last, to be persuaded, that this Brief had been extorted, and that there was nothing contained in the Formulary of the Oath contrary to the Articles of Faith, so that he took it and caused it to be taken by the rest of the Catholics in *England*. But the Pope by a second Brief, confirmed the first, and *Cardinal Bellarmine* wrote a Letter to *Blackwell*, to shew him that the said Oath wounded the Unity of the Church, and the Authority of the Holy-See. He published an Apology for this Oath; the Cardinal made an Answer; the King a reply, which he addressed to the Christian Princes. Some Authors concerned themselves in the quarrel; and it being a contest wherein the power of the Popes was debated, as likewise that of temporal Princes, it became the exercise and entertainment of the most learned men in Europe for some Months together.

The States of the United-Provinces had reason to make the Spaniards believe and see, that in case the Treaty of Peace were broken off, they should be assisted both by *France* and *England*; wherefore they had several times made instance to the Ambassadors of those Kings that they would enter into a good Defensive League for their preservation. The King of *France* did first agree, and Signed it the second day of *January*, notwithstanding the contrary advice of those of his Council, whom a zeal for the Catholick Religion inclined indirectly to favour the Spaniard; the Ambassadors of the King of *England* having some points to settle with the States touching the liquidation of Arrears of Moneys, did not conclude it till four or five Months after.

Those of *Spain* deputed for the Peace; to wit, the Marquis de *Spinola* General of King *Philips* Armies in the Low-Countries; *John Crusel Richardot*, President of the Privy-Council to the Arch-Dukes; *John de Mancidor*, Secretary of War to King *Philip*; *Frier John Neyer*, or *Ney*, Commissary-General of the Order of Saint *Francis*, and *Lewis Verreiken*, prime Secretary of State to the Arch-Duke, Arrived at the *Hague* in the Month of *January*. The States deputed

1608. ted for the Generality *William of Nassau*, and the Lord *de Brederode*: and the seven Provinces named for each of them one of the most able and best qualify'd they had amongst them.

February. The Compliments made on either part, they began to assemble the Sixth day of February. In the first Ten Sessions they produced their Procurations, and treated of an Amnesty, of Reprisals, and some other such Points which passed without much difficulty; but when they came to mention the Commerce of the *East-Indies*, there began the main of the Negotiation, the States insisting to have the full liberty of that Trade; the *Spaniards* to exclude them; thinking there were only a few Merchants interested in that Trade, and that the rest would not concern themselves much for their preservation: but the Company which of late years was set up for the *Indies*, had forty Ships belonging to them, the least of five hundred Tun burthen, well provided for War, and each of the value of five and twenty thousand Crowns: Besides, fourscore more of six or seven hundred Tun which traded to the *West-Indies*, not reck'ning a great number of smaller bulk for *Guiney*, and the Islands *Saint Dominique*. Being therefore animated by their profit, and withal upheld and countenanc'd by Prince *Maurice*, they made so much noise, and roused the publick by so many Manifesto's and discourses in Print, that their Deputies were obliged to stand to it.

Seeing therefore they could not agree upon that point, they quitted it to pass on to those concerning the reciprocal Trade in the *Low-Countries*, the renunciation of reprisals, the declaration of their limits, the demolition and exchange of places, the Cancellation of Sentences of Proscription and Confiscation, the restitution of Goods, the Priviledges of Cities, the disbanding of Soldiers on each side, and many other points.

In the Memoirs of the President *Janin* are to be seen the difficulties that were created on either part upon different Articles, particularly about the restitution of places. How the Truce was prolonged two several times, the one to the end of *May*, the other till *July*. How Father *Ney* going into *Spain* for more ample powers, was detained there a long time by the slow motions, either natural, or artificial, of that Council: How the President *Janin*, sent for by the King, took a turn into *France*, and how *Don Pedro de Toledo*, who was then going to *Germany*, came at the same time, with design, as was believed, to sound the Kings intentions, and to take him off from espousing the interests of the States.

Septemb.

We there find likewise the great jealousies the States conceived upon the Conferences he had with the King, the Intrigues and Artifices of Prince *Maurice* to break this Treaty, the different Factions that were formed in that Country for and against it: Then the rupture of the said Treaty by the States, upon the *Spaniards* persisting to have the free exercise of the Catholick Religion re-established in all their Territories, and that they should lay down the whole Trade and Navigation to the *Indies*; and in fine upon this rupture, the retreat of the Ambassadors of *Spain*, who took their leaves of the States the last day of *September*, and returned to *Bruxels*.

Those of *France*, and Great Britain, particularly the first, did not for all this leave off their Mediation, but propounded to both parties to make a long Truce, at least, since they could not agree upon the Articles for a perpetual Peace. Prince *Maurice* opposed it openly, because his employment must be at an end with the War: He had subject enough to declaim against the artifice of the *Spaniard*, and to entertain the peoples fears and jealousies; and talked the more confident and high, as having all the Sons of War on his side, and the Province of *Zeeland*, besides four or five good places in his disposition, and the desires of the Protestant Princes, who apprehended lest during such a Truce the power of the *Austrian* House should fall upon their Backs.

But the Kings honour was too much concerned, after he had taken so much pains, and his interest likewise, (to disarm *Flanders*, which he designed to seize upon) not to bring this business to a conclusion. He pursued it therefore so warmly by intreaties, and menaces to the States, that their Deputies met again at *Antwerp* on the five and twentieth of *March*, with those of *Spain*, and made a Truce for twelve years, which was proclaimed in that City the fourteenth day of *April*.

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January,
February,
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April.

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It imported amongst other things, That the Arch-Dukes treated with them in quality and as holding them for free Provinces, upon whom they had no manner of pretence; That there should be a Cessation from all Acts of Hostility, but that in Foreign Countries it should not commence till a year after; That Traffick should be free both by Sea and Land, which however the King of Spain limited to the Countries he held in Europe, not meaning the States should Trade into those others*, without his* East and express Licence. That either should hold such places as were then in their possession, West-Indies. That such whose Estates had been seized or confiscated by reason of the War, or their Heirs, should have the enjoyment of them during the Truce, and should re-enter upon them without any other form of Justice; That the Subjects belonging to the States should have in the Kings and Arch-Dukes Countries the same liberty in Religion, as had been granted to the Subjects of the King of Great Britain by the last Treaty of Peace. Reciprocally the States promised, that there should be no alteration made in those Villages of *Brabant* which depended upon them, where hitherto there had been no other exercise of Religion but the Catholick; for which the Ambassadors gave their Guaranty in writing.

1069.

The President *Janin* being returned to the *Hague* after the Publication, exhorted the States in behalf of the King, to grant to their Catholick Subjects the free exercise of their Religion; but all that he could obtain was, that they should be no more persecuted nor troubled if they did it in their own houses, and for their private Families only.

If the power of *Spain* received a great shock by this Treaty, that which they procured themselves by the expulsion of the *Moors* was no less. After the eviction of the Kingdom of *Granada*, great numbers of *Mahometans* and *Jews* were remaining in those Countries, who had settled and spread themselves in the Kingdoms of *Valencia*, *Castille* and *Andalouzia*; they were baptized and professed Christianity, for which reason they were called *new Christians*; but yet did secretly exercise the impieties of their fore-Fathers. They were reck'ned to be above twelve hundred thousand of both sexes. King *Philip* informed that for divers years they had sought for and courted the protection of the King of *France*, the *United-Provinces*, the King of *England*, nay, even the *Turks*, and the King of *Morocco*; and suffering himself to be perfwaded that upon a certain *Good-Friday*, they intended to cut the Throats of all the old Christians in those Countries where they inhabited, resolved to thrust them out of his Territories, not permitting them to carry away any thing, excepting some Merchandize of the Country; seizing and detaining their Gold and Silver, their Jewels and moveables, only he allowed the fourth part to the Nobility in recompence of the damage they sustained by such their banishment: for they improved and made the Lands yield more by one third to the Gentry, then the *Spanish* Tenants could do.

This Edict was Executed with the utmost severity, even against those that were Priests, Friers, Officers of the Kings, and Allied to the most ancient Christian Families: they haled and tore them from the very Altars, Cloysters, Tribunals of Justice; the Husbands from the Arms of their dearest Wives, the Wives from the Bosoms of their Husbands, the Fathers or Mothers from their tenderest Children. These wretches, part of them transported into *Africa*, part getting into *France*, and *Italy*, did most of them perish after divers manners; some were drowned by those very Marriners who pretended to transport them; others Massacred by the *Arabes*; many being first stript and then turned away by those from whom they expected shelter, died of hunger, being in execration to the Christians as *Infidels*, and to the *Infidels* as *Christians*; so that of this huge Multitude, hardly could the fourth part make shift to save themselves. *Spain* will for a long time feel the smart of this more than barbarous inhumanity for the cruel expulsion of so many Myriads of Men, together with the continual recruits they are ever sending to the *Indies*, and their natural lazy temper, has made of that Country, otherwhile the most peopled and the most cultivated in *Europe*, a vast and barren solitude.

Some Christian Pirates were retired to *Tunis*, and *Algier*, and had there gotten so many of their own stamp together, that they held the Streight of *Gibraltar*, as it were shut up, and dar'd even attaque whole Fleets. The *Malouins* not able to endure these Robberies, fitted out some Vessels to set upon them: Captain *Beaulieu* their Commander, having consider'd of the means to destroy the whole

1609,

and

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till *March*.

1608. whole force of these Picaroons at one blow, conceived the boldest design that could be imagined. He resolved to attempt to burn their Ships even in the Port of *Tunis*, under the very Castle of *Golletta*. The *Spaniards* having joyned him with eight great Gallions, would needs second him in this generous enterprize. When the Wind stood fair, he put himself bravely in the Van, entred the Haven at noon day, passed under the Cannon of the Fort, against which he fired a hundred and fifty Broad-sides; then, observing his Vessels could get no nearer, he leaped into a Barque with forty Men only, and piercing thorow a continual Tempest of five and forty great Guns which thundred upon him from the Fort, went and put fire to the greatest Vessel first, whence it was convey'd to all the rest, and consumed three and thirty, whereof sixteen were fitted for Men of War, and one Galley.

1609. The news of the death of *Ferdinand de Medicis* Duke of *Tuscany*, Uncle to the Queen, interrupted those divertisements which were the chiefest occupations of the Court during the melancholy Winter Season, and made them lay aside the merry Carousels and the Balets. His Son *Cosmo II.* of that name succeeded him in his Estates.

June. This year two memorable Edicts were published; one of the Month of *June*, to stop the fury of Duels; the other of the Month of *May*, to remedy or prevent the too frequent Bankrupts. The first encreased the penalties ordained by the Precedent Laws against such as fought, and against their Seconds, made several rules for the reparation of affronts, and allowed such as had received any great injury to bring their complaints to the King, or else to the Connestable and Marechals of *France*, and to demand leave to fight; which should be granted them if it were judged expedient for their honour.

The second punished the Bankrupts with death, as Robbers and publick Cheats; declared null all Conveyances, Sales, Grants, or Donations by them fraudulently made; ordained that even those that had received them, or had been assisting towards the receiving of their effects, or had induced or perswaded the Creditors to compound with them, should be chastised as Complices; forbid all their Creditors to give them any Letter of Licence or time of delay, upon pain of forfeiting their respective debts, and more if they transgressed.

Upon this there were great numbers that fled out of the Kingdom; but one of the most notorious, who sheltered himself in *Flanders*, being taken at *Valenciennes* by permission of the Arch-Dukes, was brought to *Paris*, and by Arrest, or judgment, of the Masters of Requests made *amende honorable with a Torch in hand*, was put in the Pillory three several days, and then sent to the Gallies. A most necessary example to suppress the Roguy-shirkings of that sort of Cattle; For having hid their heads a while to oblige their Creditors to give away good part of what is their just due, they soon after appear again proud with the spoil of those they have thus defrauded, and think to cover their Guilt and Shame under the impudence of a brazen fore-head.

1609, and 1610. Whilst the King was acquiring the Title of the Arbitrator of Christendom, by composing all the differences between the Neighbouring States, unhappy discord sliding into his own Family, ruffled the tranquility of his mind, fill'd his heart with a thousand discontents, and sowed all the joy of his good success. The disdain of the Marchioness de *Verneuil* had a new encreased his passion, as on the other hand the pursuit he made to have her again within his power, and the Offensive Language she used, redoubled the Queens jealousy, and their Domestique quarrels.

Sully, and some other of the Kings Confidants laboured in vain to reduce both the one and the other to the Kings will and pleasure; they threatened the Marchioness, that he would make choice of some other, and if once she lost his favour together with his heart, both she and her Children must inevitably be confined to some Monastery. In effect, he endeavour'd to wean himself from her, by making publick love to the Countess de *Moret*, and a while after to the *Damoiselle des Essars*. They at the same time reprefented to the Queen, that her passion did but alienate the Kings affection more and more, that Complaisance, tenderness and caresses were the only Charms to retain him; and that till she could prevail with him to forsake the illegitimate Objects, she ought in common prudence to make use of all her moderation, if she desired to obtain any favours for her, or hers. But *Conchine*, and *Leonora Galigay*, very remote from putting her into this disposition, having usurped so much power over her will, that

that they governed her desires, her affection, and her passions, as they pleased, encouraged and soothed her more and more in her perverse humour.

The King had often been advised not to suffer those fatal brands so near her who every day put fire to the House, and would some time or other set the whole Kingdom in a flame: *Don Juan de Medicis*, having essay'd by his Order, to perswade the Queen to discard them, she fell into passion with injurious words and reproaches, and was so bent to do him some injury, whatever the King could do to appease her, that he was constrained to retire out of *France*. The impudence of those little rascally people grew to so great a height that they used Menaces, even against the Kings person, if he durst attempt theirs, as many had often counsell'd him to do.

The zealous Catholicks of his Council, joyning with and pursuing the Queens intentions, maintained dangerous correspondencies with the Council of *Spain* by means of the Ambassador of *Florence*, and made much ado for the Marrying the *Dauhin*, and the eldest Daughter of *France*, with the Son and Daughter of King *Philip*: infomuch, as that Prince, whether of his own Motion, or by their suggestion gave command to *Don Pedro de Toledo*, (related to the Queen) whom he was sending into *Germany*, to sojourn some time in the Court of *France* and sound the Kings intentions.

We know not what Propositions he made to him in private, but it was suspected he had talked about making a League between the two Crowns to force all the Protestants to return to the Catholick Faith, and that he had offer'd to yield up all the Right his Master had to the *United Provinces*, and to give them in Dower to the *Dauhin*, with his eldest Daughter. But the King answered very coldly as to these Marriages: for he would have no Alliance with the *Spaniard*, he desired to Marry his *Dauhin* with the eldest Daughter of *Lorraine*, to joyn that Dutchy to *France*: and had resolved to bestow the eldest of his Daughters, on the Duke of *Savoy's* eldest Son. It was said, that to indemnifie the *Lorraine* Princes who pretended their Dutchy was a Fief Masculine, he proposed to give them the Rank and Privilege, as Princes of his Blood immediately next those who really were so.

It had been already for some years past that the Duke of *Savoy*, dissatisfied with the *Spaniards*, as well for that they had not allotted his Wife so good a share as her Sister *Isabella*, as also because they did not assist him in due time and place, fought to make his Fortune better on the *French* side, and omitted no opportunity of renewing the Propositions for the Conquest of *Milan*. In the year 1607. the Cardinal de *Joyeuse*, at his return from *Venice*, and Anno 1608. *Fauvelas*, who had been sent to *Turin* to congratulate the Duke, upon the Marriage of his two Daughters with the Dukes of *Mantona* and of *Modena*, brought the King some hints of it; but he did not then confide enough in him, or did not judge it yet time to declare himself. This year, *Bullion* being gone into *Savoy* upon some other Affairs, had order to declare his intentions to the Duke, and likewise to propound the Conquest of *Milan* for himself, excepting only some places he should leave to the *Venetians*, as being very commodious for them. The Duke opening both ears to such fair proffers, *Bullion* brought *Lesdiguieres* to discourse with him; And from that time was a League concluded, between the King and the Duke, Offensive and Defensive, of which the Marriage of his Son, with the eldest Daughter of *France*, was to be as it were the Seal, and Garantie.

The design to reduce the House of *Austria* within the limits of *Spain* and its Hereditary Countries, was never out of the King's thoughts: Most of the Princes in Christendom, and above all, the Protestants, did eternally sollicit him to go about it; His Commanders desired it to have Employments; and the *Huguenots* push'd the wheel forward, thereby to prevent any League between the two Crowns, which undoubtedly would have tended to exterminate them. On the contrary, the Catholicks, in whom some leaven of the old League was yet remaining, omitted nothing that might divert him; they believed it to be even a work of Piety to lend a helping hand to his Pleasures, that so his glass might run on in soft and idle hours: but though in other things he relied much on their Council, he seldom discover'd his Resolutions, nay hardly made any mention to them of any thing concerning this great Enterprize; and if he had delay'd it hitherto, it was but because he would take all his Precautions, and make all the necessary preparations before he would declare himself.

1609.

He had been fain, for this purpose, to settle a perfect Tranquillity in his own Kingdom, giving the factions time to cool and be extinguished, and the two Religions to become more compatible, as absolutely expedient. He had been fain to discharge his Debts, restore that Credit which the male-administration of the Treasury had forfeited, and moreover make Provision of Moneys, Ammunitions, Arms, Artillery, and select Men, and engage on his side all the Princes and States he possibly could. The Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark* had given him their Parol at least four years since: The *United Provinces* at the making of their Truce, assured him they would break it, when ever he should desire it: besides the Duke of *Savoy*, the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, and several Imperial Cities: The Duke of *Bavaria* entred into this League, upon the assurance that the Election to the Empire being made free, they would make him King of the *Romans*. The *Venetians* were promised some Cities in *Milanois*, and those of the Kingdom of *Naples* on the *Adriatick Gulf*: To the *Swiss*, the Country of *Tirol*, the *Franche-Comté*, and *Alsace*. The Pope did even suffer himself to be hook'd in, provided they would help him to re-unite the Kingdom of *Naples* to the Holy See, which would have afforded him most excellent means for accommodating his Nephews. Thus would all the Princes of Christendom have furnish'd themselves with the Spoil of the House of *Austria*; and the King, that the World might not have the same cause of Jealousie against him, as they justly had against the House he was going to help them Plunder, would not have retained one inch of Ground for himself, but have been content with the Glory only of this brave undertaking for his share.

After this, as there are now bounds to so noble a race of Honour, he designed, when he should have settled the Limits and Pretensions of the Christian Princes, established a firm Peace and Union amongst them, and formed a general Council for this Christian Republick they should employ all the Forces of it, to ruine the Mahometan Tyranny. These Designs, without doubt, were not above his Courage, or his Power, but perhaps of an extent longer than his life and his health, being as he was Aged Six and fifty years, subject to the *Gout*, of which he had frequent Fits, and obliged every year to run thorow a course of Physick once at least, and oft-times twice.

1609.

Love, if it be permitted to say so, would needs have a hand in the Enterprize, and lend his Flambeau to help kindle this War, as he hath lighted almost all the greatest that ever have consumed Mankind. *Henrietta Charlotta*, Daughter of the Conestable de *Montmorency*, and of *Lonisa de Budos* his second Wife, appeared no sooner at Court, but she out-shined all other Beauties there: The first time the King saw her, was in a Masque, or Ballet, where she represented a *Diana*, and held a Dart in her hand: She then inspired him with Sentiments quite contrary to those which that chaste Goddess should inspire mens Hearts withal.

January and February.

The Confidants of this Prince's Passions, the young Charmers Parents, even those Petticoat Politicians about the Queen who thought by this new, to turn off all his old Mistresses, were disposed to serve him in this Courtship. All flatter'd and soothed his Passion, but she alone that could ease him; he fancied he might overcome her, by raising her to the highest rank in the Court, next the Queen, and in that Prospect married her to the Prince of *Condé*, Young and Poor, who held all from his Power and Bounty, and had as yet neither Governments, nor any Employment, but who being what he was, and withal accomplish'd both in Body and Mind, might with a little more complaisance have been in a capacity to have obtained the Noblest Commands in the Kingdom. The Nuptials were solemnized at *Chantilly* in the Month of *March*.

March.

The Duke of *Vendosme* having attained the Age of Sixteen years, the King was impatient to Consummate his Marriage with *Francis de Lorrain*, only Son of the deceased Duke of *Mercoeur*. The Mother, and some of the Virgins Kindred had ever made great opposition: in the end, Father *Cotton*, extremely persuasive and insinuating, disposed them to give the King this Satisfaction: The *Fiancailles*, or Betrothing, was made the precedent year: And in this the Marriage was celebrated at *Fontainebleau* the Ninth of *July*.

July.

It was about this time of rejoycing that the King's new flame, increasing by the Prefence of the Princess of *Condé*, appeared so plain, and shone so bright and hot, as offended the Eyes of her Husband, and gave him a shrewd Fit of the Head-Ach. Then, the scrupulous, the discontented, the King's concealed Enemies, those People whose Malignity is never pleased but in Troubles, without any other

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1609.

aim but to make mischief, and even the Queen her self, pecked him with Honour and Jealousie: He flies out and held Discourses very disrespectful, the King chastizes him by taking away his subsistence which was in Pensions, and the Money he had promised upon his Marriage.

This rough treatment had an effect quite contrary to what he desired; the Prince being the more enraged, and withal apprehending some violence from so head-strong a passion, though he had seen no such example in this good King, resolved to retire himself from Court. Having therefore disposed every thing for his design, he did, as we may say, steal away his wife the nine and twentieth of *August*, set her behind him on Horse-back, and when he had rode some Leagues, put her into a Coach with six Horses. He passed by *Landrecy*, without entering thence, and from thence travell'd with all speed to *Bruxels*, where the Popes Nuncio, and the Arch-Dukes received him with a great deal of joy, and render'd him all the honour that was due to his quality.

August.

Upon the news of this unexpected Evasion, the King full of anger and love, could not dissemble his emotions, not even before the Queen, but yet endeavour'd to colour them with reason of State. His Council was of Opinion he should resolve on nothing so important a business, till they were certain of the place of his retreat. A Month afterwards they had certain notice he was at *Bruxels*; then the King order'd *Praulin*, Captain of his Guards, to go to the Arch-Dukes and demand they should surrender to him the first Prince of his Blood. To which they answered, That the consideration and esteem they had for that Noble Blood having obliged them to allow him a retreat, the Laws of Hospitality, and honour would not suffer them to deliver him up: and that there was no ground to fear he would attempt any thing either in word or deed contrary to that respect and service which he owed him.

October.

This Answer did not satisfy the King, he counted as dishonour all the honour they could shew to him who had incur'd his disfavour, and had carried Reports into stranger Countries which wounded his reputation. Besides, the too great familiarity that Prince had contracted with the Duke d' *Aumale* a mortal enemy to his person, gave him a plausible pretence to evaporate his cholerick transports, which were known to be produced by another and a fairer cause. He therefore sent Ambassadors to the Arch-Dukes, who spake yet lower to them than *Praulin*, yet gained no more then he. Some of his Confidants, thinking to do him good service, would needs employ themselves without Commission, and made attempts to steal away the Princess; and others agen, more imprudent then the first, contrived some against the Prince himself, the rumour of it being spread in *Bruxels* (this was in *February* Anno 1610.) the whole City put themselves in Arms to defend so Noble a Guest; but he, fearing some dangerous Event, retired from thence, and passed into *Milan*.

November.

The Count de *Fuentes*, a furious Enemy to the King, set maliciously a report on *Wing*, that he had put the price of two hundred thousand Crowns upon his head; and under that pretence, ordered a Guard both of Horse and Foot to attend him, which he did not so much for the safety of his person, as to vilifie the reputation of the King, and hinder any Envoy from reclaiming that Prince either by making him some offers very advantageous, or by bringing him to abhor and repent what he had done. He had, in effect, some reason to apprehend such a change, since notwithstanding all this Precaution the Prince, as it was said, began to listen to the propositions were made him by *France*, and was going to submit and comply when the death of the King happened.

1610.
February.

Whatever some may have said, the greatest passion the King had was for Fame in the pursuit of his brave and noble design. The death of *John William*, Duke of *Cleve*, *Juliers* and *Bergh*, Count de *la Mark*, and Lord of *Ravestein*, happening the five and twentieth of *March*, afforded him a specious overture. This Prince was Son of Duke *William*, who was so of *John Duke of Cleves*, Count de *la Mark*, and Lord of *Ravestein*, which *John* had espoused *Mary*, Daughter and Heiress of *William Duke of Juliers* and *Bergh*, and Lord of *Ravensburgh*. Observe it was expressly said in their Contract, That those Lands should ever remain united in one hand, thereby to be enabled the better to defend themselves against their Neighbors who became too powerful.

1609.
March, &c.

The Succession of Duke *John William* was extremely litigious amongst his Heirs, as well because of the divers dispositions of the Dukes his Predecessors,

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1610.

as the Constitutions of the several Emperors, directly contrary to one another. For some had treated these Dutchies as Fiefs Masculine; others would have it that they might fall to the distaff or females. The Emperor Frederic III. had conceded them to Albert Duke of Saxony, for services rendered to the Empire, in case those who then were in possession should come to dye without Heirs Males; and Maximilian I. had ratified this concession two several times. Afterwards, quite contrary, when William Son of Duke John, (and Brother of Sibylla married to John Frederic, soon after Elector of Saxony) espoused Mary of Austria, Queen of Hungary and Sister of Charles V. (this was in Anno 1545.) that Emperor granted to him, (and his Successors confirm'd it) "That if they left no Sons of this Marriage, the Daughters should be capable of succeeding in all his Estates, the Eldest first, & then the younger consecutively one after another: and if there were none living at the time of the decease of the Father, the said principalities should appertain to their Male-Children. The same condition had been apposed in the Contract of Sibylla, Sister of this William in the year 1526. when Duke John their Father Marry'd her to the said Frederic Elector of Saxony, who was afterwards defeated and destituted of his Dutchy by the Emperor Charles V.

Now this William, Son of Duke John, had had a Son; to wit, the John William whose death we now mention'd; and four Daughters, who were Mary-Eleonora, Anne, Magdalen, and Sibylla. These Daughters had Married, the first, Albert Frederic Duke of Prussia, Anno 1572. of whom there were none but Daughters remaining: The second Philip Ludovic Duke of Newburg, of whom were born Wolfgang, and some other Males: The third, John Duke of Deux-Ponts*, Brother of that Ludovic, who dyed before Duke John William, but had left Sons; and the last Charles of Austria, Marquis of Burgaw, of whom there were no Children. Of Mary-Eleonora and Albert were produced many Sons who died young; and four Daughters, the eldest of whom named Anne, espoused John Sigismund of Brandenburg, who was Elector and Duke of Prussia: The fourth was wife of John Georges Brother of Christian II. Elector of Saxony. We have nothing to do with the other two.

Brandenburg pretended intirely to this Succession for his Son George William, who was Issue of Anne Daughter of Mary-Eleonora the Eldest of the four Sisters. But the Duke of Saxony demanded all these Principalities likewise, founding his right upon the donation of the Emperors Frederic and Maximilian, which he maintained to be good, since the said Fiefs were Masculine; and urged that the following Emperors could not otherwise dispose of them to the prejudice of the Laws and Customs of the Empire, and contrary to the nature of those Lands. The same Duke had two more claims besides this; the one for John George his Brother who had Married the fourth Daughter of Mary-Eleonora, the other was for the Princes of the Branch of Weymar, and that of Koburg, Issue of John Frederic, Elector of Saxony, (dispoliate by Charles V.) and of Sibylla, Sister of William II. Duke of Cleves, and Juliers, Father of John William.

I speak not of the pretensions of the Duke de Nevers, and of Henry de la Mark Count de Maulevrier, whereof the first said he was Heir of the House of Cleves; the other of the House de la Mark; for they did not pursue it with much vigour.

Volsgang* Eldest Son of the Duke of Newburgh entred the first into the Country to make demand of the rights of Anne his Mother: Immediately afterwards Brandenburg sent his Brother earnest thither for those of his Son. These two Princes not able to come to an agreement made a transaction, by the mediation of the Landgrave of Hesse; by which they promised to end their differences amicably, to employ their Forces joyntly against any who to their prejudice should offer to seize upon those Lands; and to administer them, *per individuum*, and without prejudice to the rights of the Empire, and the other pretenders. Soon after, an Assembly of the States of that Country being held at Dusseldorp, the King of France sent to desire them to approve of this Treaty, and declared himself openly enough for those two Princes.

But the Emperor, in case of litigation, taking himself to be the Natural, and Sovereign Judge between Parties contending for Fiefs holding of the Empire, maintain'd that the Sequestration belonged to him till a definitive sentence: therefore he caused them all to be Assigned before him by an Act of the four and twentieth of May, and gave Commission to the Arch-Duke Leopoldus, Bishop of Strasburgh, and Passau, to take those Territories into his hands. The City

* Or Luce-Brughen.

* Or Wolfgang.
1609.
May and June.

City of Juliers received him, having been surprized by their Seneschal, who slipped away from the Estates of Dusseldorp; but most of the other places gave themselves up to the two Princes. Then the Acts of Hostility began between them and Leopold, with several Mandates from the Emperor, Manifestos and Apologies, which both the one and the other sent into all parts of Christendom.

The Interests of all the German Princes were very much perplexed, and incertain, in this Affair: on the one side they all equally apprehended, as well the Catholick, as the Protestants, lest the Emperor under pretence of Sequestration, should make himself Master of those Countries, and aggrandize his own house by it. On the other side, the Catholicks feared that the Protestant Princes if they remained in possession, would become the strongest, and oppress them. Upon this consideration, they contrived a League Defensive among themselves, the Duke of Bavaria made himself the Head, and drew in the Electors of Mentz and Triers: altogether sent away dispatches to Rome and to Spain to have the Assistance of his Holiness, and of the Catholick King; and when they had obtained a favourable Answer, they held an Assembly at Wirtzburg, where Leopold was present.

A month after the Catholick Electors, and the Princes of the House of Austria went to the Emperor at Prague, with design to Elect a King of the Romans, whilst the Emperor was yet living* for fear lest after his death the Protestants should make one of their own Religion. There were some so confident as to propound the Duke of Bavaria; and the Jesuits who were very powerful in that party, were not much averse to it, because they hoped to Govern that Prince as they pleased: nevertheless that very consideration, and the great interest of the House of Austria turned most of the Votes for Ferdinand Arch-Duke of Graits, Cousin to Rodolphus.

The Protestants at the same time assembled at Hall in Suabia, where there appeared fourteen Princes of that Religion, above twenty qualified Lords, and Deputies from all the great Protestant Cities. Amongst those Princes, was the Elector of Brandenburg, Frederic-Ludovic Duke of Newburg, and Christian Prince of Anhalt. This last being sent by the two others into France, brought word back that the King highly embraced their defence, and that in the Spring he would March in person to their Assistance; For proof whereof he brought with him an Ambassador from the King, he was named Boissise. The States of the United-Provinces, promised likewise to aid the two Princes, but not openly, till they were certain the King had sent four thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse to those Frontiers.

What they Treated at Hall was kept very secret, the Princes writing down their resolutions with their own hands not trusting to their Secretaries. It was said that they had agreed and resolved to consider of the means to retrieve the City of Donauverd out of the power of the Duke of Bavaria (who had taken it upon pretence it was under the Imperial Ban for some Violencies Committed against the Catholicks;) to satisfy the Duke of Saxony for the succession of Juliers; to Elect a King of the Romans, and to make a Counter-League in case the Pope and the House of Austria formed any to oppress them.

It would be difficult to judge how intrigues so perplexed as these, could have been disentangled to the content of the Protestants, and satisfaction of the Catholicks. The King pretended to say, and had even openly declared to the former, that he did not mean there should be any thing changed as to the Religion of the Countries of Cleves and Juliers, and had assured the Popes Nuncio that if he assisted them, it was principally to oblige them by his good Offices to Treat the Catholicks kindly in their Territories, and perhaps to make them to become so themselves.

This Declaration gave some ombrage to the Protestants, and did not fully satisfy the Catholicks. The Nuncio who knew not the intentions of his Master, could not keep silence: those that were yet tainted with the Leaven of the old League, endeavour'd to patch up a new one; And it was said, the foundations of it were laid at la Fleische. For a Woman affirmed she had seen in a house where they kept many Scholars, certain Registers in which many had subscribed with Signatures of Blood. It is certain that this year there were great numbers of persons imprisoned at Paris and elsewhere for some kind of Conspiracies, and that they were released immediately after the death of the

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King.

1609.
May, &c.

1609.
November,
and
Decemb.

* He was not
very old, but
very much broken.

January.

February,
and
March.

1610. King, none daring, or perhaps none desiring to search deeper into so dangerous a Secret.

April and
May.

It could not but notoriously be known by this time that the King had in hand greater Designs than these only concerning the Affairs of *Cleves* and *Juliers*: for he had above Thirty thousand Foot, and Six thousand Horse, all select Men, marching towards *Champagne*. *Lesdiguieres*, whom he had made Marechal of *France* after the Death of *d'Ornane*, had Twelve thousand Foot, and Two thousand Horse; the Duke of *Savoy*, and the *Venetians* were to joyn him with Thirty thousand more: the Princes of *Germany* had but few less, and the *United Provinces* upward of Sixteen thousand. I do not mention the Sea-forces, which with those of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, would have made up a Fleet of near Six-score Sail, all great Ships, and well mann'd and provided.

It was reck'ned this War, (not including the advance Money and Charges for raising of Men, besides the Ammunitions, and Artillery) would cost the King Twelve hundred and Fifty thousand Crowns *per annum*, and as much for Payment of the Armies of his Allies; viz. The Duke of *Savoy*, the *Venetians*, the *Popes*, the *German Princes*, the *Danes*, the *Svedes*, and the *United Provinces*; and he had wherewithal to maintain these Expences five years together, without grinding his People by new Taxes, for he had above Forty one Millions of ready Money, whereof Two and twenty lay in the *Bastille*, besides his certain Revenue, of which there came effectually into his Coffers, all Charges defray'd, Six Millions yearly. Moreover his Super-Intendant, in case of necessity, promised an Hundred seventy and five more upon Parties extraordinary; but which we may well doubt they could never have gotten in without greatly grieving and burthening the Kingdom.

The House of *Austria* took no great care to provide themselves against so rude a Shoe: which made it be believed they relied upon some strange accident, concealed from their Enemies, but whereof they held the Instruments and secret Engines in their own disposal, which they could let loose to do the certain execution in any case of extremity. Many fancied they were in the bosom of *France*, and even hid in the Royal Family. A certain *Damoiselle*, named *Anne de Comans*, gave Information of a horrible Conspiracy against the Person of the King. After he was dead, she persisted in the same discovery, and gave her Narrative in Writing, but they pretended she was mad, and shut her up. Whether she were so, or not, such as did hear and had examin'd her, might have left us their opinions; but the Juncture of those times, and the too great importance of the subject have wholly suppressed many strange things.

It is most certain that there were more than one single Conspiracy against this good King: his Enemies had forged of so many forts, and on so many sides, that it was very improbable if not impossible he should escape. They looked upon his Death as so certain a thing in Foreign Countries, that there came News of it from *Spain* to *France*, that they Published it in *Milan* almost a Month before; that several Merchants of the Low-Countries writing to their Correspondents in *Paris*, desired to be informed whether the report was true; and that on the Eighth of the Month *May*, whereas he was killed the Fourteenth, a Courier passed thorow *Liege*, and bawled aloud, that he was going to carry the News to the Princes of *Germany*. Was it that they thought to intimidate him therewith, and would emply their menaces before they would proceed to the execution.

Conchine in the mean time, and those of his Cabal did incessantly encrease the Queens jealousies, and maliciously made her believe that the infinite Love the King had for the Princess might transport him to dangerous Extremities. Assuredly a Prince so good and so just, could not be capable of it; neither did he omit any devoir or tenderness of a Husband to take away all such-like Suspitions. He left the Regency of the Kingdom to her; but because he did but moderate, or qualifie it by a Council and such Orders as were necessary, the precaution did much displease *Conchine*; who to extend his Authority by enlarging the Queens Power, inspired her that it was necessary she should be crowned before the King's departure.

Already the Forces were marching towards the Frontiers of *Champagne*, the Train of Artillery was gone, and they had sent to demand passage of the Arch-Duke thorow his Territories; this demand was to be followed close, the least demurr would have been prejudicial, and besides that Ceremony of a Coronation did not agree well with the great Embarrass of present Affairs, no more than the Expence

April and
May.

Expence which she required could be compatible with the vast Charges necessary for so great a War. Moreover could the thing in its own Nature have been agreeable to him, the obstinate eagerness she pressed him withal must have given him some aversion. Nevertheless, as he could refuse nothing to importunities, when they were very earnest, he suffer'd himself to be persuaded to give her this Satisfaction.

She received it in the Church of *Saint Denis* the 12th day of *May*, with the accustomed Ceremonies, and a Pomp extraordinary Magnificent, himself taking the care to do the Honours, and to give the Orders. There was some contest between the Ambassadors of *Spain*, and those of *Venice*; who proceeding to blows rather augmented the pleasure of the day than any way less'ned or discomposed it. The Count de *Soissons* being picqu'd upon I know not what Punctilio of Honour, touching the Ornaments of his Wives Robes, and the Habits of the King's Natural Children, did not appear at this Festival, but retired to his house of *Blandy*; an Absence which in few days proved very prejudicial to his Affairs.

After the Coronation of the Queen, her entrance into *Paris* was appointed for the fifteenth of the Month, they caused Portico's to be Erected, Triumphant Arches, Inscriptions, Statues, and Scaffolds in those Streets she was to pass thorow, and were preparing a stately Treat in the *Palais*; for which reason the Parliament, to leave the place at full liberty, held their Session in the *Augustins*. (The King in the interim overwhelmed with cruel anxiety and a melancholly of which he could not possibly divine the cause, felt in himself the Symptomes of that unhappiness which threatned him. One would have said he had the Dagger already in his bosom: He was often heard to send forth doleful sighs and words of ill presage; the Heavens and Earth (if we may give faith to such things) did also afford him some very sinister ones. It was observed that some days before, the *May* which had been Planted in the Court-Yard of the *Louvre* was fain down of it self. A Star appeared visibly at Noon-day in the Year 1609. the year preceding that a great Comet had been seen; and the *Loire* over-flow'd most furiously, as it had done a while before the violent deaths of the two Kings *Henry II.* and *Henry III.* The same year likewise the Inhabitants of *Angoulmois*, both Gentry and Peasants, affirmed they had beheld a frightful prodigy; it was a fantastique Army, which seemed to consist of about eight or ten thousand Men, with Ensigns party-colour'd of blew and red *, Drummers ready to beat, and a Commander of great appearance at the head of them, who having Marched upon the Earth for above a League together, lost himself in a Wood. It was about two years past that a Priest found upon an Altar at *Montargis*, a Ticket which gave notice the King would be Assassinated. And about the same time, two Gentlemen of *Gascogne*, of different places, and of different Religions, came expressly to Court to advertise him of the doleful and pressing Visions they affirmed to have had upon the same subject. Of three or four of his Horoscopes terminated his life in his fifty seventh year. Divers Prognosticators, amongst others he who had otherwhile foretold the Duke of *Mayenne* the Murder of the Duke of *Guise* his Brother, and the loss of the Battel of *Ivry*, advertis'd him of an approaching and very sudden danger: There was one so bold as to tell the Queen, that Festival would conclude in Mourning and in Tears: and that Princess starting one night out of her sleep, weeping told the King she dreamt they were stabbing him with a Knife. Himself was not ignorant that the number of the years of his Reign, according as a Magician had computed to Queen *Catherine de Medicis*, were even almost accomplished; and he had some kind of confused knowledge of divers Conspiracies which were hatching against his person. He in his life time had discovered above fifty, many contrived or fomented by Church-men or some of the religious Orders, (such pernicious effects does indiscreet zeal produce:) but he could not avoid this last, his hour was come, and it seems all the former warnings which Heaven gave him, were not so much to save him from the fatal blow, as to make men certainly see and understand that there is a Sovereign Power, which disposes of futurity. Since it so certainly knows and fore-tells it.)

It had been a long time this execrable Monster, named *Francis Ravalliac*, had formed this resolution to Murder him. He was a Native of *Angoulesme*, Aged about two and thirty years, Son of a Man belonging to the Law, living at that time. In the beginning he had follow'd the Trade of his Father, then ran into a Convent of the *Fuillans*, and was a Novice there; but they thrust him out for

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* imagination
contributes
much towards
the shaping of
these Figures.

to

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for his extravagant whimsies. Some while after he was imprisoned for a Murther, of which notwithstanding he was never convicted; being freed from thence he began anew to sollicite Law-Suits, of which he had lost one in his own name, for an Estate and Succession; insomuch as he was reduced to turn Pedant and teach the poor peoples Children in the City of *Angoulesme*. The austerity of the Cloister, the obscurity of his Prison, the loss of his process, and the extreme necessity whereunto he was reduced, confounded his judgment and irritated more and more his atrabilary humour. From his early youth, the Frenzies of the League, their Libels, and the Factioned Sermons of their Ignominious and Sanguinary Pulpiters had imprinted in his mind a very great aversion for the King, with this belief, That it was lawful to kill those who brought the Catholick Religion into danger, or made a War upon the Pope: He was so very hot in these matters, that he could not so much as hear any body pronounce the name of *Huguenot*, but he fell into a fury.

Those that had premeditated to ridd themselves of the King, finding this instrument so proper to act their Design, knew very well how to confirm him in his Sentiments; they had people at their beck who haunted him eternally, though he knew not their intents, who caused him to be instructed by their Doctors, and enchanted him with supposed Visions, and the other the like diabolical Arts. There are proofs, that they carried him as far as *Naples*, where in an Assembly, at the Vice-Roy's Palace, he met with many others who had all devoted themselves to the same end; They made him come from *Angoulesme* to *Paris* two or three times: in fine, they managed and guided him so well to their liking and purpose, that by his sacrilegious hand they perpetrated the detestable resolutions of their own wicked and accursed hearts.

The day after that of the Queens entrance, the King was to have made the Marriage of *Mademoiselle de Vandomme*, the eldest of his natural Daughters, and the following day the Feast; then the next Morning to mount on Horse-back and go to his Army: But on the Evening of the Day of Entrance, which was a Friday, a little before four of the Clock, as he was going to the Arsenal without Guards, to confer with the Duke of *Sully*, an Embarrass of certain Carts having stoppt his Coach in the midst of the Street *de la Fermerie*, and his Valets, or Foot-men, passing under the Channels of *Saint Innocents*; this Devil incarnate, stept upon a spoke of one of the hind Wheels, and advancing his Body into the Coach gave him two stabbs in the Breast with a Knife, the first glanced along the fifth and sixth Ribb, and did not enter his Body; but the second cut the Arterial Vein above the Ventricle of the heart; so that the Blood bursting forth with impetuosity, choaked him in a moment, he not being able to utter one word.)

It had been foretold him, he should die in a Coach, so that upon the least jolt, he would cry out as if he beheld the Grave open'd ready to swallow him: But yet imagin'd he had escaped the effect of that prediction after two great hazards he run thorow, the one at his going to visit the Dutches of *Beaufort*; the other in the Ferry-boat of *Nully*, whereof we have made mention.

So strange an amazement and terror seized upon those who were present at this Tragical Accident, that if *Ravaillac* had but dropt his Knife, they could not then have discover'd him; but being taken holding it yet in his hand, he owned the Fact as boldly as if he had performed some Heroique Action. There were two things then observed, from which the Reader may draw what consequence he pleases; the one, That when they had taken him, seven or eight Men were seen to come up with their drawn Swords, who cried aloud he deserved and ought to be cut in pieces presently, and then immediately sheltred themselves in the Crowd: the other, That he was not presently put into Goal, but into the hands of *Montigny*, where they kept him two days in the *Hostel de Rais* with so little care, that all sorts of people spake with him: and amongst others, a Friar who had great Obligations to the King, having accosted him, and called him *My Friend*, said to him, he should have a care of accusing honest people.

There were in the Kings Coach, the Dukes of *Espernon* and of *Montbason*, the Marechals *de Lavardin* and *de Roquelaure*; and the Marquesses *de la Force* and *de Mirebeau*: these Lords being allighted, and having cover'd his face, and drawn the Curtains, made them drive back towards the *Louvre*, and commanded at their Entrance, they should call out for a Chyrurgeon and some Wine, that it might

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might be believed he was not yet dead. They laid his Bleeding Corps upon a Bed with negligence enough; and he was there exposed for some hours to any that would see him; but attended or regarded only by those who had no great interest of Fortune at the Court: All such as were in hopes of any thought more upon their own Affairs, than on him who could now do no more for them: Thus was there but a moment space between their Adorations and Oblivion.

The pressing necessity of Affairs obliged the Queen to disband her Sorrows and dry up her Tears, she left the care and present management of all Affairs to such as she confided in most, particularly to the Duke of *Espernon*, and the Marechal *de Lavardin*. We shall show in the following Reign, if the times will permit us, how the Court wholly changed it's Face, the Government its Maxims, the Ministers their designs: How the Orders which *Henry* the Great had established were renversed, his Oeconomies dissipated, his faithful Servants turned out of doors, and his Alliances forsaken, to take up new ones: so that *France*, which was so lately triumphant and Mistress of *Europe*, saw her self almost reduced under the Government and Direction of *Spain*, and the Agents of the Court of *Rome*, who were the Oracles of the Regency. It mu't however be acknowledged, that it proved very happy both for the quiet and the ease of the People in general.

So soon as the King was dead, the Duke of *Espernon* ran to order the Companies of the Regiment that had the Guard, to seize upon the Gates of the *Louvre*, sent for the rest who were quarter'd in the *Fauxbourg*s, to come and post themselves upon the *Pont-neuf*, in the Street *Dauphine*, and about the *Augustins*, thereby to invest the Parliament, and compel them, if requisite, to declare the Queen, Regent. The President *de Blanc-mesnil* who then held the Afternoon Audience, broke off, upon the dreadful rumour of the King's being wounded; but durst not, or would not stir from thence: And in the mean time, the President *Seguier*, whom the Duke of *Espernon* had been with for his advice and assistance, came thither immediately, with a good number of his Friends: So that the Company was assembled to serve the Duke in his Design.

Amidst that innumerable and confused multitude of People wherewith *Paris* was then thronged, who were of so great diversity of Humours and Interests; amidst the Animosities betwixt the Catholicks and the *Huguenots*, the Feuds amongst the Grandees, the Suspitions which the one cast upon the other concerning this Murther; the specious pretence there was to animate the People to revenge the Death of a Prince so greatly and generally beloved, and the avidity of the Rascally sort to be Plundering: it is manifest that the least spark of Sedition would have set all *Paris* in a flame, and the more easily, because the *Bourgeoisie* had their Arms in readines, having Mustered twice or thrice a Week for above a Month, to be prepared for the entrance of the Queen. The Prudence of her Magistrates, I mean the *Prevost des Marchands*, and the Lieutenant *Civil* did most happily obviate those Disorders: The first, was *Jaines Sanguin*; the second, *Nicholas le Jay*, a man of great Sence, and who had acquired a great deal of Credit amongst the Citizens, because he made the Honor of his Office to consist in serving the Publick well. Both appeared every where about the Streets, amused the populace with divers reports, exhorted the considerablest *Bourgeois* to keep them in awe, managed every thing so wisely, and gave such excellent Orders; the one Commanding the Captains of every Precinct, the other the Commissaries, *Archers* and *Huissiers*, to be in a readines, that nothing was able to make the least disturbance.

Henry IV. died in the midst of the Fifty seventh year of his Age, three Months before the end of the Two and twentieth of his Reign, leaving three Sons, and three Daughters by *Mary de Medicis* his Second, or rather his only Wife, since the Marriage between him and *Margaret de Valois* was declared Null. The eldest named *Lewis*, hath reigned; the second had no Baptismal Name, and died within the fourth year of his Childhood: he bare the Title of Duke of *Orleans*: The Third had it likewise, and the Name of *John Baptista Gaston*. The three Daughters were called *Elizabeth*, *Christian*, and *Henriette-Maria*. The eldest was Wife of *Philip* IV. King of *Spain*; the second, of *Victor Amedea*, Prince of *Piedmont*, then Duke of *Savoy* after the death of Duke *Charles* his Father; the last, of *Charles* I. King of *Great Britain*.

The number of his Natural Children did by much surpass his Legitimate ones: for besides those whom he would not, or could not well own, he had Eleven, Six by

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by Gabriella d'Estree, which were Cesar Duke de Vendosme, Lewis, Francis, and Isabella, these three died young; Alexander Grand Prior of France, and Catharine Henrietta Wife of Charles Duke de Elbeuf; Two by Henrietta de Balsac d'Entraignes, to wit, Henry Duke de Verneuil and Bishop of Metz, at present Governor of Languedoc, and Gabriella Wife of Bernard de Nogaret, Duke de la Valette, then Duke of Espernon; one, only, by Jacqueline de Lucil, which was Anthony Count de Moret: And two Daughters by Charlotta des Effars, a private Gentlewoman; They were named Jane, and Mary Henrietta; the former was Abbess of Fontevault, and the latter of Chelles.

It may be seen and judged by the course of his whole life, whether he justly merited the Title they gave him of *Great*, with that of *Arbitrator of Christendom*. There were some would needs reproach him; That he loved Money too well, and that to gather it he exposed his Kingdom to the avidity of *Partisans*, who amongst a great number of odd Projects they put him upon, made him establish the *Paulette*, or Annual right; That the inquisition he made after such Catterpillers served more to confirm their Robberies, than to punish them; That loving a little too much to be footed, he gave a freer access to *Charlatans* and Flatterers, than to his prudent and faithful Counsellors; and that he often suffer'd importunity to wrest those favours from him which he had refused to bestow on Merit. They added, That he was very liberal of Careless and fair words towards the Sword men, when he stood in greatest need of them, but the Peril once pass'd, their Services were as soon forgotten; and that he oftner gave rewards to those who had done him mischief, than to such as Sacrificed their Fortunes for his Interest and Advantage; That he did not much trouble himself to restrain the concussions of his Lawyers and Justices, though he were well enough acquainted and informed thereof, but let them go on impunitively, provided they did not oppose his absolute Will, and the verification of his Edicts; That he had suffer'd those belonging to the Treasury to ally themselves with the Officers of his Sovereign Courts, who before controul'd their misdemeanour, whence consequently followed, that the one being fortified by the other, they feather'd and deck'd themselves with the richest Plumes and Spoil the War had stripp'd the honest Gentry of: So that the fairest Lands and Estates of a Kingdom, which had been founded and maintained by the Sword, were now, to the indignation and view of all worthy Persons, unhappily made a prey, and shared by those Brothers of the Quill.

If History might make Apologies, she might vindicate him from the greater part of these reproaches; though not altogether from the fondness, not to say frenzy, he had to Gaming, which certainly is very unbecoming in a great Prince, and which begot a great many Academies and Gaming-Houses in *Paris*, most pernicious Schools for Youth, and the fatal Rocks whereon many rich and noble Families do split and sink themselves; and much less yet could she excuse his abandoning himself to Women, which was so Publick and so Universal from his early youth even to the last Period of his days, that it will not so much as admit of the name of Love, or be allowed but Galantery.

But these defects have been in some manner effaced and dispell'd by the lustre of his great and glorious Actions, his continual Victories, and his high Enterprizes; by the infinite goodness he manifested towards his People, and above all by his Valour tryed in so many Combats, and his never-failing Clemency salutary to so many People. These two most royal Vertues which marched in the Van of all his Undertakings, were ever contending with each other which should overcome his Enemies in the noblest manner; so as they have left it still a doubt to whether of the two he was most obliged for his good Success, and whether it must be said he recover'd and conquer'd his Kingdom by force of Fighting, or by vertue of Pardoning.

CHURCH.

Church of the Sixteenth Century.

THE Heads, or Governors, of the Church having not had that care, incumbent upon them, to maintain its discipline, the irregularities and vices of the Clergy mounted to the highest degree imaginable; and became so publick, as rendred them the Objects both of the hatred and contempt of the people: One cannot without blushing make mention of the Usury, Avarice, Crapulence, and Dissolution of the Priests; of the licentious and villanous Debaucheries of the Monks: the Luxury, Pride and vain Expences of the Prelates; the shameful sloath, gross ignorance, and superstitions both of the one and the other. Neither durst we say, how the corruption of Simony had invaded and tainted the noblest parts of the Church, nay, even the head its self, had we not for undeniable proof the constitution made by *Julius II.* in the year 1505. which ordained, that such Pope as should have attained the Papal dignity by those means, should be destituted; That they should proceed against him, as against an Heretic, imploring even the Secular power; That the Cardinals accomplices of this impiety, should be degraded, and deprived of all Offices, Honours, and Benefices; That the remaining ones who had no hand in it, should proceed to a new Election, and if it were needful, should assemble a General Council.

These disorders, to speak truth were not new, we must confess there had been the like of a long time, but the general ignorance which reigned in those former barbarous ages, did as it were hide and cover them in her shades of darkness: now in these latter days the light of good Learning being brought into *Europe*, its beams illuminating the obscurest places, made these stains appear in all their deformity; And as the ignorant, whose weak eyes being dazzled with this brightness, found fault with it, and endeavour'd to cast Dirt on that which exposed their defects, the Learned in revenge treated them in ridicule, and took the greater pleasure in discovering their turpitude and decrying their superstition.

It must be likewise granted that the enterprizes of the Court of *Rome* had highly exasperated the Princes and the Nobility of *Germany*, and that the wicked life of *Alexander VI.* and the contest between the Pope *Julius II.* and *France* had extremely scandalized the most moderate men. *Lewis XII.* the best of Kings, caused a Medal to be stamped whose Inscription bear these words, *Perdam Babylonis nomen*, and procured the Assembly of the Council of *Pisa* to restrain the Attempts of *Julius*. It is true, that Council caused more scandal then good, but there were started some questions very disadvantageous to the Sovereign Authority of the Pope, and which could not but leave very ill impressions in Mens minds.

After the death of *Julius*, *Leo X.* made the Concordat with *Francis I.* by which that Pope obtained an Abolition of the Pragmatick, and secured to himself the Annates payable at every mutation of Bishops and Abbots; (they call these Benefices Consistorials.) Which in truth encreased the Popes Revenues; but according to the opinion of many, did much blemish their Sanctity. In effect, never was there so odd an exchange as this appeared to be; the Pope whose power is spiritual took the temporal for himself, and gave the spiritual to a temporal Potentate: And indeed, one of the greatest and wisest Prelates * of our times seems to say, the Annates, in respect of the Popes, could not pass but for perfect Simony, were it not that our Kings, in this case, do transmit their temporal right to them. We must refer it to the more learned to judge whether the Elections were *Jure Divino*, and whether they could be taken away; as likewise, whether that observation, which many have made, be true; that from the very time they were Abolished, Heresies have crowded in throngs into the Church, and that Holy City being thereby denuded of her strongest Walls and Ramparts, found her self to be insulted over by Errors, and her temporal Estate invaded by decimations: for *Leo* did grant them so easily to the King, that ever since, the Pope his Successors have made no difficulty to do the same, and have suffer'd them to become very common and frequent.

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* Monsieur de
Marca, Archb.
shop of Tou-
louze, and as-
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Church.

Such was the State and disposition of things, when *Luther's* Schisme began first to appear. The great noise it made soon stifled all the lesser disputes, particularly that between the Orders of Saint *Francis* and Saint *Dominique*, about the Conception of the Virgin *Mary*, which hath been since revived by the Dominicans stiff adherence to the Doctrine of Saint *Thomas*.

It likewise put an end to those which some Monks of *Colen* had raised against *John * Reuchlin*, who called himself *Capiton*. Occasioned thus. A certain *Pfeffercorn*, Renegade Jew, had advised the Emperour *Maximilian* to cause all the Hebrew Books of the *Rabins* to be burnt, not with design this counsel should be put in execution, but to oblige the Jews to redeem the Writings of their learned Doctors with great Sums of Money of which he pretended to have his share. *Reuchlin*, Very Skilful in the Hebrew Tongue, having been consulted with by the Emperour upon this Subject, was of a contrary Sentiment, and put down his Reasons in Writing. *Pfeffercorn* mad he should hinder him of his Prey, wounded his Reputation with biting Sarcasms; and some Monks of *Colen* taking up the cause and quarrel of this *Fourbe*, because he had been Baptized in that City, caused his Adversaries Book to be burnt.

* *Eli-rauch* in High-Dutch, and *Capnos* in Greek, signifie Smoak.

It is sufficiently known what *Martin Luther* was, an *Augustine* Monk Native of *Islebe* in the County of *Mansfeld*, Professor in Theology in the new University of *Wittenberg*, founded by *Frederic* Elector and Duke of *Saxony*, who loved and valued him for the volubility of his Wit, and his Eloquence: He was a cheerful Man, and of very gay humour, but too vehement and too intemperate in speech, extremely Confident, who never retracted, and delighted too much in the Musick of his own Commendations and Applause. The occasion that brought him into the Lists is known likewise, and that he was not excited to it but by the interest of the *Wallet*, because the Breaching of the *Croisade* had been committed in *Germany*, to the *Jacobins*, against the ancient Custom which ever allotted it to the *Augustins* in those Countries. In the beginning he Preached only against the abuse of those Indulgences, by that means to ruin the Trade of the *Jacobins* who vended them; but being pushed onward from Dispute to Dispute, he was transported so far that he declared himself wholly against the *Roman Church*: Anno 1520.

It was the Protection of *Frederic* Duke of *Saxony*, then esteemed the wisest of the German Princes, and the Applause of the Nobles of *Franconia*, that emboldened him to set up the Standard of Rebellion. So long as *Frederic* lived, he durst make no change in the outward form of Religion, nor quit his habit of a Monk: but after his Death which hapned in the year 1524, Duke *John* his Successor being absolutely intoxicated with his Eloquence, permitted him every thing. He therefore cast off his Froe, and Three years afterwards Married an un-vailed Nun. Then cutting at large as we may say, in the whole piece, he shaped a Religion after his own Mode, which he changed, added to, or retracted so long as he lived: so that one may say, he had no steady or certain belief, and those Articles he framed were rather dubious than Dogmatical; although he published them as Oracles. He died at *Islebe*, Anno 1546, the Six and twentieth of February, revered of all those who followed his Doctrine as a great Apostle; and on the contrary detested by the Catholics as an Heresiarque and the publick Incendiary of Christendom.

Some time before he thus Un-masqued himself, there had appeared several Preachers who fell foul upon the Vices of the Prelates and the Court of *Rome*, threatening them with Divine Punishment, as horrible as sudden and near at hand: A Constitution of *Lio X.* made in the year 1516, which forbids them Preaching the like things, on the farcing their Sermons with Tales, Prophecies, Revelations and Miracles, is a evident proof thereof.

Luther's Credit drew after him one Party of the *Augustins*, startled many more, and rehdred all of them so suspected, that the Pope was like to have abolished the whole Order. This pretended Evangelical Liberty open'd the Cloister Gates to many other Monks, especially in *Germany*, un-vailed great numbers of Nuns, let loose the People against the Church-men, and push'd on the Nobility to seize upon their rich Possessions.

But *Luther* did not remain long sole Head of this Revolt; for whether it were he gave rise to these Motions, or whether some malign influence disposed mens Minds thus to Brouilleries and Contention, there arose in a short time a Prodigious quantity of new Doctors and of novel Sects, who destroyed the one the

Church.

the other, yet notwithstanding agreed all in these Six points; The first, That they directly shock'd the Superiority of the Pope: The second, That they would admit no other Judges of the Articles of Faith but the Holy Scriptures only: The third, That they rejected certain Books of it, some more, others fewer, which they said were not Canonical. The Fourth, That they retrenched several Sacraments: The Fifth, That they held several Novelties concerning Grace, and free Will: And the Sixth, That they denied Purgatory, Indulgences, Images, Prayers to Saints, and many Ceremonies of the Church.

After his Death, the Confusion was incomparably greater: It would be endless to enumerate all the Authors, the Names, and the Whimseys of these different Sects; there were some that received the Errors of *Ebion*, of *Manes*, of *Paulus Samosatenus*, of *Sabellius*, of *Arius*, of *Eutyches*, and other ancient Hereticks. There were such who finding no firm footing or foundation any where, did only acknowledge there was one God the Creator of all things; (these were called *Deists*.) Others going farther, and making a last effort of Impiety denied there was any other Divinity besides Nature alone.

The furious Irruptions of the *Turks* into *Hungary*, and the fatal Discords amongst the three greatest Princes of Christendom, *Charles V.* *Francis I.* and *Henry VIII.* were very favorable to these Sowers of new Seeds: For whilst Christendom was affrighted at the Ravages of the Infidels, and every where in Divisions, they had not the leisure to consider of these disputes: And then *Charles V.* standing in need of the Princes of *Germany* to resist *Francis I.* and to get the Empire to be settled upon his Son, (which he could never obtain) would not prosecute them to the utmost, or totally destroy them, as he might have done after the gaining of the Battel of *Mulberg*. On the other hand, *Francis I.* his Rival openly supported them, and entred into League with them; though at the same time he burnt the Sacramentaries in his own Kingdom. Add thereto the difficulties the Popes made for the holding of an Oecumenical Council, whose Authority perhaps might have stifled this Monster in it's Birth.

On the opposite there were other Causes and other Conjunctions which obstructed the speedier encrease of it: First, The great Credit of the Faculty of Theology at *Paris*, the Learning of some Zealous Doctors, though but few in number, who made Head both against *Luther*, and the other Sectaries; then the diversity and variety of Opinions, and Pride of other Novators, who all contending to be Heads of Parties, became fiercer Enemies amongst themselves; than against the Church of *Rome*. *Luther* imagined the University of *Paris* being offended, as she was, for the Abolition of the Pragmatique, would embrace the opportunity to be revenged of the Pope, and upon that Surmise he submitted to their decision the Dispute he had against *John Eckius*, the first Catholick Doctor that durst bid him Battel: but they condemned him in harsh and rude terms, and thus by their Authority retained the Clergy, and People, who were running in Crowds after him.

As to the other Point, in a short time the Sect of *Zuinglius*, and that of *Calvin* were found to be as prevalent and powerful as his; both the one and the other, notwithstanding, shewing ever a great deal of respect for all he said, and acknowledging he was the first that had unveiled the Evangelical Truths, tried often, with profound Submissions, to reconcile themselves with him: but he would never yield to it in the least, unless they would first confess the real presence of *Jesus Christ* in the Eucharist: to which they would not yield; * and to this very day his true Disciples are less compatible with theirs, than with the Catholics, the Princes, and the Cities of their Opinion have labour'd in vain to unite them, and the many Conferences which were held for that purpose, have served to no other end but to make it manifest it is an impossible thing.

Besides these, I find a fourth cause, which was the too sudden and too great Change that *Zuinglius* and *Calvin* would have made as well in the Exterior face of the Church, as in the Essential points of Faith. *Luther* had retrenched but very little or nothing of what the People were accustomed to: he left their Ornaments, Bells, Organs, Tapers, and had not altered the manner of Saying Mass, and Divine Service, only he added some Prayers in the Vulgar Tongue. So that the most part looked at first upon him as a Reformer only of the Abuses.

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his life time.

Church. of the Church-men; but when his work was so advanced as in a probability to have made a general Revolution, comes *Zuinglius* cross his way, who began to Preach in *Switzerland*, Anno 1520. and then *Calvin*, Fourteen years after dogmatized in *France*: who instead of following the same footsteps, set themselves upon Preaching against the reality of the Body of *Jesus Christ* in the Holy Sacrament, taking away the Ceremonies and Ornaments, casting out the Reliques, breaking down the Altars and Images, and over-turning the whole Hierarchical Order; in fine, stripping Religion of all that does most take and fix the imagination by the Eye; in so much as almost all the People had them in aversion as Impious and Sacrilegious Persons, and became but the more zealous for that worship they had seen practised by their Fore-fathers.

There is some reason to doubt whether we ought to place the Riches, and vast Incomes of the Church either amongst the Causes that advanced these Errors, or that impeded their Progress: for as it is most certain it was a Bait that allured the avarice of Princes, and the Nobility, and drew them to favour the pretended Reformation, that they might have an opportunity to seize upon that infinite Treasure; so on the other side it is as certain that many Prelates, and people richly Beneficed had leap'd o're the Church pale, had they not been retained by the apprehensions of losing those Means, without which they could not well live in that delicacy and plenty as they were wont.

We shall not need to particularize after what manner the Princes of *Germany*, as *Saxony*, *Brandenbourg*, the Palatine of the *Rhine*, *Brunswick*, *Wittemberg*, and *Hesse*; the *Swiss* and the *Grisons*; the Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Sweden*; *Prussia*, *Transylvania*, and other Countries abandoned the ancient Faith; who were their first Evangelists; for what reason the Religionaries of *Germany* took up the name of Protestants, which is communicated to all that are separated from the *Roman Church*, and all what passed in those Countries upon the score of Religion; it is foreign to our Subject, and may be seen at large in their several Histories. Come we therefore to what does more particularly concern *France* and the *Gallican Church*.

There were yet some remainders left of the ancient *Vaudois*, or Poor of *Lyons* in the Valeys of *Dauphine**, who had their Pastors, and held their Assemblies a part, in some Forts they had Built for their Security: so that they made, as it were a little Independent Republique, as well for Matters of Religion, as for Government. Pope *Innocent IV.* with the consent of King *Charles VIII.* delegated one *Albert Caranea*, Archdeacon of *Cremona*; who having by force of Arms destroyed their Redoubts, and slain, or taken Prisoners the most inutinous, did the more easily convert the rest by the Sword of the Word, or else drove them out of those Valeys: But they soon after herded together again, and re-establish'd themselves.)

In the year 1501. the Gentry of the Country Prosecuting them for the Crime of Heresie, rather with design of getting their Estates than to Convert them, King *Lewis XII.* being then at *Lyons*, understanding they were innocent People, of irreproachable Manners and Conversation in all things else, obtained Bulls of *Alexander VI.* that they might be Visited, and committed the Care to *Laurence Buceau*, Bishop of *Cisteron* his Confessor, and to *Thomas Pascal*, Doctor in Divinity and Regent of the University of *Orleans*, to take Cognizance of the same, and make Report in Council. The Bishop knowing how agreeable acts of Benignity and Clemency were to that good Prince, ordered all the Informations which had been made against these poor simple Creatures in the Parliament of *Grenoble*, and the Spiritual Courts of *Gap* and *Embrun*, should be brought to him; and having called them together divers times, exhorted them first with great Charity, and then propounded the Articles of Faith to them distinctly. To which having with one voice answered, *Credo*, and Vowed to die in that Belief, he left them in Peace; and stealing suddenly away from *Grenoble*, carried all these Criminal Proceedings to *Guy de Rochefort* Chancellour. Some years after, the News of *Luther's* Predication being come to them, they fancied a new Sun was arisen, and sent to him to have the Communication of his pretended Gospel Light; notwithstanding soon after, their Belief and Opinions being less conformable to his, then to that of the Sacramentaries, they quitted him to joyn with them.

About the End of the Fifteenth Age, and in the beginning of the Sixteenth, there were some Seeds of their Heresies already sowed in *France*. For Anno 1492. the

* *La Vauquie*, *Fraissinette*, *Pragela*, *Argentiere*, &c.

the Morrow after *Corpus-Christi* Day, a Priest who was hearing Mass at *Noître Dame*, snatched away the Host from the Celebrator after the Consecration, and cast it on the ground to trample it under foot. And in Anno 1502. a *Picard* Scholar, Native of *Abbeville*, committed the like Fact on Saint *Lewis's* Day in the Holy Chappel. Both were seized immediately, and some days after burnt alive in the Market aux *Cochons**, without any signs of Repentance; the first having his Tongue torn out; the second his Hand cut off upon the very place where they brake the holy Wafer.)

King *Lewis XII.* having a great contest with Pope *Julius II.* demanded a general Council to reform the Church both in its Head, and in its Members, and caused one to be assembled at *Pisa* by the Suggestion and with the assistance of certain Cardinals dissatisfied with that Pope. The said Council was soon driven from thence, and retired to *Milan*, from whence they were likewise forced to remove, and came to end their days at *Lyons*. That whole Affair was very ill managed, the Pope opposed him with another Council which he assembled at *Lateran*; and this being grown the more powerful, did in the end constrain *Lewis XII.* to renounce his, and those Cardinals, and Bishops that had been the Promoters of it, to humble themselves before his Holiness to obtain Absolution.

The Officers of the Parliament of *Provence* having been all excommunicated by the Pope in this Council, because they had hindered the execution of his Orders, (if they had not approved of the others) and because they acted daily several things which in those times were taken to be designs: The King desired they might submit, and that *Lewis de Souliers*, his Ambassadour to the Council having their special Procurator, should in their Name formally disown all they had done against the Liberties of the Church, against the respect due to the Holy See, promise that for the future they would be more circumspect, that they should ratify this Submission within four Months, and that he should desire their Absolution; which was granted them.

The same Council had likewise cited the Prelates of *France* to come and shew the reasons why they still justified and maintained the Pragmatique. It is probable they would to his Decrees have opposed or alledged the Liberties of the *Gallican Church*; but *Francis I.* very far from supporting them, did himself abandon that which his Predecessors had defended with so much resolution and firmness, and passed or agreed to the Concordat with *Leo X.* of which we have made mention in the year 1516. The smart of so great and desperate a wound, made the Clergy, the Parliament and the University, cry out in vain: those two great Powers being now joyned together, valued not their Complaints. The Clergy had protested to take all Opportunities for the making of Remonstrances to the King for the Re-establishment of Elections; this they pursued very well four or five times under King *Henry III.* and *Henry IV.* but at length they grew weary, whether believing they were no longer obliged to labour to no end, or that several of the Bishops gave it over in Charity to themselves, as knowing they should never have attained the Preferments they enjoy'd if the right of Elections had been restored.

The Authors of the Novel Opinions spared no pains to convey and plant their Doctrines in the remotest Provinces; Printing was a great help to bring their Works to light, and make them spread, the Zealots were at the charge of Printing and Dispersing them, and the Country Pedlers, whom they paid very well, had always some of these new-fashion Wares in their Packs, which they shewed for great Rarities to the curious and inquisitive. Their Disciples crept into the Universities, where under colour of teaching the Law, or Greek, or Hebrew, they instilled their Doctrine into the hearts of the younger fry. Others more polite and more dexterous insinuated into the Society of Women, and studied to gain their favour, that they might gain their belief. Thus they gained an Absolute Power over *Anne de Pisselet* Dutche's d'Estampes, Mistress of *Francis I.* over *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*; and over *Renée* of *France*, Daughter of good King *Lewis XII.*

There were others who endeavour'd to get into the Houses of such Bishops as they believed to be most susceptible of their fancies. *James le Fevre*, Native of *Estaples*, a little Town in *Boulonois*, who was not Doctor in Divinity at *Paris*, as many will have it, at least he is not to be found in the Registry of that Faculty: *William Farel* a *Dauphinois*, *Arnold* and *Gerard Roussel*, *Picards*, fell in

Beginning of the new Opinions in France, and the cause of their Progress.

Church. about the year 1523, with William Bricconnet Bishop of Meaux, and entangled his Mind so with those dangerous Opinions, that he began to own and Preach them.

There was the same year in that City, (a Wool-Comber by Name John le Clere, who had the Impudence to say, That the Pope was the Anti-Christ; he was Whipped for it by the hands of the Hang-man, and Banished the Kingdom. This Punishment corrected him not, he went to Mers to vend his Wares, and was there Burnt for having broken down some Images, Lewis Berquin, Artesian by Birth, a powerful Genius according to the Sentiment of Erasmus, suffer'd a like Death at Paris the One and twentieth of April, in Anno 1528.

Now the Bishop of Meaux being charged with the Crime of Heresie, retracted upon the first Admonition, having before-hand sent away his Doctors, amongst whom Arnold was so terribly scared that he continued a good Catholick ever after: Gerard made his escape to Luther: Farel went to Zuinglius at Zurich, and le Fevre to Nerac to Queen Margaret. The two others came also thither some time after, and there began to form a new Church, wherein they used no Mass, nor observed the Canonical hours for Prayer, but communicated by taking Bread and Wine, and giving it to all that were present, in the same manner, said they, as Jesus Christ and the Apostles had practised: Before, and after they made Sermons, wherein they explained the Word of God. They called it Preaching, and their way of taking the Eucharist, Manducation. The Queen went amongst them, and sometimes led her Husband thither, who was very submissive to her Will, and no less Zealous against the Authority of the Pope; because that had furnished the Spaniards with a fair pretence to Invade the Kingdom of Navarre.

1528. In the mean time Anthony Duprat, Archbishop of Sens, Cardinal and Legate, employ'd the whole Authority both of the Church and King, to restrain this licentiousness; he assembled a Provincial Council in the City of Paris, Anno 1528. where appeared Six of his Suffragants, and a Delegate from the Seventh. They there propounded the Catholick Doctrines; and condemned Luther's; they Prohibited all Nocturnal Assemblies, and the Reading of any Heretical Books, with Excommunication against them, their Abettors and Adherers.

On their part, they sought by all manner of ways to make some impression upon the Mind of King Francis I. A Curate of the Parish of Saint Eustache, named le-Cog, Preached one day before him, and speaking of the Mystery of the Eucharist, told them that they must lift up the heart towards Heaven, where Jesus Christ sat at the right hand of God his Father, not bow down to the Altar, and for this reason, said he, does the Church sing Sursum Corda: those Doctors that were present would not let the Proposition pass so, but obliged him to retract.

That King had a mighty tenderness for his Sister Margaret, and was no less fond of good Learning when he met with it amongst the Ingenuous, and the Beaux Esprits: the Novators employ'd both the one and the other to draw him over to them. At that very time, which was in the year 1533. Philip Melancthon a man of as rare a Genius as any of that Age, propounded to compose all the Disputes and Differences in Religion, and did condescend to many Points, in favour of the Catholicks: in so much that if things of that Nature could have admitted of a Division, he would have shared the Differences to have reconciled the Parties. The King who had some interest to make himself considerable amongst the German Princes, and to whom it would have gained Immortal Honour to have become the Arbitrator of Christendom, wrote to him by William du Bellay Langey, whom he sent into that Country, That he Passionately desired to see him, that he should be most extremely Welcom, if he would come, and confer with his Divines, for the Reconciliation and Re-union of the Church, and the Re-establishment of the ancient Polity; which he desired to embrace with all Affection. But the Cardinal de Tournon, and the Divines of Paris, apprehending the Consequences of this interview to be like the opening of a Gap in the Sheep-cote to one whom they looked upon as a Ravenous Wolf, made such frequent and such pressing Remonstrances to the King, that he gave Melancthon notice, he did excuse him from taking so great a trouble upon him.

They

They likewise hindered him from reading the Book of Calvin's Institutions, which the Author had dedicated to him in Anno 1535. and withal, engaged him to send for his Sister Margaret, and her Doctors to come to Court; They were brought thither, together with her, by Charles de Concy-Buric, the King's Lieutenant in Guyenne, imbued with the same Sentiments as that Princess. He privately gave her fraternal Correction and Admonition, and sent her Doctors to Prison; but so soon as they retracted he released them, upon condition they should never dare again to approach the said Princess. Notwithstanding he restored her Counsel to her whom she had provided with the Bishoprick of Oleron, and the Abbey of Clairac, with which he passed the remainder of his days in an apparent exercise of the Catholick Religion, and a most exemplary Holiness of Life and Conversation, if his inside were equal to his outward deportment; and his heart as sincere as his tongue seemed Pious.

As for the Queen, she protested to her Brother never to depart more from the Catholick Religion, and shewed her self much an Enemy to those that opposed it; nevertheless towards the end of her days, which was in Anno 1549. she seemed to repent of her Repentance, and desired Calvin by Letters to come both to instruct and to comfort her, but he did not judge there would be any security for him in the Journey; and ever chusing rather to expose his Counsel than his Person in case of danger, he would not stir out of Geneva, which was his main Fortrefs.

We have formerly told you, who this Calvin was, his Birth, his Beginnings, and his Progress. It is worthy our Observation that in Anno 1534. he held his first Synod at Poitiers in a Garden, and from thence sent his Disciples forth to other Cities to plant his new Gospel. Those that have seen him, write that his Speech, his Gestures, and his Presence were but little taking in the Pulpit; but his Books manifest that no man in his time had so Eloquent a Pen as his. His manners were much more regular than Luther's; he appeared sober, frugal, continent, settled, edifying both by his Discourse and his Example; notwithstanding he was by Nature surly, violent, jealous, injurious, and implacable towards any that opposed him.

In the year 1535. the Citizens of Geneva having withdrawn themselves from the dominion of their Bishop, who was also their Temporal Lord, and then from that of the Roman Church, called in Calvin, and Farel to be their Pastors. Scarce had they been settled there two years and a half when some difference arose between them and the Magistrates of the City, who drove them out; this was in the year 1538. but abient as they were, they still maintain'd their Cabal; and their Party was so strong they were recalled again in Anno 1541. After that Calvin never left it more, having as it were established his Pontifical seat in that place, from whence he governed his whole Party as well in Temporals as Spirituals. Farel could not long comply with him, and retired into Switzerland.

As Calvin's temperament was very severe, and an Enemy to all diversifications, that besides he must needs have observed, how the Lutherans instead of having retrenched their Luxury, Debaucheries, and Oppressions, had rather increased them; he thought it would be much better to use more strictness in reforming those irregularities, so to gain Profelytes by the specious appearance of Austerity. He therefore forbade all Oaths, which then were grown very horrible and very frequent, not permitting his to affirm otherwise then by the word verily; he prohibited Dancing, Cabarets, Gaming-houses, and Usury; he punished Fornication and Adultery with death; and recommended modesty of Habits, Frugality and Temperance, that so those of his Sect might appear to be really reformed, and the Catholicks by opposition much more irregular and much more dissolute.

The number of his followers encreased daily, they held their Assemblies by night in Cellars or in solitary places, and had Advertisers who went from house to house to give them notice of the place and time. Francis I. a very merciful Prince was not over rigorous to them till in the year 1534. when they lost all respect to him, as well as to things Holy and Sacred. Some over zealous amongst them, being angry because he would not hear Melancthon, nor read the works of their Calvin, posted up certain very scandalous placards against him, and against his Religion, and scatter'd divers very injurious Libels even upon his Table and on his very Bed: nay there were those that cut off the Arms and

Church.

* Vide in the Year 1534.

From the year 1535.

How the Novators were treated in France.

Church.

and heads of some Images." So that being exasperated to the highest degree by this audacious Sacrilege, he quitted *Blois* where he then was, and came to *Paris*; where after he had given order to seize upon a good many of these Sacramentaries, he made on the 21st of *January* that Solemn Procession which is described in all the Histories of those times: and to expiate those impieties, deliver'd up to the Flames six of those Wretches. He afterwards caused divers others to be Condemned to the same sufferings, but who went to their death with an alacrity and constancy worthy of a much better cause.

From the
year 1547.

They had more to undergo yet in the Reign of *Henry II.* the aversion which the Dutcheffs of *Valentinois* had conceived against them in hatred to the Dutcheffs of *Estampes*, and the more Religious zeal of the Cardinal de *Tournon*, renewed the search and prosecutions of them: and besides this their ugly base attempts drew the anger of the Judges and the severity of the Laws upon their own heads. For they fell upon Images, and the Holy Sacrament, not only by virulent writings, but likewise with horrible Impieties. In *Anno 1550.* a fantastical Fellow undertook in the open day-light to cut off the head of an Image of the Virgin in the Church of *Notre-Dame* at *Paris*.

In fine, maugre all punishments, the mischief became so great, that it was not in the power of man to extirpate it by force: and besides the divers manners and methods of proceeding gave them opportunities to escape; for sometimes they were left to the Judgment of the Secular Magistrates: another while they were taken out of their hands to be carried before the Bishops, then they sent them to the Prefidial Courts, created first, as it was said, by the suggestions of the Sacramentaries themselves with design of becoming Masters thereof by perswading and engaging their Friends to buy those new Offices. Which however brought them little advantage in the end, because at length the cognisance of those Crimes was referred to the Parliaments.

1558.

After the loss of the Battle of *Saint Quentin* they lifted up their heads in divers parts of the Kingdom. They had the confidence at *Paris* to meet by night in a House of the Street *Saint Jacques*: The Magistrates having Information went thither well guarded; those that were armed amongst them fought their way thorow the crowd and saved themselves: some less desperate were seized, all the Women were taken, of whom four or five belonged to the Queen: For she her self, to be thought wise and pious, seemed to have some tendency towards that Religion. The accused defended themselves so well upon their Trials, that their friends had time enough to get Letters of intercession from the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, which saved their lives.

Anno 1554. They first began to have a Minister at *Paris*, his Name was *John Macon*. Four years after, on the Nine and Twentieth of *July* they held their first Synod in the same City; the number of those they have held since is almost infinite. In that of *Chaulons*, which was in the year 1563. they propounded to exterminate all Despotique Power, the Papacy, and Chicane or Pettysogging, which they termed the three Pests of humane kind. It was but very lately they ordained that the singing of Psalms turned into French Meeter, should be part of their Liturgy: *Marot* had done but fifty only; after his death *Beza* set himself about that work and finished the remainder. This Version (if we may so call it) was published, with excellent Tunes set and Composed by the most Famous Musicians of those Times. The more pious of the People received them with applause, and took delight in singing those Psalms and Airs, imagining by this means to suppress all filthy and impure Songs; but when it came once to be understood that they were the Symbole of the Sacramentaries, they not only abstained from them, but also fell foul upon such as offer'd to sing them; which occasioned great Tumults at *Paris*, particularly in the year 1558.

Causes of the
Progress of
Calvinisme in
Fr.

The Ministers of State were accused (whether wrongfully or not) for not having applied the true remedies against this Contagion, whilst it infected none but the poorer sort, by whose loss they could reap little gain; being rather willing it should spread and take hold of the qualified and rich, that they might have fines and great confiscations; the only means whereby those in favour enriched themselves under the Reign of *Henry II.* In effect great numbers of People that were wealthy, of Ecclesiasticks, and of the most considerable Officers were found to be tainted, many even of the best Heads belonging to the Parliament were coised, and possessed with it: who might perhaps have drawn most of the Members of that body after them, had not the King gone in Person to that

Church.

that famous Mercurial of the year 1559. and sent divers of them away Prisoners. Some of these would needs justify themselves, the rest retracted: the only *Anthe de Bourg* was immolated for his Religion. His example spoiled more than an hundred Ministers could have done by all their zealous Preaching. Then the weakness of the Reign of *Francis II.* the Minority of *Charles IX.* the Causes of discord which animated the Princes of the Blood assisted by the three *Chastillons*, against the Princes of the House of *Guise*, the Maligne and Artificial Ambition of the Regent *Catherine de Medicis* who flatter'd sometimes the *Huguenots*, sometimes the Catholics, according as she had need either of the one or the other; In fine, the Connivence of some great Magistrates, and of several Bishops gave opportunities to this Sect both to strengthen, and multiply and confirm themselves.

We have elsewhere spoken of the Tumult at *Amboise*, the Enmities, and Cabals of the *Grandeess* for the Government, the rise of (the name of *Huguenot* given to the Calvinists, who till that were called Sacramentaries) and of the Prince of *Conde's* taking up Arms, with the other Chiefs. We shall not need to observe that those Furies wasted the Kingdom for thirty years together, occasioned the giving of seven or eight battels, and an infinite number of Combats, were the death either by War or by more cruel Massacres of a Million of brave Men, destroy'd two or three hundred Towns, and reduced the richest and the most noble Families of *France* to the poor and humble subsistence of an Hospital.)

It was the Kingdoms misfortune, that this Reformation which the *Huguenots* Preached up so much, was passionately desired by the best of people, and their Cause hapning to be in some manner complicated with the interest of the State, those who had an ambition to show themselves good French-men favour'd and supported them indirectly, and Clubb'd Councils with them. For this reason the *Eitantes* of *Orleans* did not endeavour to destroy them, and some even of the Prelates themselves advised to allow them the Colloquy of *Poissy*, and after that to grant them another Conference concerning Images, Reliques, and the Ceremonies; which did greatly heighten their courage.)

It would perhaps have been more to the purpose to have at that time called a National Council; and if they had intended to pluck up that Weed by the roots at its first springing, they ought to have held a general one. Those are the proper and sovereign Remedies God has left his Church wherewith to extinguish the like flames, but often-times humane Policies does not suit with it. And in those very days the mistaken interests of Princes, and of the Pope himself, opposed the common good of the whole Christian Church. The Council of *France* put the Court of *Rome* into a Fit of Trembling at every mention they made of calling a National Council, so greatly did they apprehend the Capacity of the French Divines, and the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church: Nor was this one of the least considerations and motives which obliged Pope *Paul IV.* to re-continue the Council of *Trent*.

Council of
Trent.

The Memoires of this Great Council have been collected by several persons, and its History written and published by divers Authors, but somewhat variously, and in many things rather according to their inclinations and their particular engagements, than the naked truth. Pope *Clement VII.* had been obliged in 1533. to assure the Emperor *Charles V.* he would convocate one that same year; but when he understood how the Protestant Princes (very far for submitting to the conditions he desired) maintain'd and urged that he ought not to be present at it, since he was a party; that the controversies were to be judged by the word of God only; and that the Laity must have their suffrages as well as the Clergy: he made no great haste to forward it, and only promised the said Convocation not setting either the time or place.

Pope *Paul III.* his Successor, indicted it effectually for the two and twentieth of *May* in the year 1536. at *Mantona*: from thence, because the Duke feared for his City, he would have it held at *Vincenza* in the Territories of the *Seignory* of *Venice*, and there to begin in the Month of *May* of the Year 1538. but the *Germans* complaining that the said place was too remote from them, the *Venetians* being under some apprehensions of exasperating the *Turk*, who dreaded this grand Assembly; and withal but few Bishops appearing there, he suspended it for as long time as he pleased. *Anno 1541.* by consent of the Catholics of *Germany* who had held a Dyet at *Spire*, he appointed it, by a Bull dated the two and twentieth of *May*, to be held the first of *November* of the same year in the

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Church. City of Trent: and nevertheless all Europe being soon after put into a Confusion with the War between Charles V. and Francis I. he was forced to recall the Legates he had sent thither, and to suspend it yet a second time, till a more convenient Season, which he would declare when he judged fit.

The Peace was made between the two Kings Anno 1544. In this Treaty some Propositions were hinted about reforming the abuses of the Church of Rome; The Pope having notice of it, judged it necessary to prevent them, and a second time Summoned the Council of Trent for the fifteenth of March of the year 1545. with this precaution however, that he gave his Legates order, in case any thing were moved against his interest, either to dissolve it or to transfer it. The Assembly was found to be so thin, that he Adjourned the opening of it till the thirteenth of December; when the number being little increased, the French Bishops who were but three had thoughts of retiring; however they did remain, and the Council was open'd.

1546, and 1547. After some Sessions, and divers Prorogations during the years 1546, and 47. it hapned that the Emperor gained great advantage over the Protestant Princes of the League of Smalcald. The Legates who knew the intentions of their Master, perceived then, that it was not for his interest to hold the Council any longer in that place. Taking therefore an occasion upon some flying report of the Plagues being gotten into that Vicinage, they transferr'd it to Bologna the eight and twentieth of February in the year 1547. not staying to be informed whether the Emperor and the King would approve of it: the Spanish Bishops refused to follow them, and remained at Trent.

1547, 1548. The same year in the Month of April, the Emperor gained a great and entire Victory over the same Protestants; which contrary to all expectation, instead of rejoycing his Holyness, (who could not have believed this?) put him into most terrible apprehensions. He fancied already he saw the Emperor pursuing his advantage, entering into Italy, wresting from him Parma and Piacenza, making himself Master of the City of Rome, restoring the Imperial dignity there; and that which he feared more yet then all this, reforming the abuses of his Court, according as the Bishops even of his own Territories when they were at the Council, had highly declared for in many set Speeches. Amidst these Alarms the Holy Father not knowing which way to turn himself, did earnestly sollicite the King of France to oppose this formidable progress, to rally and support the scatter'd remnants of the Protestants, and even to call in the assistance of the Turk. Thereupon, the tenth day of September hapned the death of the Duke of Piacenza his Son; his grief for so Tragical an Accident, joyned with the terror of the Emperors Victory, together with those protestations his Ambassadors made against its Translation, were the chief causes he made the said Council to cease Anno 1548.

It was interrupted till in the year 1551. the vehement instances of the Emperor and the Catholicks of Germany obliged Pope Julius III. to re-intimate the same at Trent the first day of May of that year, and to begin again where they had left off. Some Protestant Princes, and some certain Cities to comply with the Emperor, sent thither their Deputies. But soon after the War of Parma broke out, and the King being offended that the Pope should League himself against him with the Emperor, wrote to the Council by James Amiot, Abbey of Bellosane, a very disobliging Letter for the Pope, and filled with these like protestations, That there being no free access at Trent for his Bishops he could not send them thither; That he did not hold it for a General Council called to reform Abuses and to restore the Discipline, but looked upon them as an Assembly practised by subtil intrigues and for temporal interests; That therefore he did not helieve himself obliged or bound to their Decrees, neither himself nor the Churches of his Kingdom, but declared, That when ever it were needful he should have recourse to the same means and remedies whereof his Predecessors had made use in the like cases.

The Pope being soon weary of the War, dispatched Legates to the Emperor and to the King to Treat of a Peace. The faculties of him that came into France being presented to the Parliament, received the same restrictions as had been put to those of the preceeding ones.

Now the King being well again with the Pope, the Council continued during the whole year 1551. and the following also. Whilst they were thus going on, the terror of the Arms of Maurice Duke of Saxony, who was advanced as far as Inspruc, where he thought to surprize the Emperor; and the rumour of the Kings

Church. Kings who entered into Germany, did so much scare the Prelates, that most of them ran quite away. The Legates therefore suspended the Council for two years only; but by the divers accidents and mutations of Affairs, it was interrupted till the year 1561. when Pope Pius IV. re-assembled them. His Bull of Indiction met with great difficulties both from the Emperor and from the King: their Councils desired it might be a Convocation of a Council wholly new, not a continuation of the old, and that they might re-examine those Decrees, had been already made; for they had hopes thereby to allure and bring in the Protestants. Withal the true French-men, found fault that the Address was made only to the Emperor, and that the name of King Charles was not express'd, as those of Francis I. and of Henry II. had been in the foregoing ones. In effect they had not comprised him but under the general terms of Kings and Christian Princes. They did the same injustice in their acclamations upon the closing up of the Council.

The Ambassadors of France who were Lewis de Saint-Gelais Lansac, Arnold de Ferrier President des Enquestes in the Parliament of Paris, and Guy Faure Pibrac Chief Justice of Tolosa, Arrived there the eighteenth of May. Queen Catherine and her Council, had given them a Charge to press vigorously for the Reformation of Abuses, and to behave themselves in such sort as the Protestants might have reason to believe they intended them all manner of reasonable satisfaction upon their complaints. Pibrac harangued them to that purpose, and Lansac did second him; to this effect he demanded they should declare it to be a new Council, and that they would stay for those Bishops who were coming thither from France, as likewise the Ambassadors, and Divines from the Queen of England, and from the Protestant Princes. Notwithstanding these instances, the Legates declared it was a continuation, and would have them proceed immediately without waiting for the Prelates of France.

Lansac and his Collegues joyned themselves also with the Emperors Ambassadors in the demand they made for the use of the Cup, for the Laity of Bohemia, to whom the Church had otherwhile most benignly allowed it. On the other hand, the French Bishops seconded the Spaniards with all their might and main, to have them declare that Residence was of Divine Right; but neither the Ambassadors, nor they had any satisfaction upon either point, and were divers times in deliberation to be gone. Pibrac being recalled to the Court of France by Queen Catherine, Ferrier was the manager, who harangued upon all occasions with extreme vehemence.

During these tranfactiions, the Cardinal de Lorraine Arrived at Trent, accompanied with a great number of Bishops, and took such authority upon him, that the Pope having conceived some jealousy, called him amongst his familiars, the Petty Pope on the other side the Mountains. He knew that he was come to Act in concert with the Imperialists to engage them to give some satisfaction to the Lutherans (whom he desired to unlink from the Huguenots, having to that effect both he and his Brother, conferred with the Duke of Wirtemberg, and other Princes of that belief at Saverne:) and therefore he had taken care and provided (to be fortify'd against him) a great number of Italian Bishops whom from all parts he sent to the Council of Trent before the Cardinal should Arrive there.

Some Months after his coming, they received two Messages of great News at the Council; the one of the death of the King of Navarre, the other some Months after that of the gaining of the Battle of Dreux; Both of them gave the Cardinal great reason to believe his Brother might soon make himself Master of all France, and that consideration encreased his credit and power very much in the Council; and by consequence that of the Ambassadors with whom he was very well united in the beginning.

They propounded therefore, according to the instructions they had, four and thirty Articles of Reformation, whereof the most Remarkable were; That none should be ordained Priests, unless they were ancient, as the very word imported; That they should restore the Functions separately to all the sacred Orders, without allowing one Order to do what belonged to another; That they should not confer them all at once, but observe the interstitium; That none should be admitted to the dignity of an Abbot, or of a Prior conventual, who had not read, or taught Theology in some Famous Colledge; That an Ecclesiastick should be capable to hold but one single Benefice; That they should say the Prayers in French after the holy Sacrifice of the Mass; That they should give the Communion

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Church. Communion to the People under the two species, or both kinds; That they should render to the Bishops their entire Jurisdiction, without allowing exemption to any Monasteries, unless to the Heads of Orders; That the Pastors should be capable, and obliged to Preach and to Catechise; That Simony, and the sale of Benefices should be punished; and that those abuses might be removed, and taken away which had been introduced amongst the vulgar in the worship of Images. The Cardinal de Lorraine would no doubt, have assisted them to his utmost if the death of the Duke of Guise had not intervened: but as the good Fortune and Prosperity of that Brother had much elevated him, so his loss depressed him most infinitely; he now thought of nothing but an accommodation with the Pope, and letting fall his grand designs obliged likewise all the Bishops of his Party to do the same: So that the Legates, and other Persons dependants of the Court of Rome, remaining Masters in the Council procured many things to be passed there according to their own desires and intentions.

1563. About this time began the contest for Precedency between the Ambassadors of France, and of Spain, wherein it may be truly said the Pope did not preserve the right of France in its entire. If we believe some, he was willing to foment this dispute that he might have some colour to break up the Council; which he had thoughts to do several times before, because he could not govern them as he desired. It had like to have fallen out now; the Ambassadors of France, pickqued at the Injustice done to their King, were on the point to leave them, and protest, not against the Legates who depended on the will of the Pope, nor against the Council which was not free, nor against the King of Spain and his Ambassador, who maintained their Pretension; but against a particular man that acted as Pope, and had intruded into Saint Peters Chair by unlawful Cabals, and an unworthy Traffick, of which they had undeniable Proofs before them. Nevertheless such as were sincere and well meaning men amongst them, moderating this difference, found out an expedient to compose matters, but which in truth did in some sort prejudice one advantage France had ever been in possession of: But she knew how to recover her former right afterwards, and to maintain it.

1563. The Cardinal de Lorraine had now no other thought but to hasten the conclusion of the Council, that he might return into France to settle the Affairs of his House. He went to wait on his Holiness at Rome, with whom he had long and private Conferences; and after he came back to Trent, he acted altogether in concert with the Legates. In so much as the said grand Assembly, which during the space of twenty seven years, and under the Pontificat of Five Popes, had been interrupted and resumed divers times, finally ended on the second day of December in the year 1563. To the unexpressible satisfaction of his Holiness, who thereby was deliver'd of many great fatigues, and far greater apprehensions of the diminution of his absolute power.

The Decisions have been received in France as to the points of Faith, but not those for Discipline, there being many that infringe the Rights of the Crown, the Liberties of the Gallican Church, the authority of the secular Magistrate, the Privileges of the Chapters and Communities, and divers usages received in the Kingdom: and if several of their Reiglements are practised, it is not by virtue of the Decrees of that Council, but of the Kings Ordonnances.

1561, &c. Whilst that was held, Calvinisme which the Edicts of King Francis I. and Henry II. had suppressed, began to appear again publicly under the favour of those conjunctures we have before specified. The Edict of July deliver'd them from the dangers of death; the Colloquy of Poissy gave them confidence to Preach openly; the Edict of January, the Liberty of Exercise; and the accident of Vassy, the occasion to take up Arms.

1563. From thence followed infinite Murthers, Robberies, Destruction of Churches, Burnings, Prophanations, and Sacrilegious Out-rages. Those people enraged for that they had burned so many of their Brethren, revenged it cruelly upon the Clergy; as many as they caught, they cut off their Ears, and their Virilia: some were seen to wear them upon strings hung round like Baneliers. They spared not the Sepulchres of Saints, nor even the Tombs of their own Ancestors; they burned all the Reliques, (of which notwithstanding, as by a Miracle, we now find as many as ever;) and broke in pieces all the Shrines and Sacred Vases to get the Gold and Silver that enriched them. From all which impieties this good at least accrued to the publick, that they Coynd good store of Money: but one thing was a loss without any the least profit, and never to be repaired,

to

Church. to wit, the destruction of the ancient Libraries belonging to Abbeys, where there were inestimable Treasures for History, and for the works of Antiquity.

The Clergy in these Wars sustained likewise great damage in their Temporal Estates; for besides that the Huguenots invaded them in many places, the Kings also constrained them four or five several times to alienate much Lands for great Sums of Money to be employ'd towards the expences of their War, and gave them so short a time that they were forced to sell at a very mean rate. Shall we say these distractions were their ruine, or their reformation? since it is certain, that as those riches serve them for a decent and necessary subsistence, when they are moderate, so are they the chief cause of their corruption when excessive; and that when ever the Church had the least, then was she always the most holy, and pure.

When Francis Duke of Guise was Assassinated near Orleans, the Queen-Mother and the Huguenots being on either hand delivered from that approaching ruine, wherewith he threatned them, were easily inclined to a Peace; The Queen and the Prince her Prisoner treated it personally; the Edict was dispatched to Amboise the nineteenth of March, 1563. This was the first of the seven granted them by King Charles IX, and Henry III. for so often did they take up Arms, sometimes being thereto necessitated, otherwhile out of choice and design. The Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, which in all probability should have utterly quelled them, did but rather encourage them to undergo all future extremities, since it left them no other prospect to save themselves but by hazarding their All.

Now this first Peace in 1563. displeased his Holiness so much, that he resolved to discharge his wrath upon those whom he believed to be the most dangerous Enemies of the Catholick Religion in France, particularly upon Jane d'Albret. Queen of Navarre, who had banish'd it out of her Kingdom, and pull'd down all the Churches; and upon some Prelates who manifestly countenanced Huguenotisme.

1563. He had a mind to Summon the Queen before the Council, and to have made her process at that grand Tribunal: but foreseeing the Emperors Ambassadors would soon oppose it, as they had done in the like Case concerning the Queen of England, he resolved to cite her to Rome, and caused the Citation to be posted up at the Gates of Saint Peters Church, and at the Inquisition, declaring, if She did not make her appearance, that her Lands and Lordships should be proscribed, and that She should personally incur all the penalties provided against Here-ticks.

As for the Prelates, he gave orders likewise to the Cardinals of the Inquisition, to cite them to Rome upon a day certain, and if they appeared not personally, to carry on their process to a definitive Sentence, which he would pronounce in his secret Consistory. The Inquisitors, by virtue of this Command, cited Odet de Coligny Chastillon, Cardinal Bishop of Beauvais, but who had quitted his Purple to follow the fortune and opinions of his Brothers, and bare the Title of Count de Beauvais. N. de Saint Romain, Arch-Bishop of Aix, John de Mont-luc, Bishop of Valence, John Anthony Carraccioli of Troyes, John de Barbançon of Pamiez, Charles Guillard of Chartres, Lewis d'Albret of Lascar, Claude Reyne of Oleron, John de Saint Gelais of Uzes, and Francis de Nouilles of Acqs. In the same number they might very justly have placed Peter du Val, Bishop of Sees, who was of the same sentiments with Montluc.

After these Proceedings in the Court of Rome, the Pope pronounced the Sentence against the Cardinal de Chastillon, whereby, he declared him an Heretick, Seducer, Schismatick, Apostate, and one perjur'd, degraded him of his Cardinalship deprived him of Offices & all Dignities, especially the Bishoprick of Beauvais which he held of the Holy See, & exposed him to all the faithful that could apprehend him, & deliver him up to justice. The Cardinal to shew that he depended no way on the jurisdiction of the Pope, resumed the Purple, and assisted, clothed in that manner, at the Act of the Majority of the King in the Parliament of Rouen: whereat the Pope was so incensed, that he publicly pronounced the Sentence, and caused it to be affixed in the Markets of Rome, and afterwards dispersed all over Europe.

But as for the Queen of Navarre, the Kings Council considering the consequences of suffering a Princess to be dispoiled who was related to the King, and that her Husband died fighting in defence of the Catholick Religion, that her Case would be a prejudgment against all Crowned Heads, and that this Chastifement

Church. ment would turn less to the advantage of Religion then to the profit of the King of Spain, who from thence would take an opportunity to invade her Country, made such effectual Remonstrances to the Pope by the mouth of *Henry Clutin-Doyfel* his Ambassador, that the Citation given against this Queen was revoked. As for the Bishops, the Cardinal de Lorraine having likewise informed the Pope, that it was against the Rights and usage of the Gallican Church, to suffer their Process to be made at first instance at Rome, it stop'd that business for the present; but five years after, *Pius V.* taking advantage of the weakness of the Kingdom to extend his own Authority, pronounced a like Sentence against them as that which had been thundred against the Cardinal de Chastillon, and caused it to be published in France.

The Rebellion of the *Huguenots* produced the Faction of the League, the example of their Confederations with Foreign Princes authorised also the measures these took with Spain. The proceedings of both Parties were almost the same; at first they affected a strict Discipline, then after a little while they fell into all manner of Licentiousness; Their Pulpiters, and their Libellers were equally insolent and Factionous, they employed the same Maxims, and used the same Language and Arguments against Sovereign Authority which they attacked, and for the Liberty of the Subjects, and of Conscience to those whom they Debauched. In like manner both the one and the other, when they found they were in such extremities they could not possibly extricate themselves by ordinary means, suborned Assassines to help them out; but all who made use of those cursed means, perished by a like fate. For as *Polivrot* murder'd *Francis Duke of Guise*, so the Son of that Duke kill'd the Admiral; the *Quarante-cinq* * Massacred this Prince at Blois; and those whose hands were stained in his Blood, did most of them come to a Bloody end; the wrath of Heaven punishing the first by the second, and these by a third, who were so too by others. Which had gone on to infinity, if the Clemency of King *Henry IV.* had not put a stop to those Murthers, which necessarily trod upon the heels of one another.

The first Lineaments of the League were traced in *Guyenne*, and in *Langue-doc*, during the first Civil War, when there was danger lest the *Huguenots* should make themselves absolute Masters of those two large Provinces. In the year 1585. *Humieres*, with the Nobles in his Government of *Vermandois*, formed one at *Peronne*; and *Lewis de la Trimouille* another in *Poitou*. The House of *Guise* labour'd hard to collect, and joyn them all together, especially after the Death of the Duke of *Anjou*: Not, perhaps that those Princes were then pushed on with the ambition of usurping the Crown, as they have been accused, but because they were so by the Natural desire of self-preservation. For the Physicians assuring them that *Henry III.* could not live long, they justly feared when he should be no more, to be crushed, either by his Favourites, betwixt whom he had a mind to share his Kingdom, or by the *Huguenots* whose hatred against their Family could not be fatiated with less than the blood of all those Princes: therefore it was they so provided and Fore-Arm'd themselves lest they should remain exposed to the Mercy both of the one and the other. It is probable the Forces they afterwards got into their hands by the Confluence of such potent Party's both from within and without the Kingdom, might inspire them with thoughts that were both more high and more Criminal: though it would be yet a much more easie task to find credible Conjectures, then an certain or convincing Proofs of it.

The Pope, the *Sorbonne*, the Jesuits, and almost all the new Religious Orders contributed with all their might to form the League; But yet their Credit would never have been sufficient to maintain it, if the People had not been so very ill used as they then were, and if the burthen of the Imposts, the Insolence of the Favourites, the Weaknesses and scandalous Manners of *Henry III.* had not given them both an aversion and contempt for the Government.

The Duke of *Nevers* began it out of zeal, and then disowned it out of jealousy; Father *Claude Matthieu* a Jesuite was the first Courier for them: *Gregory XIII.* fomented it, *Sixtus V.* approved and protected it. Some will needs have, that the former contributed to the Conspiracy of *Salcede*: as the latter excommunicated the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Condé* Anno 1585. After the Barricades he wrote to the Duke of *Guise*, comparing him to the *Machabees*, and

and gave him notice he had Created a Legat, a *Latere*; (this was *John Francis Morosini*) to whom the Cardinal de Bourbon and himself should communicate all their designs. The Death of this Prince murder'd at Blois, gave him much grief: that of the Cardinal de *Guise*, and the detention of the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons* furnished him with a pretext of revenging it with the *Anathemas* of the Church. His Monitory against King *Henry III.* was published the four and twentieth of May, affixed in the usual places at Rome the same Day, and on the Gates of the Cathedral Churches of *Meaux* and *Chartres* the three and twentieth of June.

If the Relations we have of those times are true, this Pope was even transported with joy upon the news he received of the Assassination of the said Prince, and highly applauded the act of *Jacques Clement* in the Consistory, comparing it to the most glorious Mysteries of Christianity, and to the generosity of the most glorious and illustrious Martyrs. He thought after this change he was bound openly to take in hand the defence of Religion, and to hinder *Henry IV.* from getting into the Throne so long as he remained out of the Church. He therefore sent the Cardinal *Caetan* Legate a *Latere*, to the Duke of *Mayenne*. Upon this occasion the Members of Parliament who were remaining still at Paris, and those that had withdrawn themselves to *Tours*, being directly opposite, acted after a quite different manner, but with alike heat, the one for the Pope the others for the King.

The *Sorbon* refused nothing to the intreaties of the League, and the desires of his Holiness in an Affair that concerned Religion. It is not unknown what bloody decrees they made to draw the People from their obedience to *Henry III.* and *Henry IV.* but when the latter of these two Kings was converted, and withal become Master of Paris, they made one quite contrary in favour of him, not waiting till he had received his absolution from Rome.

Gregory XIV. not well informed of the State of the League, engaged himself yet farther then his Predecessor, he promised fifteen Thousand Crowns of Gold per Month to maintain and defend the City of Paris, and sent an Army into France, but it perished almost before it's entrance, and brought much more Scandal by the Vices of their Country, then assistance to the Party.

The Prelates, to preserve their Revenues which indeed was the main thing studied by most of them, and their greatest obligation, followed the Party that was most prevalent in those Countries where they had their Benefices: but in such parts as were Subject to the Incurfions of both, they did not know what measures to take; for if they declared for the one, the other immediately gave away their Benefices. *Gregory* by a Bull of the year 1591. commanded all those that then followed the King, to forsake him upon pain of Excommunication; but the present evil touching them more sensibly then his remoter Menaces, they would not obey his Commands.

This Pope held the See but six Months; *Innocent* his Successor, but two; *Clement VIII.* who was Elected afterwards, did at first follow the Steps of *Gregory*, and sent to *Philip de Sega* Bishop of *Piacenza*, (who was made Cardinal by the said *Gregory*) to procure the Election of a Catholick King, This was in the year 1592. The Prelates on their part, finding that all Communication was broke off with Rome, made a Proposition for the creating a Patriarch for France; and such as were the most powerful at Court, either upon the Score of favour or merit, did second it with all their might out of the hopes they had to obtain the said high dignity. But the Cardinal de Bourbon who had other thoughts for his own grandeur, opposed it vigorously, under pretence that it would be a means to Confirm the King in his Schism, and exasperate his Holiness the more. So it was ordain'd, that the Kings nomination to Benefices should be Confirmed by the Bishops, and that each of them should have the power of his Dispensation in his Diocese as the Pope.

If we should judge of the intent of the Heads of the League, by the effect produced, we might affirm it was good: for the Traverse and Troubles they gave *Henry IV.* put him to such a plunge, that fearing worse might follow, he resumed and embraced the Religion of his Ancestors to secure himself of the Crown. *Clement* did for some time after keep the Doors of the Church shut against him; but at length finding the weakness of the League, and the Ambition of the King of Spain, open'd them wide to him with great demonstration of kindness; But

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not however without making all his efforts for augmenting the Authority of the Holy See upon so eminent and favourable an occasion.

From that time France was troubled no more with those violent fits occasioned by heats of Religion; although some relics still remained within her bowels of the inflammations of the Holy League: as on the other side the Cabals and Contrivances of the Huguenots gave continual Alarms and Apprehensions to King Henry IV. We have told you he allowed them the exercise of their Religion, and many other advantages by the Edict of Nantes.

Of the corruption of the two Parties, a third was generated named *The Politicks*, a People who seeming to profess the Religion of that Party they were engaged in, yet having indeed none, since they placed and made it wholly subservient in all things to Temporal Interests of State, were for that reason more pernicious than all the Hereticks.

During the greatest Heats of War for Religion, under the Reign of Charles IX. and the beginning of that of Henry III. the Clergy had not the leisure to assemble any Provincial Councils, although the Church stood in much need of them; but after the year 1580. there were held five or six by the Arch-Bishops assisted by their Suffragants. The Cardinal Charles de Bourbon Assembled one at Rouen Anno 1581. Anthony Prevost Sansac held one at Bourdeaux the following year: Simon de Maille one at Tours in 1583. Reinold de Beaune one at Bourges in 1584. Alexander Canigiani one at Aix Anno 1585. And Francis de Joyeuse Cardinal one at Toulouze Anno 1590.

I do not reckon amongst these Assemblies neither the diverse Conferences between the Catholick Doctors, and the Protestants, of which the most famous, as also the most pernicious, was the Colloquy of Poissy; nor even what they call Assemblies of the Clergy of France, because the Form and Methods of Proceedings, and the reasons of their Convocation differ very much from those of Councils, though upon occasion they do sometimes treat of Discipline, and other Matters Ecclesiastical. It is true that in all times the Prelates have held such Assemblies, either by Order of the King, or by his leave, when it was requisite for them so to do; but they were not held regularly, as they began to be since that Sacred Order was obliged in a Contract of twelve Hundred Thousand Livres of Rent to the * *Hôtel de Ville* of Paris, and upon that Score to pay their Tenths punctually. We may, in my Opinion, put that of Melun which was held in the year 1597. for the first of this kind.

The Remonstrances they made to the King by the Mouth first of Arnaud de Pontac Bishop of Basle, then of Nicholas l'Angelier Bishop of Saint Brienc's, were very pressing for the discharging and taking of those Rents, for reception of the Council of Trent, and the re-establishment of Elections. They could obtain nothing as to the first; for the second they were promis'd it should be considered in due time and place; but to the Third, the King replied very roughly that he would do nothing in it, and asked whether they did not hold their Bishopricks from him; To which some answered generously enough, that they were ready to surrender them into his hands again, provided he would be pleased to surrender that right to the Church according to the Holy Canons.

As to the remainder we may know by their Remonstrances what the disorders of the Gallican Church then were; we find, how the Bishopricks, the Abbeyes, and Collegiate Churches were in the hands of Captains; That these words were often heard in their Mouths, my Bishoprick, my Abbey, my Priest, my Chanoons, my Monks. That by an Act the Grand Council Order'd the Moneys upon the Sale of a Bishoprick should be employ'd to pay the Debts of the Kingdom; that in the Kings Council an Abbey had been adjudged to a Lady, as being given her in Dowry, with an express Declaration, that after her Decease the Heirs should enjoy it in equal proportions: That many Bishopricks were without Bishops, and their Goods usurped by prophane Persons: that of near eight hundred Abbeyes, to which the King named, there were not an hundred Titulary, or Commendatory Abbeyes, and that of those the greater part did but only lend * their names to others, who in effect enjoy'd the Revenue: Thus were the Churches without Pastors, the Monasteries without Religious Votaries, the Votaries without Discipline, the Temples and Sacred Places fallen to ruine, and converted to Dens of Thieves.

When the Clergy perceived they were thus left a prey to all the World, and that the Licentiousness of a Civil War expos'd their Goods to the first occupier,

the Catholicks falling on them with no less greediness than the Huguenots, they endeavour'd to re-unite themselves for their own security, and the Bishops were forced to reside in their Bishopricks, if not to feed their Flocks, yet at least to preserve wherewith to feed themselves. Before this necessity, they ran from them as dismal Solitudes; the divertisements of Paris, and Servitude at Court, were a more pleasing exercise. History observes, how Anno 1560. John de Montluc, Bishop of Valence, speaking his mind freely one day in the Kings Council, complain'd how forty had been seen at once in Paris wallowing in all manner of Debaucheries and Idleness. Therefore the Parliament enjoy'd them by a Decree, to return to their Bishopricks and to perform their Duties, otherwise they should be constrained to it by Seizure of their Goods and Equipage. But perhaps considering after what way they lived there for the most part, their absence might be a less scandal to their Flocks, than their residence would have proved.

In this Age were not made any new Orders of Monks; I shall however mention that of the *Minimes* which began in the precedent: Saint Francis a Native of Paolo in Calabria was the Institutor of it, and did plant it in France, at the time he was called thither by King Lewis XI. Pope Sixtus IV. approved it in 1473. And Julius II. Confirmed it in 1506.

All those of the *Mendicants* renewing their Ancient Fervour and Discipline, some sooner, others later, begot divers Reformations. That of Saint Francis which hath ever been more abounding than any other in diversity of Habits and Observations of Rules, produced three new Branches, that of the *Capucines*, that of the *Recollets*, and that of the *Piquepusses*.

That of the *Augustines* did likewise produce one which is the *Hermites* of Saint Augustine; as the *Carmelites* also produced the Congregation of those named *Deschaux*. I pass by in silence that of the *Dominicans* or *Jacobins* Reformed, and that of the *Augustins deschausseux*, or *Barefooted*, forasmuch as they belong to the Seventeenth Age.

And to speak first of the *Recollets*, we must know that there having been at divers times many different Congregations in the Order of Saint Francis, who vaunted each the observing the Rule of their Patriarch in its greatest purity and simplicity, Leo X. had ordained that they should all be comprised and reduced into one, under the name of the *Reformed*; That notwithstanding there were yet many more of them who affected to be more rigid than the rest, and to observe the Rule literally pursuant to the Declarations of Nicholas III. and Clement V. That in the year 1531. Clement VIII. caused certain Convents to be assigned, by the Superiors of the Order, where they placed those that had the Spirit of Piety and Recollection; for which cause they were named *Recollets*. The Cities of Tulle in Limosin, and of Murat in Auvergne, were the first in France who allowed them any Convents, some Religious Friars having brought this Reformation out of Italy about the year 1584. they had one at Paris; at present they have in the several parts of the Kingdom near an Hundred and fifty, which are divided into seven Provinces.

The Original of the *Capucins*, so named from the extraordinary form of their Capuchon, or Hood, was thus. In the year 1525. a Frier Minor Observantin named Matthew de Basci of the Dutchy of Spoleta, a Votary in the Convent de Montefalconi, affirming that God had commanded him by a Vision to the exercise of a more severe Poverty, and that he had shewed him the very manner how St. Francis was clothed, cut out a long pointed Hood or Capuche*, and such a Habit as the *Capucins* now wear, and retired himself into Solitude, by permission of the Pope. Some others, prompted by the same Spirit, joyned with him, to the number of twelve: The Duke of Florence gave them a Hermitage in his Territories, and so by little and little his band increased to that number, that in the year 1528. Pope Clement VII. approved this Congregation under the name of *Friers Minors Capucines*. Pope Paul III. confirmed it Anno 1536. with permission to settle in any place, and gave them a Vicar General, and Officers and Superiors. Such as have believed that Bernardinus Ochino, who Apostatized, and went over into the Camp of the *Philistins* or *Hereticks*, was the Institutor of so Holy a Congregation, were very ill informed: perhaps the advantage he had of being once their General, and one of the first and most noted of those that embraced this Reformation, hath caused the mistake. In the Reign of Charles IX. they were received into France, and had first a Convent

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at

Councils of
the Gallican
Church.

* Town-Hall.

1579.

Disorders in
the Church.

* They were
called *Custodians*.

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* Some had
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at Meudon which the Cardinal de Lorraine caused to be erected for them, and another little one in the place called *Piquepuz*, where now are the Religious Penitents of the Tiers, or third Order of Saint Francis. King Henry III. transferr'd them from that place into a Convent he caused to be Built for them in the *Faux-burg Saint Honoré*: They have nine Provinces in this Kingdom, and above four hundred Convents.

The Tiers Order of St. Francis, named the *Penitents*, were in the beginning only a Congregation of Secular Persons both of the one and the other Sex, but some while after they were made regular. Now in the following Ages, being extremely relaxed, one of the Society named *Vincent Massart* a *Parisian*, undertook to Reform them about the year 1595. The first Convent of this Reformation was built in the Village of *Franconville*, between *Paris* and *Pontoise*; and the second in the place called *Piquepuz*, at the end of the *Faux-burg Saint Antoine*, whence the vulgar hath named them * *Piquepusses*. This Order is divided in four Provinces, and hath about three-score Convents.

Pope *Eugenius IV.* having thought fit to mitigate the Rule of the *Carmelites*; the said mitigation having made them fall into a too great relaxation, *Sainte Theresia*, a Nun of this Order in the Convent of *Avilla* in *Castille* the place of her Birth, brought them again to their former Austerity. She began with the Sisters for whom she built a Monastery at *Avile*; Afterwards she undertook to restore the Men likewise, being assisted in this good work by two Religious *Carmelites*, who had their first Convent near the same City. Pope *Clement VIII.* separated them from the mitigated, Anno 1693. and allowed them to have their Province apart, and to chuse their Superiors amongst themselves, upon condition however to acknowledge the General of the Order. They came not into France till the year 1505. Their Convent in the *Faux-bourg Saint Germain*, the first that ever they had in the Kingdom, was Built Anno 1611.

The Reformed of the *Hermites* of St. *Augustin*, who are called at *Paris* les *Petits Peres*, (i. e. the *Little Fathers*) was instituted at the General Chapter of that Order held at *Madrid* Anno 1588. From thence some went and settled themselves in *Italy*, and from *Italy* six or Seven were brought into France in the year 1595. by *William d' Avencon* Arch-Bishop of *Embrun* who lodged them at the Priory of *Villars Benoist* in *Dauphiné*. They were not Established at *Paris* till the year 1609. first in the *Faux-burg St. Germain*, where Queen *Margaret* order'd a Convent to be erected for them, which they left to the *Augustines* Reformed who hold it still; then near the Gate *Montmartre* where they have Built another.

* or John of God.

The great care which the *Friers De la Charité* took by receiving in, as also tending and administering to the Sick, deserves we should make mention of them. The Blessed *Ican de Dieu*, * Native of the Diocese of *Evora* in *Portugal*, a simple Man without Learning, but inflamed with a Charitable zeal towards helping the poor Sick, began this Congregation in *Spain* about the year 1570. He went daily about the Streets, and into many Houses, exhorting all good Christians to bestow their Alms, and having frequently these words in his mouth, *Do good Brethren whilst you have the time*, for which cause in *Italy* they named these *Votaries*, *Fatte ben Fratelli*. Pious V. Confirmed it by his Bull of the first of *January* 1572. *Clement VIII.* reformed it, and *Paul V.* made it a Religious Order, obliging them to the three usual Vowes, and a special fourth, which is to tend the sick, under the dependance notwithstanding, and under the Correction of the Ordinaries.

The Congregation of *Fenillents* sprung from the Order of the *Cisterians*, and began not till the year 1586 in the Abbey of *Fenillents* which is in the Diocese of *Rieux*, within six Leagues of *Toulouze*. It had for Author *John de la Barriere*, who being Abbot Commendatary of that place, had taken on him the Habit of a Frier, *Sixtus V.* approved it, *Clement VIII.* and *Paul V.* allowed them particular Superiors. King Henry III. Founded a Convent for them in the *Faux-bourg Saint Honoré*, near the Garden of the *Tuileries*, and Anno 1587. *John de la Barriere* brought thither three-score of his *Friers*. They went then all barefooted, but have since worn Sandals, or Galochees; They have but three Provinces in France, and some thirty Monasteries.

Cleric's Regulars.

As every Age and every Generation hath its particular gusto and productions, this sixteenth Century was very fertile in Congregations of Cleric's Regulars, who are a kind of midling species between Monks and Priests. Such are those

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of the *Theatins*, the *Somasques*, the Cleric's Minors, the Ministers of the Infirmaries, the Schools of Piety, the Cleric's Regulars of Saint Paul, called *Barnabites*, the Oratorians of Rome, and the *Jesuits*, this last much more potent and of greater extent then all the rest together. I shall observe, *en passant*, that one of these Fathers, a man very devout, named *John Leon*, a *Flemming* by Birth, and Regent in the lower Classes of their Colledge at *Rome*, assembling those Scholars who were desirous to add Piety to Erudition, gave beginning to their Congregation of the Virgin; which hath been found so good and useful, that they have not only made of them for their Scholars, but also for the honest sort of Citizens, and even in some places for Artisans.

Of all the Cleric's Regulars, none have come into France but the *Jesuits*, the *Barnabites*, and the *Theatins*. These last we not established till in our time, under the Regency of Queen *Anne of Austria*. It is well known that Saint *Ignatius* was Institutor of the Company of *Jesus*, how it began in the year 1534. and how it was approved by Pope *Paul III.* and by his Successors. We may elsewhere relate upon what conditions they were admitted into France, the oppositions formed against their reception, and the great and frequent Traverses they have undergone divers times. It shall suffice at this moment to say, that they have filled the whole Earth with the loud report of their names, and the Books they have composed both for the advancement of Religion, and of all polite Learning.

The *Barnabites* had been wished for in France by King Henry IV. to have employed them for the Instruction of Youth, and to have substituted them in place of the *Jesuits*, after they were expelled. They came not then, but about six years after their General sent some of his Order to labour for the Conversion of *Bearn*; yet did not they take root in this Kingdom till a long time afterwards: they have here fifteen or sixteen houses, in most of which they have Colledges to teach all manner of good Learning. Their first establishment was at *Montargis* Anno 1620. And two years after they had one at *Paris* near the Palace. Their Congregation took Birth at *Milan*, and was instituted by three Gentlemen, two of that City, another of *Cremona*. They went by the name of *Barnabites*, because they established themselves in *Barnaby's*, and the Church they built there was Consecrated to God under the name of that great Apostle.

Let us now speak of the Religious Orders of the other Sex. We omitted in the end of the last Age, how in Anno 1594. *John Tisseran* a *Cordelier*, having moved and even melted the most obdurate hearts, and converted many Ladies of Pleasure by his Preaching, founded an Order *Des Filles Repenties* * to the honour of Saint *Magdalene*, which was to receive such who by the Mercies of God should be brought to forsake and abhor their sins. For which reason they were called *Penitents*. There came in at the very first two hundred and twenty; and as the number encreased so much, that the Revenue was not sufficient, they allowed many to go about the Town, to crave the Alms of the Charitable and well disposed people. Which lasted till the year 1550. when by reason of many inconveniencies, they were shut up in a most strict confinement. *Lewis Duke of Orleans*, who was afterwards King, gave them his *Hofel* of *Orleans* * At present rine dislodged them to build a Palace there, and transferred them to the Chapel Saint George, in the Street Saint Denis, which till then belonged to the Order of Saint *Magloire*.

Queen *Jane* Daughter of King *Lewis XI.* being parted from King *Lewis XII.* her Husband, and retired to the City of *Bourges*, had now no further thoughts or desire of pleasing any but him who does bestow the Celestial Crowns of Eternity; and since she could not lose her Virginity to become the Mother of a Dauphin would needs make her self the Mother of an infinite Company of Virgins by preserving it. She therefore (instituted the Order of the *Annunciation*, or the *Annunciades*, which she put under the direction of the *Friers Minors Observantines*) The Rule is not taken either from that of Saint *Bernard*, nor that of Saint *Augustin*, nor any other; but formed of the ten Vertues of the Holy Virgin, which are Chastity, Prudence, Humility, Truth, Devotion, Obedience, Poverty, Patience, Charity and Compassion. The Habit is singular, the Vail black, the Mantle white, the Scapular red, the Robe gray, and a Cord for a Girdle. There are divers Monasteries of them in France and in the Low-Countries.

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We must not confound this Order with that of the *Celestial Annunciades*, the institution whereof came from *Genoa*, and did not begin till the year 1604. we shall make mention of it in due time and place.

The Rule of the *the Capucines* is almost the same with that of the Men, and their Institution almost as ancient: The Dutchess of *Merceur* laid the first Stone for the Foundation of their Convent at *Paris* in the year 1604. pursuant to the intentions of *Queen Louisa* her Mother in Law, who by Will left wherewith to build it, for those Sisters.

The first Convent of the *the Feuillantines*, was established near *Toulouze* about the year 1590. then transferr'd to *Toulouze* it self. *Antoinetta d' Orleans* Widdow of *Charles de Gondy*, Marquess of *Belle-Isle*, put her self into it, Anno 1599.

The Pope drew her thence to give her the Government of the Abbey *Font-Evrard*; and some years after she instituted the Congregation of the *Benedictines* under the Title of *Saint Mary of Calvary*, and *Saint Scholastique*.

As for the *Sister Carmelites*, their reform not being brought out of *Spain* in above forty years after their first beginning, it hapned that Anno 1604. *Peter de Bernille* who was yet but a simple Priest, though one that had rare natural Talents, and the particular favour of Heaven, took the pains to go into that Country, and to bring thence some Scions of that most happy Nursery to graft and plant in *France*, so that at present there are nine and fifty Monasteries of them.

King *Henry III.* as we have already mentioned, established the Order of the *Holy-Ghost* Anno 1597. and *Henry IV.* that of *Nostre-Dame du Mont-Carmel* Anno 1607. The Pope gave him his Bulls for the Erection of it the same year; and the following others whereby he united it with that of *Saint Lazarus*. We must note, touching this last, that at the time when the *Western Christians* held the Holy Land, besides the orders of the *Templers*, the *Teutonic Knights*, and the *Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem*, there was likewise one established under the Title of *Saint Lazarus*, who received Pilgrims into their Houses founded for that purpose, conducted them in their Journeys, and defended them against the *Mahometans*: in somuch that the Popes gave them great Priviledges, as other Princes gave them great Possessions. *Lewis VII.* Anno 1154. bestow'd the Lands of *Boigny* near *Orleans* upon them. These Knights there seated themselves after the Christians were beaten out of the Holy-Land, kept their Titles, and always held their Assemblies in that place.

Now being become useles, they also came to be despised, so that the Knights of *Saint John* easily obtained the suppression of that Order and the Uniting of it to their own from *Innocent VIII.* but those in *France* having made complaint to the Parliament, it was ordained they should be kept separate from all other. And in effect they have always had their grand Masters. *Pius IV.* who was ever very curious for the adorning his Family with fair Titles, gave the said Honour of great Master (of those in *Italy* only) to *Joannot de Chastillon*, his Kinsman; This *Joannot* being dead in the year 1572. *Pope Gregory XIII.* left it wholly to the Duke *Emanuel Philibert* of *Savoy*, and to all his Successors, and joyned this Order to that of *Saint Maurice*, which he instituted in favour of that Prince. But as that concerned not *France*, *Aymar de Chattes* Knight of *Malta*, had a desire to get it restored, and revived here that he might be graced with that dignity; *Philibert de Nereftang*, a Gentleman of extraordinary vertue, and Captain of the *Guards du Corps*, succeeded him in the same design, and so effectually and happily employed the power and interest of *Henry IV.* that he made him Great Master in the year 1608. and obtained a very advantageous Bull of the Pope for the said Order; which is particular for the *French* only, as that of *Saint Maurice* and of *Saint Lazarus* is for those beyond the *Alpes*. The Knights amongst other Priviledges, have the liberty to marry, and hold Pensions of Consistorial Benefices.

I do not know that the *Gallican Church* produced many Prelates in this Age, who encreased the Catalogue of Saints; but she had many that were very illustrious, some for their Learning, others for the management of Affairs as well Spiritual as Temporal, and divers both for the one and the other. The first and the most eminent of them all, was *George de Amboise* Cardinal, a wise Prelate, a generous able and honest Minister, and a Cardinal with but one Benefice; who governed his almost absolute power by rules of justice, and founded the Kings interest upon the publick good.

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The Popes never made so many Cardinals in *France* as during this Age, particularly under the Reigns of *Francis I.* and *Henry II.* There were three in the House of *Bourbon*, *Lewis* Son of *Francis Duke of Vendosme*, *Charles* Brother of *Anthony King of Navarre*, and another *Charles* Son of *Lewis Prince of Condé*. The first was Arch-Bishop of *Sens*: the other two of *Roien*: There were five of the House of *Lorraine*: The first was *John* Bishop of *Metz*, who kept up the dignity of his Birth at a very great height, and made it appear he was a Prince by such liberalities as amounted even to profusion. The second was *Charles* Arch-Bishop of *Reims*. He was Nephew of the said *John*, and Brother of *Francis Duke of Guise*. Heaven, Fortune and his Birth had denied him nothing that was requisite to the making up of a great Man; the learned of his time, said of him, that he was the *Mercury* of *France*, as his Brother was the *Mars*; but many Men believed, he would have been much greater yet, had he been less ambitious and less turbulent. The third was *Lewis* Brother of this *Charles*, who was called the Cardinal *de Guise* Arch-Bishop of *Sens*.

The fourth, another *Lewis* also Arch-Bishop of *Reims*, as *Charles* his Uncle had been; he was Murther'd at *Blois* with *Henry Duke of Guise* his Brother: And the fifth, *Charles* called the Cardinal of *Vandemont*, Brother of the Queen *Louisa*. There were others likewise of great Birth, one of the House of *Luxembourg*, which was *Philip* Bishop of *Mans*: one of the House of *Longueville*; i. e. *John* Bishop of *Orleans*: one of the House of *Albret*; which was *Amanjeu* Bishop of *Lascar*: one of the House of *Gramont*, who was Bishop of *Poitiers*, then Arch-Bishop of *Toulouze*, named *Gabriel*: one of the House of *Strozzi* (he was called *Lawrence*) Bishop of *Beziers*: one of the House of *Joyeuse*, this was *Francis* Arch-Bishop of *Toulouze*; he lived in the Reigns of *Henry III.* and *Henry IV.* and *Strozzi* in the time of *Charles IX.*

Almost all the rest, to the number of near twenty, were likewise persons of Quality, and attained to this eminent dignity, some, though but very few, by their merit only, as *John du Bellay* Bishop of *Paris*, and *George d' Armagnac*, Son of *Peter*, Baron of *Cassade*, Bastard of *Charles* last Earl of *Armagnac*: the most part by knowing how to make their Court, or because allied to those in favour: as *Philip de la Chambre*; *Adrian de Gouffier Boissy*, Brother of *Arthur* Grand Maître of the Kings Household; *John le Veneur*, Bishop of *Lisieux*, and Grand Almoner of *France*; *James d' Annebault*, Brother to the Admiral of that name; *Claude de Longueville*, Bishop of *Poitiers*; *Anthony Sanguin**, * He was Nephew to the Dutchess d' Estampet. whom they called the Cardinal of *Mendon*; *Odet de Chastillon*, Nephew of the Connestable of *Montmorency*; and *George de Amboise*, second of that name, likewise Arch-Bishop of *Ronen*, as his Uncle was. As for *Peter de Gondy*, Son of the Mareschal de *Rais*, and Bishop of *Paris*, he was Created Cardinal upon the recommendation of Queen *Catherine*; as also *René de Birague* a Gentleman of *Milan*, who together with this dignity he had the Office of Chancellor of *France*.

There were some others of meaner Birth, who arrived at this dignity by means of their employments in the Finances, or in the Law, as *Anthony Duprat*, *John Bertrandi*, and *Philip Babou la Bourdaisiere*.

But it was neither Blood, nor favour that clothed *Arnold Dossat*, and *Jacques Davy du Perron* with the sacred Purple, it was the recompence of their services, of their great capacity, and of their rare erudition. *Dossat* was but the Son of a Peasant in the Diocess of *Auch*; and *du Perron* of a *Huguenot* Minister of the lower *Normandy*, but a Gentleman. We have known a Natural Son of the first, who died Curate of *Mesnil-Aubry*, within four Leagues of *Paris*.

There was likewise a great number of Illustrious Bishops, concerning whose promotion one may say the same things as have been hinted of that of the Cardinals. I observe at *Sisteron*, *Lawrence Bureau* an excellent Preacher for those times; he had been a Religious *Carmelite*, and Confessor to King *Charles VIII.* and *Lewis XII.* At *Treguier*, *John du Calloiet* a famous Doctor in the Civil and Canon-Law: he died Anno 1504. At *Lucon*, *Peter de Sacierge*, whom *Lewis XII.* made Chancellor and President of *Milan*. At *Marcellles*, *Claude de Seissel* a *Savoyard* by Birth, whose Writings are very well worthy to be read, being every where inter-spersed with those wholesome Maxims, which only can procure immortal Fame to Princes and felicity to their Subjects; he was afterwards Arch-Bishop of *Turin*. At *Renes Bernard Bochetel*, who served as Secretary to the Kings *Lewis*

Military Orders.

Illustrious Prelates.

Church. Lewis XII. and Francis I. but in fine, touched with some remorse of Conscience, or by some other motive, he quitted his Bishoprick, whose functions in effect are not altogether compatible with the employments at Court. In the days of these said Kings, I find at *Paris*, then at *Sens*, *Stephen Poncher* a *Tourneveau* by Birth, who had been President in Parliament, Chancellor of *Milan*, and of the Kings Order, and Keeper of the Seals of *France*. Under *Francis I.* at *Riez*, then at *Vence*, and afterwards at *Auranches*, *Robert Cenault* *, at *Macon*, *Peter Castell* *lan* Great Almoner of *France*. And at *Maguelone*, *William Pelicier*. These three were raised upon the consideration of their Learning; *Castellan* was he who with *Budem* put the brave King *Francis* upon the design of instituting the *Regis* Professors at *Paris*, and who chose the first, whereof *Pelicier* was one. In the time of *Henry II.* I find at *Lavaur*, *Peter Danes* whom *Francis I.* had called from the University of *Bourges* where he professed the *Greek* Tongue, to make him Tutor to his *Dauſin*; And at *Vienne*, *Charles de Marillac*, who died in the year 1560. for the great fear he had lest the House of *Guise*, against whom he had let his Tongue ramble too freely, should draw him within the Noose and Guilt of Hereſie, or Accuſe him of some Conspiracy.

* Or Robertus Cenalis.

* Or Saint Faiths.

In the time of *Charles IX.* and *Henry III.* there was at *Mans*, *Charles de Angennes Ramboillet*, in whose praise it is said, that during his Nine and twenty yearsholding that See, he never gave one Cure, but upon the score of Merit and Integrity, having for that purpose made a Register of all those whom he thought most deserving and capable. At *Nevers*, *Arnold Sorbin*, who was Surnamed de *Sainte Foy* *, because he had been Curate of a Parish so named; he passed for a great Divine and a very Eloquent Preacher. At *Orleans*, *John de Morvillier*, Native of the City of *Blois*; Queen *Catherine* made him one of the King's Council, where he was ever opposed to the Chancellor of P Hospital, because he aspired to get the Seals, as in effect he did. At *Auxerre*, *James Amiot*, Native of *Melun*, of very mean Extraction, but a man of exquisite Literature: *Henry II.* made him Preceptor to his Children, and Abbot of *Belloſane*; afterwards *Charles IX.* one of his Disciples gave him the Bishoprick of *Auxerre*. At *Valence*, *John de Montluc*, who was too wavering in the Faith, though very Learned, and withal a very dexterous Negotiator. At *Tours*, *Simon de Maille*, a profound Theologer and well read in the Fathers, who was taken out of the Order of the *Cisterians* where he was Abbot, to be promoted to an Archbishoprick. At *Air*, *Francis de Foix Candale*, Uncle of the Duke d' *Eſpernon's* Wife, thorowly veſſed in Humane Learning, in the Philosophy of *Trismegistus* and of *Plato*, and in Chymistry. At *Chalons*, *Pontus de Thiard*, both Poet and Mathematician, a singular Talent! who died Aged Fourſcore and four years. At *Evreux*, *Claude de Saintes*, a vehement Preacher, and a Divine of great Reputation: and at *Senlis*, *William Roſe*, who had likewise made himself very famous by his Sermons. These two were Passionate Leaguers: *Saintes* was taken in *Louviers*, with the City, by the Royalists, Anno 1591. and carried to *Caen*, where he died in Prison, having ran great hazard of making his Exit on a Scaffold for his Writing and Preaching against *Henry III.* *Roſe* had many shocks to undergo likewise after the Decadence of the League; but he at length did fortunately extricate himself, and exchanged his Bishoprick with him of *Auxerre*. At *Clermont*, was Bishop *Anthony de Saint Neſſaire*, who employ'd himself much in the intrigues of *Catherine de Medicis*; And at *Sees*, *Peter du Val*, in whose time the *Chanons* of his Church resumed their secular Habits, as they did during this Age in many other Cathedrals. The desire of a Reformation made him lean too much towards the Party of the pretended Reformed. *Lewis Moulinet* his Nephew was his Successor. It is observed of him, a rare example of a true Pastor! that during his holding that See for Twenty seven years together, he was never but one Six Months absent from his Bishoprick or Diocess, shewing by this example, that a good Bishop takes delight in his residence, as the evil one both esteems and finds it his Pain and Punishment.

There were none that signalized themselves more during the League than *Peter d' Eſpinac*, and *Reinold de Beaulne*: the first Archbishop of *Lyons*, and the second of *Bourges*, both Men of great Eloquence, and far greater intrigue; *Eſpinac* of the Party for the League, and *Beaulne* of that for the King; they both lived a good while in the Reign of *Henry IV.*

Under whom neither must we forget *Alfonso d' Elbene* Bishop of *Alby*, nor *Arnold de Pontac*, and *Nicholas P. Angelier* generous Defenders of the Rights, and the Liberty of the Church, this being Bishop of *Saint Brienc*, the other of *Bazas*; nor

Church. nor *René Benoist*, who being Curate of *Saint Eustache* at *Paris*, greatly contributed to the Conversion of King *Henry IV.* and the bringing him into the pale and bosom of the Church, without staying for any Orders from *Rome*. The said Prince chose him for his Confessor, and named him to the Bishoprick of *Troyes*: It is true he could not obtain the Bulls for it, but we may boldly say he deserved them, were it but only for those very reasons for which they were denied him.

We ought not to give the Name of Bishops to those who fell into the Errors of the Sectaries, and whom by the Pope were excommunicated for the same, as we have before mentioned. Yet was there but one of those Ten, that embraced *Calvinisme*; namely *John Caracciol* Son of *John Prince of Malsy*, Bishop of *Troyes*, who Anno 1565. abandoned his Bishoprick to take a Wife. It is true that about Six years before, viz. in the year 1559. *James Spifame* had quitted his Episcopal See of *Nevers* to Marry and retire to *Geneva*; but if his example did shew the way to *Caracciol*, certainly his unfortunate end ought as much again to have deter'd him: for upon I know not what suspicion they had of him in that City, he was accused of Adultery, and they caused his Head to be cut off for that pretended Crime.

Bishops who fell into hereſies.

Even from the Fourteenth Age, Learning did begin to re-flourish, and as we may say, to emit some Infant, yet lively beams, principally in *Italy*. In proportion as they discover'd its beauty and lustre, it inflamed the Love and Curiosity of the Ingenious, who being nauseated with the Barbarity of the Schools, and the Fopperies and Ergotismes, wherewith the Authors of those times were stuffed, applied themselves to search after the Greek and Latin Authors of the more polite Ages, in the select and best furnished Libraries, and rescuing them out of the rubbish and dust, wherein they had been so long Buried, made them more Publick and communicable to the World by the help of Printing.

They then studied to speak Greek and Latin as exquisitely, as in the times of the Republick of *Athens*, and the Empire of *Augustus*: Those that were inclined to the Study of Holy Writ, endeavour'd likewise to attain some Knowledge and Perfection in the Hebrew Tongue, without which it is almost impossible thorowly to understand the Books of the Old Testament; and at the same time the curiosity of such as travelled into the Countries of the *Levant*, brought back with them an itch or desire of learning the Oriental Languages, especially the *Arabian*, of which the *Turkish* is an Idiom. True it is that these Learned Men though able to attain to the greatest purity of Foreign Tongues, could not give it to the *French*; on the contrary, they made it more harsh and more obscure than it was before, perplexing it with a multitude of tedious Allegations, false Phrases, Transpositions, and broken Latin, from all which Sophistication, the Age we now live in, hath had much ado to Purge and to refine it.

King *Charles VIII.* loved all the Noble Arts, but had not time to Cultivate and to improve them. *Lewis XII.* favour'd them, had an esteem for, and generosity towards the Learned, and caused search to be made after the Manuscripts of ancient Authors, whereof he gathered and made up a curious Library. *Francis I.* surpass'd him very much in that noble Passion, as he surpassed all the Princes of his time in Magnificence and in liberality. His Reign, to say all in a word, was the Reign of Men of Learning; he had an incredible multitude of them, and those truly accomplished and Skilful in the Tongues, in the Knowledge of Antiquity, in the Law, in Philosophy, and Physick; as also in the Mathematics and Astrology. And indeed, that great Prince did so generously favour them with his Gratifications, with the noblest Employments in all his Affairs, and his personal familiarity, that it seemed, as he would share his State and Grandeur with them.

A Volume would not suffice to contain but the names only, and almost all of them were so exelling, each in his way, that whosoever should undertake to select some particular ones out of those Miriads, must run the hazard both of doing wrong to his own Judgment, and to the Merits of those whose Names he should omit. I shall observe only, that the Universities abounded with very learned Professors in Philosophy, & in Humanity; That as much may be said of the *Facult. Medicina*, which till then had but an imperfect knowledge of the Doctrines of the Divine *Hippocrates*: That that of Theology had more learned Doctors than ever before,

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before, though not perhaps so clear and so enlightned for the Positive, as we find now in our dayes; That all the grand Magistracies were supplied and filled with Persons both profound in Science, and most of them of singular Virtues; and that there never was more of Jurisprudence in the Parliaments and at the Bar, nor greater Capacity and solid Reasonings amongst the Advocates.

I shall only add, that the *French Poësie*, which till this time was almost nothing but a gross gingling paltry way of Rhiming, without either much of Art or Fancy, began to be stripp'd of its Pyed-Coat, and to deck it self with the real Ornaments of Antiquity: But yet even those who labour'd to restore it to that Harmonious Composition, invented for no other end but to elevate the Mind and Thoughts to things Noble and Sublime, did most unhappily pervert the same by the ill use they made thereof. For studying by a Criminal complaisance to flatter the Vanity and lascivious Passions of the Court, they Metamorphosed, if I may so speak, the *Muses* into *Sirenes*, and debased that Noble Off-spring of Heaven, to somewhat of more shameful and fordid than either Mendicity or Slavery.

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<i>Gerard Balthazar</i> a <i>Franc-Comtois</i> , Emis-sary of the <i>Spaniards</i> , Kills the Prince of <i>Orange</i> with a Pistol.	767	Is hindered by the Duke of <i>Espernon</i> .	ib.
<i>Gondi</i> the Cardinal confers with <i>Biron</i> .	806	<i>Guise</i> , Duke, before Prince of <i>Joinville</i> made Prisoner at the Death of his Fa-ther.	787
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<i>Guienne</i> acknowledges <i>Henry IV.</i>	824		
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And makes the Prince Prisoner.	ib.		
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Is assassinated by <i>Palrot</i> .	ib.		
Justifies himself of the Murther at <i>Vassy</i> .	887		
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<i>Guise</i> Duke returns into <i>France</i> , with his Uncle the Cardinal of <i>Lorraine</i> .	692		
Defends <i>Poitiers</i> bravely and acquires much reputation.	706		
Is the Principal Author of the <i>Saint Bar-tholomew</i> .	717		
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<i>H</i> <i>Ainaut</i> suffers scarcity.	760
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<i>Henry III.</i> is kill'd on the same day, and at the same place where he advised the Massacre of <i>St. Bartholomew</i> .	795
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Forms the design of putting the Duke of <i>Guise</i> to death.	780	<i>L'Hôtel de Ville</i> ; or Town-Hall of <i>Paris</i> gives Fifty thousand Crowns to him that should kill the Admiral de <i>Coligny</i> .	690
Besieges <i>Paris</i> , reduces it to extremity, and is kill'd at <i>Saint Cloud</i> .	795	<i>Huguenots</i> , Original of that Name.	667
<i>Heemskerck</i> Admiral for the States of the United Provinces, attacks the Spanish Flota, is slain, his death glorious.	790	General Massacre of them at the <i>Saint Bartholomew's</i> .	718
<i>Henry IV.</i> his coming to the Crown,	797	Acknowledg <i>Henry IV.</i> for King, and maintain him in his Right.	979
Gains the Battle of <i>Ivry</i> .	705	Their suspicions of him after his Conver-sion.	855, 860
Besieges <i>Rouen</i> ,	821, 820	Forsake him at the Siege of <i>Amiens</i> ,	860
Beats up the Duke of <i>Guise's</i> Quarters at <i>Abbeville</i> .	821	Apprehend a <i>Saint Bartholomew's</i> in the Camp.	ibid.
Opposes at <i>Fontaine-Francoise</i> , and bears the brunt of the whole Spanish Army, and gives proofs of his Heroick Cou-rage.	845	Were formerly called <i>Sacramentaries</i> .	Church 16th Age.
Receives his absolution from <i>Rome</i> .	849	<i>Paul Hurand</i> de l' <i>Hospital</i> Archbishop of <i>Aix</i> , Excommunicates the Councillors of Parliament.	Church 16th Age.
His consternation upon the loss of <i>Amiens</i> ,	858		
Regains that Town in Sight of the Arch-Duke.	862		
Demands of the Duke of <i>Savoy</i> the Resti-tution of the Marquisate of <i>Saluzzes</i> ,	876		
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<i>Henrietta Charlotta</i> Daughter of the Con-estable de <i>Montmorency</i> inspires <i>Henry</i> the IV. with the Love of her, who mar-ries her to the Prince of <i>Condé</i> , and he carries her into <i>Flanders</i> .	936		
A Design is formed to steal her away, and bring her back into <i>France</i> .	937		
<i>Hercules II.</i> Duke of <i>Ferrara</i> .	862		
<i>Holland</i> Leagues against <i>Spain</i> .	756		
<i>Hospital</i> of <i>Saint Lewis</i> to entertain such as are infected with the Plague.	911		
<i>L'Hôte Nicholas</i> discovers the Secrets of <i>France</i> .	908		
The <i>Spaniards</i> make him betray his King and his Master de <i>Villeroy</i> , whose Ser-vant he was.	ibid.		

I.

The Count de <i>Jacob</i> renders the City of <i>Bourg</i> .	882
<i>James</i> King of <i>Scotland</i> is proclaimed King of <i>England</i> after the death of Queen <i>Elizabeth</i> .	903
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<i>Jannizaries</i> mutiny against <i>Amurat III.</i> re-tard his Enterprizes.	887, 888
<i>Jarnac</i> , the place where was fought the Famous Battle of that Name.	714
<i>Jane</i> Queen of <i>Navarre</i> is cited by the Pope to appear at <i>Rome</i> ; if not, her Lands and Estates are proscribed.	Church 16th Age.
Brings her Son <i>Henry</i> of <i>Navarre</i> and <i>Henry</i> Prince of <i>Condé</i> to the <i>Hugue-nots</i> , after the loss of the Battle of <i>Jar-nac</i> , and re-assures their Spirits by her Exhortations.	705
Comes to Court by the persuasions of the Admiral, and under the Pretence of the Marriage of her Son to the King's Sister.	716
<i>Telligny</i> is sent to her for that purpose.	715
Dies by over-heating her self, or rather of poyson.	716
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